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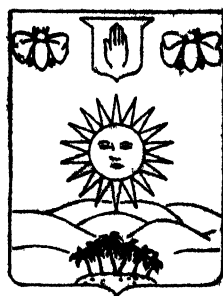
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# A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE VINAYAK MAHADEVA GORHE COLLECTION OF THE DECCAN COLLEGE POST-GRADUATE AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA.

By

R. G. HARSHE

## Introduction :

Of the 124 Sanskrit manuscripts\* so generously donated by Mr. Vinayak Mahadeva GORHE of Puntambe, District Ahmednagar, as many as 76 are complete and the rest incomplete. Most of the MSS. are in excellent condition, though when offered to the Institute they were all in a jumble of folios. It took more than a month to disentangle each manuscript from the heap of folios and arrange it properly. But the work was worth the trouble inasmuch as 17 MSS. are not to be found in AUFRECHT'S *Catalogus Catalogorum* and 32 in the Government MSS. Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. There are 54 different authors mentioned in the MSS., and we have a list of 30 scribes who have copied 40 works. Of the geographical names of places occurring in the MSS., and of which the scribes are generally residents, the following might be mentioned : पुण्यस्तम्भ, गालवर्ष्याश्रम, नंदिग्राम, पलाईया (?), नूपुरग्राम, दिग्पालपुर, सप्तपुर्याख्य वृसिहदेवधानी, अवन्ती, बंकापूर.

The MSS. are classified in 14 different sections as follows :

1. Veda	.. .. .	3
2. Itihāsa	.. .. .	21
3. Purāṇa	.. .. .	17
4. Dharma	.. .. .	25
5. Vedānta	.. .. .	8
6. Jyotiṣa	.. .. .	10
7. Tarka-Nyāya	.. .. .	7
8. Tantra-Yoga	.. .. .	3
9. Vyākaraṇa	.. .. .	2
10. Gaṇita	.. .. .	1
11. Kośa	.. .. .	1
12. Kāvya	.. .. .	23
13. Nāṭaka	.. .. .	2
14. Gadya-Campu	.. .. .	1

\* MSS. marked with an asterisk are dated.

The oldest dated MS. in this collection is 281 years old. We have about 11 MSS. which are more than 200 years old, the latest being of the date Śaka 1803. The total number of dated MSS. is 38 only. It is probable that a few of the undated MSS. are even older than 300 years. It might be mentioned here that 8 *Mahābhārata* MSS. have been selected by Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR for collation work at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

The list of MSS. lying with three Śāstrī families of Puntambe, given as Appendix, is made rather hurriedly and not enough details are available. It need not also be considered as exhaustive. The list registers in all 466 MSS. dealing with various subjects. The majority of them belong to Dharma Śāstra. The list contains some very valuable MSS. The earliest dated MS. in this collection is Sarivāt 1118. This list will more than amply justify the continuation of the work of the late Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR in the search for MSS. in the Deccan.

### SECTION I.—वेद

1. यजुर्वेद-वाजसनेय संहिता—Adhyāya I-VI. 15. Incomplete. Folios, 1-49, lines per page 7, letters per line 15, size 7" × 5".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ ॥ इषेत्वा ॥

Chapter I ends on folio No. 11a, II on 20a, III on 30a, IV on 39a, V on 48b, and the VI breaks off after the 14th verse and a portion of the 15th on folio No. 49b.

॥ १४ ॥ मनस्ते ॥ मनस्तं आप्यायता म्वाक् ऽ आप्यायताम्प्राणस्त आप्यायता बभूवुस्त अप्यायता ॥ ध्रोत्रेन्त आप्या—

The verses in Chapters I to V are 31, 34, 63, 37 and 43 respectively.

2. समास्त्वाध्यायभाष्य—By महीधर. Incomplete. Folios, 1-12, lines 12, letters 28, size 9½" × 5".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ समास्त्वा ॥ अयमध्यायः पंचचितिकस्याग्नेः संबंधी प्रजापतिदृष्टः ॥...

Breaks off after folio No. 12. Last line on folio No. 12b :

पंचवत्सरात्मकयुगारूपोसीत्यर्थः ॥ युगं भवेद्वत्सरपंचकेनेति ज्योतिः शा—

\* 3. शास्त्राविशेष—Complete. Anonymous. Folios 1-15, lines 15, letters 40, size 10" × 4¾".

Beginning: श्रीगणेशायनमः श्री गोपालकृते शेषसूत्रविवरणे स्फुटम् । माहात्म्यं काण्व-शास्त्रायाः कथ्यते विष्णुतुष्टये ॥ १ ॥ यतः सा विष्णुदैवत्या विष्णुः सर्वोत्तमो यतः ज्ञेयं चास्मत्कृतावेत-भेदकौस्तुभपूर्वके ॥ २ ॥ Colophon at the end:

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्नृपशालिवाहनशके १७७२ साधारणनामान्दे उत्तरायणे शिबिर्तौ मासोत्तमे माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे अमावास्यायां तिथौ रविवासरे गोचरोपनामकधौढभट्टलज्जनारायणसूनुब्रह्मरिज पुण्यस्तंभस्थलक्ष्मणाख्येनेहं शास्त्राविवेकाल्पं पुस्तकं स्वपाणिना परोपकारार्थं स्वार्थं च माघकृष्णद्वादशी-मारभ्य पूर्वोक्तैर्विविधदिने लेखनेन समापितं ॥

## SECTION II—इतिहास

4. महाभारत—आरण्यकपर्वणि (घोषयात्रा)—Incomplete. Folios 333–382, line 15, letters 45, size  $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ . Very brittle.

Beginning: अथवा मद्रवःश्रुत्वा तत्र यत्ता भविष्यथ । उद्धिमवासे विश्रंभो दुःखं तत्र भविष्यति ॥

End: आरण्यकेमीं वृत्तान्ताः पौराभिगमनं १.....धर्मव्याघोपाख्यानं ६५.

5. आरण्यकपर्व—with a Commentary by नीलकण्ठ. Incomplete. Folios 1–333 ; (missing folios 334–417) 418–420 upto the end; lines 15, letters 46, size  $14\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning: श्रीगणाधिपतिर्ज (य) तितराम् ॥ यो देवो मुनिनिचयक्षुधाक्षुधावान् यत्पुत्या मुनिनिवहोपि तृप्तिमाप ॥ तस्यैवं निजजगदंतरात्मभावं व्याकर्तुः पदमुपयाम गोपसूनोः ॥ १ ॥ .....

Breaks off after अध्याय 236.14

End: इति श्रीमत्पदवाक्यप्रमाणमर्यादापुरंधरचतुर्धरवंशावतंसश्रीगोविंदसूरिसूनोः श्रीनील-कण्ठस्य कृतौ भारतभावदीपे आरण्यके पर्वणि द्वादशाधिकत्रिशततमोऽध्यायः ॥ ३१२ ॥

6. विराटपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 5–48, lines 12, letters 56, size  $13\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning:

यन्ति नराधिप × × × × × दुपचरेदेनममिवद्देवराडिव ।

End:

...दिव्येणाल्लेण महता धनंजयमवाकिरन् । तथैव पां—

7. विराटपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 33–116, lines 13, letters 30, size  $9'' \times 5''$ .

Beginning:

सुकुमारश्च शूरश्च राजानं चाप्यनुव्रतः

ज्येष्ठोपयायिनं वीरं स्वयं पांचालि भोजये ॥

End:

अन्तःपुरेहमुषितः सदा पश्यन्सुतां तव

रहस्यं च प्रकाशं च विश्वस्ता पितृवन्मयि

प्रियो ब—

8. उद्योगपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 61–95, lines 15, letters 54, size  $14'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$ .

Beginning:

भ्यां तौ पांडवानतिसंजितौ । महारथौ समाख्यातावुभौ पुरुषमानिनौ ॥



End :

दौहित्रा ते वयं राजन् दिवमारोह पार्थिव ॥ छ ॥ इति उद्योगपर्वणि गाल्वचरिते ॥ छ ॥

9. उद्योगपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 1-231, lines 10, letters 36, size  $13\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमं ।  
देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥ १ ॥  
जयति पराशरसूनुः सत्यवतीहृदयनन्दनो व्यासः  
यस्यास्यकमलगलितं वाङ्मयममृतं जगत्पिबति ॥ २ ॥

वैशंपायन उवाच ॥

कृत्वा विवाहं पुरुषप्रवीरास्तदामिमन्योर्मुदितस्वपक्षाः ।  
विशम्य चत्वार्युषसः प्रतीताः सभां विराटस्य ततोभिजग्मुः ।

Breaks off after folio No. 231.

शकटापणवेशाश्वयानयुग्मं च सर्व्वशः ।  
फल्युसर्व्वं कलत्रं च यत् किञ्चित् क्ष—

10. उद्योगपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 2-208, lines 12, letters 36, size  $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$

Beginning :

सुतैर्विजित्य समाहृतं भूमिपतीन् प्रपीडय ॥  
तत्प्रार्थयंतं पुरुषप्रवीराः कुंतीसुता माद्रिसुता सुतौ च ॥

End :

इति महाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां वैयासिक्यां उद्योगपर्वणि सेनानिवशो नाम  
चतुर्नवत्यधिकशतमोध्यायः ॥ १९४ ॥

श्रुत्वैतत्सकळं पर्व पूजयेद्वाचकं ततः ॥ कुंडलैः कटकैर्वैश्वैर्गोभिधान्यैरनेकशः ॥  
एवं संपूजिते व्यासस्तुष्टो भवेद्भवं ॥ अश्वमेधशतं साधं कृतं तेन भवेत्तथा ॥  
श्रीव्यंकटेशाष्टयपरागपूजो जयति ॥

11. द्रोणपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 4-33; 217-18, lines 10, letters 52, size  $10'' \times 4''$ .

Beginning :

न पुरोगमाः । तमागतं महाबाहुं सर्वोनीकपुरःसरं ॥ कर्णं दृष्ट्वा महात्मानं  
युद्धाय समुपस्थितं...

Breaks off after folio No. 33 ending with :

दुर्योधनोब्रवीत्कर्णं प्रहृष्टः प्रहसन्निव ।  
पश्य राधेय पांचाला प्रणुन्ना द्रोणसायकैः ॥  
सिंहेनेव मृगा—

Folio No. 217a begins with :

द्रुपिनीं वेगवतीं विहतां सपताकिनीं ।.....

End :

ततः क्रुद्धो रणे द्रौणिर्मृशं जघ्नात्म मारिष ।

यथैधनं महत्प्राप्य प्रज्वलद्भव्यवाहनः ॥ तलं तलेन निष्पिष्य—

12. द्रोणपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 6-18 ; 34-87, lines 10, letters 41, size  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ ".

Beginning :

श्व पांडूनां प्रतिज्ञा ते महात्मनि ॥ द्रोणपर्वणि अभिमन्युवधः समाप्तः ॥

Folio No. 19b ends with :

.....दृष्ट्वाजुनो निमित्तानि विजयाय प्रदक्षिणं

युयुधानं महेष्वास ×—

Folio No. 34a begins with :

न्वन्यान्त्रासितान्दधन्विना । नैते जातु पुनर्युद्धमीहेयुरिति मे मतिः ॥ .....

End :

.....पुनश्चाचितयेद्वीरं किंस्विद्वक्ष्ये धनंजयं ॥

द्रोणपर्वणि षोडशराजिकं समाप्तं ।

13. द्रोणपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 20-48: 50-52; 55-56; 75, 101; 177-182; 185-213; 219-224; lines 10, letters 48, size  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ ". Folios of this Ms. and the preceding one are mixed up.

Folio No. 20a beginning :

मिदं वचनमब्रवीत् । युयुधानाययुद्धे मे दृश्यते विजयो ध्रुवः ।.....

Folio No. 48b ends with :

.....तथा तु हृष्टा योधास्ते प्रहृष्टौ कृष्णपांडवौ ।

हतो राजा हतो राजे—

Beginning of folio No. 50a :

तानस्यान्नेन विच्छेद द्रौणिः सर्वान्निघातिना ।

Last line on folio No. 52b :

श । कृत्वास्मा बहवो जघ्नुर्ब्रूहि गावलाणे (?) कथं । बिभित्सता रथानीकं सौभद्रेणामितौजसा ।  
विक्रीडितं यथा संख्ये त—

Beginning, folio No. 55a :

त्र × × बंधेषु गणांस्ती × न् लघुहस्तो दृढव्रताः ।

Folio No. 56b, end :

अलंबुषस्तु समरे भीमसेनं महाबलं । योधयामास संक्रुद्धो लक्ष्म—

Beginning, folio No. 75a :

संधं निहत्याजौ त्वरमाणस्तु सात्वतः ॥

Folio No. 101b, end :

तन्नामृष्यत कौन्तेयः कर्णस्य स्मितमाहवे । युष्यमानेषु वीरेषु पश्यस्तु च समंततः

Beginning, folio No. 177a :

न्यासं समंततः । तद्वलं भरतश्रेष्ठ वध्यमानं तथा निशि ॥

Folio No. 182b, end :

तं तु मातंगसंकाशा लोहिताक्षा विभीषणाः । कामवर्णजवायुका बलवन्तो बहुन्ध्याः ।

Beginning, folio No. 185a :

टोत्कचस्ततो मायां ससर्जातर्हितः पुनः ॥

Folio No. 213b, end :

भीमसेनश्च बलवान्सात्वतं पर्यवारयन् । कर्णश्च शरवर्षेण गौतमश्च महारथः ॥ दुर्योध—

Beginning, folio No. 219a :

दत्तैर्दत्तानुपस्पृशन् । निश्वासानुरगो यद्वल्लोहिताक्षोभवत्तदा ॥ इति श्रीमहाभारते द्रोणपर्वणि ॥

Folio No. 224b, end :

सप्तावरे तथा पूर्वे बांधवास्ते निपातिताः ॥ यशसा च प—

14. शल्यपर्व—Complete. Folios 1-51, lines 11, letters 45, size  $13\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमं ।

देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ।

जनमेजय उवाच ॥ एवं निपातिते कर्णे समरे सव्यसाचिना ।

अल्पावशिष्टाः कुरवः किमकुर्वत वै द्विज ।

उदीर्यमाणं च बलं दृष्ट्वा राजा सुयोधनः ।

पांडवैः प्राप्तकालं च किं प्रापयत कौरवः ।

End :

विदुरः सर्वधर्म्मज्ञो विरुवेनांतरात्मना ।

विवेश नृपते राजत्रिसंश्रवासशास शनैः शनैः ॥

ययुत्सुरपि तां रात्रिं स्वगृहे न्यवसत्तदा ।

वंच्यमानः स्वकैश्चापि नाभ्यनंदत्सुदुःखितः ।

चित्तयानः क्षयं तीव्रं भारतानां परस्पर ॥

॥ इति माहाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां वैयाशिक्यां शल्यपर्व

समाप्तं ॥ ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ ॥ श्रीकृष्ण ॥ ॥ राम.

15. गदापर्व—Complete. Folios 1-57, lines 11, letters 45, size  $13\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमं ॥

देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥ १ ॥

धृतराष्ट्र उवाच ॥ ॥ हतेषु सर्वसैन्येषु पांडुपुत्रै रणाजिरे ॥

मम सैन्यावशिष्टास्ते किमकुर्वन्त संजय ॥

कृतवर्म्मा कृपश्चैव द्रोणपुत्रश्च वीर्यवान् ॥

दुर्योधनस्तु मंदात्मा राजा किमकरोत्तदा ॥

End :

दुर्योधनोपि राजेंद्र शोणितेन परिभुतः ॥  
तां निशाः प्रतिपेदेथ सर्वभूतभयावहं ॥  
अपक्रम्य तु ते तूर्णं तस्मादायोधनां नृप ॥

(Sic !)

शोस्त्यसंविग्रमनसश्चिन्ताध्यामपराभवन् ॥ ॥

इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां वैयाशिक्यायां गदापर्व समाप्तं ॥ ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥  
शुभं भवति ॥ ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ॥ रामकृष्ण गोविंद ॥ ॥ श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः ॥ श्रीगोपिनाथाय नमः  
॥ श्रीलक्ष्मिनृसिंहाय नमः ॥ राम रामकृष्ण ॥ ॥

16. शान्तिपर्व-राजधर्म—with a commentary. Incomplete. Folios 2-203, lines 15, letters 36, size  $11\frac{1}{2}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ .

Beginning : Folio No. 2. Text

तत्र ते सुमहात्मानो न्यवसत्पांडुनंदनाः ॥  
शौचं निवर्त्तयिष्यंतो मासमात्रं बहिः पुरात् ॥ २ ॥

Comm.

तत्र गंगातीरे पुराद्वहिः मासमात्रं मासस्य प्रयोजनं तु यत् कश्चिच्छ्रायुद्धं कृतं तज्जन्य-  
दोषनिर्हरणेन शुद्धिसंपादनं ॥ तदेतदुक्तं शौचं निवर्त्तयिष्यंत इति ॥

End : Folio No. 203. Text :

उद्यमो नैपुणं क्षात्रं बाहुवीर्यादिति श्रुतिः ॥  
क्षत्रियो वृत्रिसंरोधे कस्य नादातुमर्हति ॥ २० ॥  
अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणस्वाच्च तापसस्वाच्च भारत ॥  
यथा वै ब्राह्मणः सीदन्नयाज्यमपि याजयेत् ॥ २१ ॥

Comm.

धर्मस्येति कर्मणि षष्ठी ॥ परस्य धर्मं नोज्जिहीर्षेत् नापि आत्मनो धर्ममुज्जिहीर्षेदपि तु आत्मा-  
नमेव उज्जिहीर्षेत् स्वपरधर्मं . . . . . प्यात्मानमेवोद्धर्तुमिच्छेदित्यर्थः ॥ १८ ॥ २१ ॥

17. शान्तिपर्व-राजधर्म—with a Commentary. Incomplete. Folios 5-147, lines 11, letters 48, size  $14\frac{1}{2}" \times 5\frac{3}{4}"$ .

Beginning : Folio No. 5.

...भारत । विवेश रंग सा कन्या धात्रीवर्षधरान्विता ।  
ततः संश्राव्यमाणेषु राज्ञां नामसु भारत ।  
अत्यकामद्वातराष्ट्रं सा कन्या...  
...धनस्तु कौरव्यो नामर्षयत लंघनं ।

End :

सर्वं धनवतः प्राप्यं सर्वं तरति कोषवान् ।  
कोषाद्धर्मश्च कर्मश्च परलोकस्तथा ह्ययं ।  
तं च धर्मेण लिप्सेत नाधर्मेण कदाचन

इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां शान्तिपर्वणि राजधर्मे भीष्मयुधिष्ठिरसंवादे समाप्तोऽयं  
राजधर्मः समाप्तः शुभमस्तुः

18. महाप्रस्थानिकपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 1-4, lines 11, letters 48, size  $14\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ".

19. विशोक-स्त्रीपर्व—Complete. Folios 1-9, lines 13, letters 40, size  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . स्त्रीपर्व appears only on the title page.

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॥

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमं ॥

देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

॥ जनमेजय उवाच ॥ ॥ हते दुर्योधने चैव हते सैन्ये च सर्वशः ॥

धृतराष्ट्रो महाराज श्रुत्वा किमकरोन्मुने ॥

तथैव कौरवो राजा धर्मपुत्रो महामनाः ॥

कृपप्रभृतयश्चैव किमकुर्वत ते त्रयः ॥

End :

इदं तु वचनं श्रुत्वा तद्दैवनियोगजं ॥

धारयिष्याम्यहं प्राणान् घटिष्यं न तु शोचितं ॥

एतच्छ्रुत्वा तु वचनं व्यासः सत्यवतीसुतः ॥

धृतराष्ट्रस्य राजेन्द्र तत्रैवांतरधीयत ॥ ॥ : ॥

॥ इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां वैयासिक्यां विशोकपर्व समाप्तः ॥ : ॥

॥ श्रीवासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ ॥ लेखकपाठकयोः शुभं भुयात् ॥ : ॥ : ॥ : ॥

20. ऐषीकपर्व—Complete. Folios 1-10, lines 13, letters 40, size  $11\frac{7}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमं ॥

देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

॥ : ॥ वैशंपायन उवाच ॥ : ॥ तस्यां रात्र्यां व्यतीतायां वृष्टद्युम्नस्य सारथिः ॥

सशंस धर्मराजाय सौप्तिके कदनं कृतं ॥ : ॥

सूत उवाच ॥ : ॥ द्रौपदेया हता राजन् द्रुपदस्यात्मजैः सह ॥

प्रमत्ता निशि विश्वस्ता स्वपंतः क्षिबिरे स्वके ॥

End :

ततस्ते निहताः सर्वे तव पुत्रा महारथाः ॥

अन्ये च बहवः शूराः पांचालाः सपदानुगाः ॥

न तन्मनसि कर्तव्यं न च तद्रौणिनाकृतं ॥

महादेवप्रसादेन कुरु कार्यमनंतरं ॥

॥ महाभारते ऐषीकं पर्व समाप्तं ॥ ॥

21. मौस्तकपर्व—Complete. Folios 1-11, lines 13, letters 40, size  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ : ॥  
 नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमं ॥  
 देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥ : ॥  
 ॥ : ॥ वैशम्पायन उवाच ॥ : ॥  
 षड्विंशे त्वय संप्राप्ते वर्षे कौरवनन्दनः ॥  
 ददर्श विपरीतानि निमित्तानि युधिष्ठिरः ॥

End :

प्रविश्य च पुरीं वीरः समासाद्य युधिष्ठिरं ॥  
 आचष्ट तद्यथावृत्तं वृष्ण्यधककुलं प्रति ॥ छं ॥ . ॥  
 इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां वैयासिक्यां मौसलं पर्व समाप्तः ॥ छं ॥ : ॥  
 श्रीवासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ ॥ लेखकपाठकयोः शुभं भूयात् ॥ श्रीराम श्रीराम ॥  
 22. आश्रमवासिकपर्व—Complete. Folios 1-39, lines 13, letters 40, size 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ " × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥  
 नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमं ॥  
 देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥ ॥  
 जनमेजय उवाच ॥ ॥ प्राप्य राज्यं महात्मानः पांडवा मे पितामहाः ॥  
 कथमासन्महाराज धृतराष्ट्रे महात्मनि ॥  
 स तु राजन् हतामात्यो हतपुत्रो निराश्रयः ॥  
 कथमासीद्वैश्वर्यो गांधारी च यशस्विनी ॥  
 कियंतं चैव कालं ते मम पूर्वपितामहाः ॥  
 स्थिता राज्ये महात्मानस्तन्मे व्याख्यातुमर्हसि ॥

End :

हतपुत्रस्य संप्रामे दानानि ददतः सदा ॥  
 ज्ञातिसंबन्धिभिन्नाणां भ्रातॄणां स्वजनस्य च ॥  
 युधिष्ठिरस्य नृपतिर्नातिप्रीतमनास्तदा ॥  
 धारयामास तद्वाज्यं निहतज्ञातिबांधवः ॥  
 ॥ तथाश्रमवासिके तु पर्वण्यपि समाहितः ॥  
 गंधमाल्यादियुक्तांश्च हविष्यं भोजयेद्विजान् ॥  
 ॥ छं ॥ ॥ : ॥ ॥ इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां वैयासिक्यां आश्रमवासिकं पर्व  
 समाप्तं ॥ ॥ : ॥ ॥ : ॥ ॥ : ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ ॥ लेखकपाठकयोः शुभं भूयात् ॥

23. आश्रमवासिकपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 1-61, lines 12, letters 50, size 15" × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Beginning :

एतुं नमः श्रीगणेशाय ॥ नारायणं नमस्कृत्य..... ॥ वैशंपायन उवाच ॥  
कृतोदकं तु राजानं धृतराष्ट्रं युधिष्ठिरः ।

Folio No. 61b, end :

होमधेनुस्तमागाच्च स्वयमेव दुदोह तां ॥ तत्पयः स्थापयामास नवे भांडे—

24. आश्वमेधिकपर्व—Incomplete. Folios 1-138, lines 6, letters 50, size 15" × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Beginning :

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नारायणं नमस्कृत्य..... ॥ वैशंपायन उवाच ॥ कृतोदकन्तु  
राजानं धृतराष्ट्रं युधिष्ठिरः ।

Folio No. 138b, end :

जिते तस्मिन्मृगुश्रेष्ठमभ्यभाषदमर्षणः । लोके मिथ्याप्रवादोयं क्रोधनोयं मुनिर्महान् । वशे  
स्थितोहं × × × × × × × ×

### SECTION III—पुराण

25. श्रीमद्भागवत—X Canto, पूर्वार्ध, with a Commentary by श्रीधरस्वामी. Incomplete. Folios 1-163, lines 13, letters 48, size 14" × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णो जयति ॥  
सकल भुवनमध्ये दीव्यते देवताभिः  
सकलभयहरो यः पूज्यते दानवेन्द्रे ॥  
अमरमनुजबृन्दैः सेवितो विघ्नराजः  
स जयति रिपुहर्ता सर्वजाव्योपहर्ता ॥ १ ॥

Folio No. 163b, end :

Commentary on verse No. 37 of Adhyāya 43 :

मल्लसभासदः ॥ मल्लसभाधिगतान् अधर्मो मा स्पृशेदित्येतद्दर्थं । हे मल्लेति वा ॥ ३७ ॥ श्रीराम ।  
वासुदेवपरं न्व—

26. श्रीमद्भागवत—X Canto. Complete. Folios 1-129, lines 12, letters 50, size 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ " × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ततः पंचाशत्तमे तु जरासंधभयादिब ॥ कारयित्वांबुधौ दुर्गा तन्निनाय  
निजं जनं ॥ १ ॥

Folio No. 129b, end :

Colophon at the end of the Text :

इति श्रीभागवते महापुराणे दशमस्कन्धे श्रीकृष्णलीलचरितानुवर्णनं नाम नवतितमोऽध्यायः ॥ छ ॥  
समाप्तोयं दशमस्कन्धः ॥

Colophon at the end of the Comm. :

इति श्रीभागवते श्रीभरस्वामीविरचितायां दशमस्कंधटीकायां नव × × × × ×

27. हरिविजय—Incomplete. Folios 1-761, lines 10, letters 36, size 11" × 5".  
Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णायामिततेजसे नमः ॥

जयति पराशरसुतः ० ॥ १ ॥

योगो शतं कनकशृंगमयं ददाति । विप्राय वेदविदुषे सुबहुभ्रताय ॥

पुण्यां च भारतकथां शृणुयादजह्मं । तुल्यं फलं भवति × तस्यचैव ॥ २ ॥

द्वैपायनोष्टपुटतिस्रुतमप्रमेयं । पुण्यं पवित्रमथ पापहरं शिवं च ॥

ो भारतं समधिगच्छति वाच्यमानं । किं तस्य पुष्करजलैरभिषेचनेन ॥ ३ ॥

रानायणं नमस्कृत्य ० ॥ ४ ॥

पितामह्वायं प्रवदंति षष्टं । महर्षिमक्ष्यय्यविभूतियुक्तं ॥

नारायणस्याशजपेकपुत्रं । द्वैपायनं वेदमहानिधानं ॥ ५ ॥

Folio No. 761b, end :

अमिसंघाय धनुषि तं च बाणं सुपत्रिणं ॥ ब्रह्मास्त्रेण संयोज्य—

28. बृहन्नारदीयमहापुराण—Incomplete. Folios 4-69; 81-112 (No. 100 missing), lines 13, letters 48, size 14½" × 5½".

Beginning : Folio No. 4a.

भक्त्या तुष्यति नान्यथा ॥ ५० ॥ अवशेनापि य × × ×...

Folio No. 69b, completes 18th Adhyāya, after verse 16th.

ततः षष्टे दिने प्राप्ते—

Beginning : Folio No. 81a.

परब्रह्माभिधेयो यः पकपव जनार्दनः । कर्त्ता कारयिता चैव सर्वं विष्णुः सनातनः । इत्येतद्वो मुनिश्रेष्ठाः श्राद्धस्य विधिरुत्तमाः । पितरश्चैव तुष्यंति संततिश्चैव वर्द्धते ॥ इति बृहन्नारदीये षड्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥

Folio No. 112b end :

अश्वमेधसहस्राणां फलं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ इति बृहन्नारदीये अष्टत्रिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः ॥

29. पुराणसारोद्धार—Incomplete. Folios 11-85, lines 12, letters 28, size 7½" × 4½".

Beginning : Folio No. 11b :

प्रवायुना पांसवो यथा । अज्ञानाद्यदि वा ज्ञानादुःकृतं येन यत्कृतं ॥

End : Folio No. 85a :

अन्यदा तु कृतं पापं कार्तिके व्रतिनो मुने । व्रतेन नश्यति क्षि—

30. देवीमाहात्म्य—Extract from the मार्कण्डेयपुराण—Complete, with two colour-  
ed illustrations, one at the beginning and the other at the end. Folios 1-80,  
lines 8, letters 20, size 6" × 4½".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः । ओं नमस्तुभ्यै नमः ॥ वासां रक्षांबर × राया । देवी शूलबाहिनी ।  
सिंहासने समाख्या सा देवी वरदा मम ॥ १ ॥ श्रीमहाकालिकाभगवत्यै नमो नमः ॥



End : Folio No. 81a and b :

इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयपुराणे सावर्णिके मन्वंतरे सुरथवैश्ययोर्बर्प्रयानं नाम त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥ १३ ॥

It is accompanied by four or five more प्रकरणs their text continuing from folio No. 82 upto folio No. 110b. Folios from 92 to 102, both inclusive, missing. The names of the प्रकरणs are as follows : प्रायानिकं नाम रहस्यं (Folios 82-85a); वैकृतिकं रहस्यं (Folios 85b-89b); incomplete (Folios 89-b-91b); लघुस्तवः—श्रीलब्धाचार्यविरचित—(Folios 103-108a, इंशनीस्तोत्रं —(Folios 108b-110b).

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीइंद्रबृहस्पतिसंवादे इंशनीस्तोत्रं समाप्तं शुभमस्तु लेखकापाठकयोः ॥

31. सप्तशती—Extract from the मार्कण्डेयपुराण—Incomplete. Folios 1-106, lines 7, letters 18, size 5" × 3".

Beginning :

श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ मार्कण्डेय उवाच ॥ यद्वत्स परमं लोके etc.

End : Folio No. 106.

शाकंभरी नीलवर्णा नीलोत्पलविलोचना  
गंभीरनाभिस्त्रिवलीविभूषितनुदरी ॥ १२ ॥  
सुकर्कशस—

32. सप्तशती—Do.—Incomplete. Folios 1-135 (2 Folios Nos. 133 and 134 are missing), lines 6, letters 21, size 6½" × 3". Very brittle.

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीचंडिकायै नमः ॥ अस्य श्रीसप्तशत्याख्यमाळामंत्रस्य सांगोपांगस्य सर्वस्य मार्कण्डेयब्रह्माविष्णुमहेश्वरात्मको भगवान् सुमेधा ऋषिः ॥.....

*Note.*—All the three श्रीs have been peculiar. There is a *mātrā* before the *velānfi*, a characteristic which is observed in several MSS. belonging to the sixteenth century or earlier still, the significance of which is however not known.

Colophon at the end : Folio No. 135a.

इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयपुराणे सावर्णिके देवीमहात्म्ये मूर्तिरहस्यं नाम षोडशोऽध्यायः ॥ समाप्तमिति ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ मल्लारमष्टशुक्लोपनाम्ना लिखितं ॥

33. भागवतमहात्म्य—Complete. Folios 1-48, lines 11, letters 25, size 6½" × 4½".

Beginning :

श्री × दि × ल - नृ हा न  
यं प्रब्रजंतमनुपेतमपेतकृत्यं द्वैपायनो विरहकातर आजुहाव  
पुत्रेति तन्मयतया तरवोपि नेदुस्तं सर्वभूतहृदयं मुनिमानतोस्मि ॥ १ ॥  
नैमिचे सूतमाखीनमभिवाद्य महामतिः etc.

End : Folio No. 48a.

इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे उत्तरखंडे श्रीभागवतमाहात्म्ये श्रवणविधिकथनं नाम षष्ठोऽध्यायः । श्रीमद्भक्त्या  
अनंतेन समाप्तिमगमत् ॥

इदं पुस्तकं उपासंन्युपनाम्ना त्रिबकभट्टस्य धृतमिति ॥

श्रीनृसिंहो जय० ॥

34. द्वारकामाहात्म्य—Extract from प्रल्हादसंहिता. Incomplete. Folios 1-22, lines 9, letters 29, size 10" × 4½".

Owner and copyist of the MS. on the title-page :

॥ अथ श्रीप्रल्हादसंहितांतरगतद्वारकामाहात्म्यप्रारंभः

॥ हे पुस्तक दादाजी रामचंद्र सिनरकर यांचे असे ॥

॥ श्रीद्वारकाऽधीशो विजयतेतराम् ॥ श्रीशुभं भवतु ॥

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव...॥ १ ॥

शौनक उवाच ॥ कथं सूत सुगुहोऽस्मिन्काले etc.

End : Folio No. 22.

इति श्रीद्वारकामाहात्म्ये चक्रतीर्थे षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥ ६ ॥

प्रल्हाद उवाच ॥ मा गच्छध्वं सुरनदीं मा कालिंदीं सरस्वतीम् ॥

तद्रच्छत द्विजश्रेष्ठाः— ॥ १ ॥

35. व्रतमाहात्म्यानि—Extracted from the various Purāṇas. Incomplete. Folios 1-54, lines 10, letters 40, size 13¼" × 5¼". Folio No. 2 missing.

Beginning :

। श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥

नवांबुदानीकमनोहराय प्रफुल्लराजीवविलोचनाय ॥

वेणुस्त्वनामोदितगोकुलाय नमोस्तु गोपीजनवल्लभाय ॥ १ ॥

This स्तोत्र, consisting of 8 stanzas, ends on folio No. 1. Remark at the end :

इति श्रीशंकराचार्यविरचितं गोपीजनवल्लभस्तोत्रं समाप्तं ॥

End : Folio No. 54.

श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ तद्वृत्त्वा कृतवीर्योऽपि चकार त्रिस्तृष्ट्याव्रतं ।

विधिना ब्रह्मचर्येण भक्तिचावेन सद्गुरं । व्रते कृते तु संतुष्ट नारायणदु—

36. अनंतव्रतकथा—Extract from the भविष्योत्तरपुराण, Complete. Folios 1-11, lines 8, letters 26, size 9½" × 3½".

Beginning : सूत उवाच । पुरा तु जान्हवीतीरे...

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीभविष्योत्तरपुराणे कृष्णयुधिष्ठिरसंवादे अनंतव्रतकथा संपूर्ण ॥...इदं पुस्तकं रामचंद्रा-  
त्मजअनंतभट्टप्रयागोवाक्ता लिखितं परोपकार (रा)र्थं वा समाप्तं ॥

\* 37. मार्गशीर्षमाहात्म्य—Extract from स्कंदपुराण. Incomplete. Folios 2-59, lines 7, letters 34, size 9" × 3". Date, Śaka 1636.

Beginning :

ब्रह्मन्सर्वलोकोपकारिणा ॥ यस्मिन्कृते कृतं सर्वं इष्टापूर्तादिकं भवेत् ॥ ७ ॥

Colophon at the end.

इति श्रीस्कंदपुराणे मार्गशीर्षमाहात्म्ये हरिचतुर्मुखसंवादो नाम षोडशोऽध्यायः ॥ १६ ॥ समाप्तमा-  
गमत् ॥...शके १६३६ जयाब्दे मार्गशीर्षमासे शुक्लपक्षे पौर्णिमा गुरुवासरे इदं पुस्तकं समाप्तं ॥...  
कृष्णसूनुकेवावेन क्लिप्तं ग्रंथसंख्या १०००.

\* 38. मार्गशीर्षमाहात्म्य—Do—Complete. Folios 1-80, lines 12, letters 32, size 12" × 6½". Date, Śaka 1719.

Beginning : श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

यशोदानंदनं वंदे जगदानंदकारणं  
भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं कृष्णं माधवं भक्तवत्सलं ॥ १ ॥  
महात्म्ये मार्गमासस्म शौनकप्रश्नमुत्तमं etc.

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीस्कंदपुराणे मार्गशीर्षमाहात्म्ये त्रयोविंशोऽध्यायः ॥ २३ ॥...स्वस्ति श्रीमन्मृगविक्रमार्क-  
समयातीत संवत् १८५४ ॥ तथा नृपशालिवाहन शके १७१९ विंगळनाम संवत्सरे उदगयणे ग्रीष्मरतौ  
महामांगल्यप्रदमासोत्तममासे वैशाखमासे कृष्णपक्षे द्वादश्यां भौमवासरे तद्दिने मार्गशीर्षमाहात्म्ये  
लक्ष्मीनारायणसन्निधौ समाप्तं ॥

\* 39. पौषमाहात्म्य—Extract from स्कंदपुराण. Complete. Folios 1-30, lines 11, letters 32, size 12" × 6½". Date, Śaka 1718.

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभद्रकाल्यै नमः ॥ शौनक उवाच ॥  
सूत सूत महाप्राज्ञ सर्वशास्त्रविशारद etc.

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीस्कंदपुराणे पौषमाहात्म्ये पूर्णिमाकृत्यफलभुक्तिकथनं नाम पंचदशोऽध्यायः ॥ १५ ॥ शके  
१७१८ नळनामसंवत्सरे । माघशुद्ध ॥ १० ॥

40. माघमाहात्म्य—Extract from वायुपुराण. Complete. Folios 1-59, lines 13, letters 42, size 12" × 5½".

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभद्रकाल्यै नमः ॥ नारद उवाच ॥ संसारे क्लिश्यमानानां जनानां  
पापकारिणां etc.

End :

इति श्री बा० माघमा० त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥ ३० ॥ छ ॥

\* 41. होळिकमाहात्म्य—Extract from पद्मपुराण. Complete. Folios 1-22, Lines 12, letters 32, size 12" × 6½". Date, Śaka 1718.

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीदेव्यै नमः ॥  
पाशाकुशधरा वाणी विणापुस्तकधारिणी  
मम बल्के बसे नित्यं दुग्धकंदेदुनिर्मळा ॥ १ ॥  
सूत उवाच ॥ शृण्वतो ऋषयः सर्वे etc.

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे पाताळखंडे होळिकामाहात्म्ये वरप्रदानं नाम षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।... श्रीमन्नृपविक्रमार्क  
समयातीत संवत् १८५३ चृपशालिवाहन शके १७१८ नळनामसंवत्सरे माघकृष्णतृतीया भोमवत्सरे  
तद्दिने होळिकामाहात्म्यं समाप्तं ॥

#### SECTION IV—धर्मशास्त्र

42. पारस्कर-स्नानसूत्रस्य छांगविरचितभाष्यम्—Complete. Folio 1-37, lines 11, letters 24, size  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।  
यस्य निश्चितं वेदा यो वेदेभ्योऽखिलं जगत्  
निर्ममे तमहं वंदे विद्यातीर्थं महेश्वरं ॥ १ ॥  
यस्य स्मरति नामार्थं नित्यं वैष्णवशांभवाः ।  
तस्य पूरुषरूपस्य वंदे चरणपंकजम् ॥ २ ॥  
भवानीतनयं वंदे मुनिं कात्यायनं तथा  
पितरं मातरं वृद्धान् भाष्यकारान् परानथ  
कुर्वे पारस्करस्नानपरिशिष्टे परिश्रमं.....

Colophon at the end :

श्रीवक्षिणामूर्तिपदप्रसादाकात्यायनस्नानविधायि सूत्रे  
छांगाभिधो याज्ञिकचक्रचूडाचितामणिर्भाष्यमिदं चकार ॥

43. प्रयोगरत्नम्—By काशीदीक्षित—Incomplete. Folios 1-122, lines 9, letters 26, size  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीमत्परब्रह्मस्ताय भोगीभोगांगदाय च । अच्छसिंदूरवर्णाय गणानां पतये नमः ॥ १ ॥  
यस्मिन्प्रसन्ने किल निर्गुणोपि बचोविकाशं लभते चिरेण  
तं ज्ञानरूपं गिरिजार्द्धदेहं शिवं शिवायै न ( प्रण ) मामि नित्यं ॥ २ ॥  
नीलोत्पलकरां श्रीमन्न्रीर्लेदीवरकुंदरां लीलया बिभ्रतीं विश्वं वंदे नीलसरस्वतीं ॥ ३ ॥  
प्रयेऽस्मिन् गुणगणवत्त्वमुच्यते चेत्त्वप्रथं गुणगणवन्तमाह को न ।  
तत्संतः शिरसि कृतांजलिस्तु याचे शोष्यं तत्सदसदिहोच्यते मया यत् ॥ ४ ॥

..... On folio No. 20 :

इति सदाशिवऋषिः प्रयोगरत्ने गर्भाधानप्रयोगः ॥

End : Folio No. 122.

एवमेव द्विजश्रेष्ठ विधिना सम्यगुद्बहेत् ॥ धनधान्यसमृद्धि—

\*44-45. बौधायनोक्त तथा शौनकोक्त नाम्नबलिप्रयोगः—Complete. Folios 1-13 lines 9, letters 38, size  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगंगातोये अस्मिन् प्रक्षेपप्रशंसामाह—

Folio No. 3a :

इति अस्थिप्रक्षेपविधिः ॥ अणेगरोपनाम्ना गिरिणालेखि ॥

अथशौनकोक्तमार्गेण नागबलिभिधीयते ॥

Folio No. 6b :

॥ अथ बौधायनानुसारेण संस्कारविधिरुच्यते ॥

Colophon at the end :

संवत् १६८८ व्ययसंवत्सरे श्रावणशुद्ध ११ तद्दिने अणगणे (?) पकरगिरिणा इदं शौनकोक्त-  
बौधायनोक्तपुस्तकं लेखि ॥.....सप्तशृंगनिवासिन्यै नमः ॥

\*46. ग्रहमखपद्धतिः—Complete. Folios 1-30, lines 12, letters 21, size  $8" \times 5"$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥

यजमानः सप्तलीकः सुमुखश्चेति एवं गुण० etc.

Colophon at the end :

शके १७४७ पार्थिवनामाब्दे फाल्गुणकृष्ण ७ गुरौ ग्रहमखपद्धतिः समाप्ता ॥ नानभट्ट  
ग्रामपाठकेन लिखिता.....

\*47. गुर्यादुकाचिहितसमाध्युत्सर्गविधिः—Extract from the Skand Purāṇa—  
Complete. Folios 1-6, lines 11, letters 31, size  $9" \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ अथ समाध्युत्सर्गविधिः ॥ तत्रादौ स्कांदे केदारखंडे ॥

अचेतनशरीरेषु न्यासीनां स्थापयेद्यदि ॥ etc.

Colophon at the end :

इति ध्वनेश्वरपंडितकृतगुर्यादुकाचिहितसमाध्युत्सर्गविधिः समाप्तः श्रीमन्नृपशालिवाहनशके  
१८०३ वृषणामसंवत्सरे श्रावण शु० प्रतिपदि १ सौम्यवासरयुतायां गोन्हे इत्युपनामकब्रह्मगिरि-  
सूनुना कश्मणनाम्नेन पुस्तकं लेखनपूर्णतां स्वपरार्थं प्रेषितं ॥

48. क्रियापद्धतिः—By विश्वनाथभट्ट. Incomplete. Folios 1-61 (No 10 missing),  
lines 11, letters 35, size  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः । गणेशं गिरं पद्मनाभं सुरेशं । विभुं विश्वनाथं विशालाक्षिमाद्यं ॥ विरंचिं  
विबस्वतमन्यां च नत्वा । क्रियापद्धतिं विश्वनाथः करोति ॥ १ ॥ बह्वर्थां श्रुतिसंमतां च सरलां  
कर्तव्यमार्गप्रदां । नानाप्रथ विलोक्य साररचितां मे तत्त्वमुक्तिप्रदाम् ॥ शिष्यानां सुखहेतवे च विदुषां  
चित्तप्रसादप्रदां । पुर्विष्टस्य प्रसादजां च सुधिया सर्वार्थदामादृताम् ॥ २ ॥ ये वैश्वामितः प्रवासनिरताः  
स्वच्छः स्वगोहे च ये । ये चानभिमतोऽथवाभिरहिता ये ब्रह्मचर्ये स्थिताः ॥ तेषामत्ययतश्च पूर्वमपराऽ

द्वांता समग्रा क्रिया । उक्ताप्यत्र मया क्रमेण निरता दुर्मर्णगानामपि ॥ ३ ॥ सधवानामपि विधवानां  
सतीनां सर्वयोषितां । बालानामपि वृद्धानामनाश्रमगतामपि ॥ ४ ॥ ततो यजुर्वेदांतर्गतमाध्यंदिनिशाखोक्तं  
मरणस्मयादारभ्य सपिंडीकरणान्तं कर्म लिख्यते—

End : Folio No. 61b :

महापद्मं च नागेशं सूर्योत्पलसमप्रभं । शुद्धस्वर्णमयं देहं को—

49. स्मृतिकौस्तुभ—By अनंतभट्ट. Incomplete. Folios 1-23, lines 11, letters 28, size  $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ . The author gives important details of his patron and of his own family at the beginning of the work :

दधो मंथनकाम्यया व्रजवधुकुमे तदासिंचतीं  
हस्तेहं दधि देहि महामधुनेत्युक्ते रमेशे यया ।  
ॐ मित्युक्तिपुरःसरं निजकरे तस्यार्पणं कुर्वतीं  
प्रत्युक्तिः कुरु कार्यमस्तु शमिति श्रीशस्य सा पातु नः ॥ १ ॥  
यः पूर्वजन्मार्जित पुण्यभारैः संलब्धया विव्यधियावनीशान् ॥  
वशीकरोच्छीतकरोच्चवंशे स ज्ञानचंद्रो नृपतिर्बभूव ॥ २ ॥  
कल्याणकर्ता सकलप्रजानां कल्याणचंद्रस्तत आविरासीत्  
कदापि दंष्ट्यानयनीय राज्ये बभूवुरेषां क नु दण्डवार्ता ॥ ३ ॥  
प्रतापेन रुद्रोपमः स्वच्छकीर्त्या समाल्हादयन्यो जनांश्चंद्रतुल्यः  
सदा सर्वविद्रुणज्ञो वदान्योऽभवच्चंद्रवंशे ततो रुद्रतुल्यः ॥ ४ ॥  
श्रीरुद्रस्य षडाननः शशधरस्यासीद्यथा वा बुधः  
श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणचंद्रनामकस्तुतोऽभूद्रुद्रचंद्रस्य यः  
तेनानेकहिमाचलस्य नृपतीन्दुष्टान्विजित्य स्वके  
राज्ये वृद्धिरकारि तुष्टिरमिता चाधायं विद्रुद्रादि ॥ ५ ॥  
ततस्त्रिमल्लक्ष्मणचंद्रोभूद्रूपो रूपोद्भूतो भुवि  
काशीस्थविद्रुदादिभ्यो धनराशीनदात्सदा ॥ ६ ॥  
तस्मिन्कुलेऽजनि ततः किल नीलचन्द्रो  
यस्तीर्थसज्जननिषेवणभूरिपुण्यैः  
तेजो दधार परमं पुरुषोत्तमाख्यं  
धत्ते यथेन्द्रदिशि नीलगिरिः परं तत् ॥ ७ ॥  
श्रीबाजबाहदुरचंद्रनृपस्ततोभू—  
चंद्राचयस्य भुवि भूरियशोकरोयः  
सर्वावनिस्थविदुषामवनं प्रकुर्वन्  
योस्मिन्कलावपि ररक्ष समस्तशाखं ॥ ८ ॥  
यदीयप्रतापोदया दूरदेशे स्वदुर्गांतरत्युष्मणा त्यक्तदुर्गाः  
परंभोषिपत्नीतटे संबसंतो नसंतोऽङ्गं नैव संतोषमापुः ॥ ९ ॥  
ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य हरेरिवात्य गुणैरनन्तैः श्रुतिषु स्पृशद्भिः  
अकृष्य नीताः परभूपकन्या धन्या बभूवः स्वकुलोद्भवानां ॥ १० ॥

सर्वांशापरिपूरणक्षमयशः सौधप्रवाहेण यो  
 न्यङ्कारं प्रतनोति सौधवपुषो नामार्थवत्तां नयन्  
 कस्तस्मादितरः कलौ किल सतां सेव्यः प्रभुर्यो भवेत्  
 क्रीडायामपि दानमानविनयैः संतोषदा तु सतां ॥ ११ ॥  
 येनार्चिता बुधवराः शिविराणि यांतो  
 यांति स्फुटं पथि नृपा इति भांति लोके  
 नित्यं भटैः सतुरगैः परिपाल्यमाना  
 मानार्थदं तदितरं न कलौ नि लोके ॥ १२ ॥  
 आसीद्गोदावरीतीरे वेदवेदिसमन्वितः  
 श्रीकृष्णभक्तिमानेक एकनाथाभिधोद्विजः ॥ १३ ॥  
 तत्पुतस्तदुणैर्युक्तः सर्वशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वविद  
 आपदेवो भवेद्देवात्प्रापयः सकलान्मनून् ॥ १४ ॥  
 मीमांसानयकोविदो मधुरिपोः सेवासु नित्योद्यतो  
 विद्यादानसुभावितोत्तमयशः आसीत्तदीयात्मजः  
 यस्यानंतगुणैरनंत इति सन्नामार्थवत्तां गतं  
 मेनावादि च वादिनां श्रुतिशिरः सिद्धांततत्त्वं मुदे ॥ १५ ॥  
 न्यायप्रकाशकर्ता निरवधिविद्याप्रदः सततं  
 मीमांसाद्वयनयवित्तनयस्तस्यापदेवोभूत् ॥ १६ ॥  
 तस्यात्मजं वैदिकशास्त्रविज्ञं संतोऽसकृत्प्राहुरनंतदेवं  
 बाजाब्धराशो वचसा विधेयं निबंधसोराद्धरणं त्वयेति ॥ १७ ॥  
 अनंतदेवेन तदाज्ञयाथो मुदे हरेः पूर्वनिबंधरूपं  
 क्षीरांशुधिं बुद्धिगुणैर्मथित्वा प्रकाश्यतेयं स्मृतिकौस्तुभः कां ॥ १८ ॥  
 भवार्नाशंकरां नत्वा ससुतां प्रार्थयाम्मदः  
 धृतः श्रीहरिणा धार्यो राज्ञोयं स्याच्छुभप्रदः ॥ २० ॥

End : Folio No. 23a :

अस्मिन्वाक्ये हि युग्मवाक्यप्राप्तशुक्रप्रतिपदतत्पूर्वविद्धत्वानुवादेन आपराण्हिहकृत्वनियमपरत्वादेव शुक्रप्रतिपद्विषयत्वमेवांगीकृतं हेमाद्रिप्रश्रुतिभिः ॥ न—

\* 50. संस्कारकौस्तुभस्थजननशांतिप्रयोगः—By आपदेवसुत अनंतदेव—Śaka 1776. Complete. Folios 1-87, lines 10, letters 28, size 9½" × 4½".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ अथापदेवसुतानंतदेवकृतसंस्कारकौस्तुभसंस्कारदीधितिस्थजननशांतयो लिख्यंते ॥ तत्रादौ गोप्रसव उच्यते ॥ गर्गः ॥ etc.

Colophon at the end :

शके १७७६ संवत् १९११ अनंदनामाब्दे पौषशुक्लषष्ठ्यां इंदुवासरे इदं पुस्तकं गोचोप-  
नामकलक्ष्मणाख्येन स्वहस्तेन स्वार्थं परार्थं च लिखितं शुभं भवतु ॥ अदृश्यभावान्मतिविभ्रमाच्च पदार्थ-  
हीनं लिखितं मयात्र ॥ तत्सर्वमायैः परिशोधनीयं कोपं न कुर्युः खलु लेखकस्य ॥

\* 51. आचारार्कः—By दिवाकर. Śaka 1703. Complete. Folios 1–80, lines 9, letters 27, size  $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

जानकीनयनयुग्मगोचरं मानिनां नयनयोरगोचरं  
नीलमेघरुचिरच्छविं सदा भावये मनसि राघवं मुदा ॥ १ ॥  
उच्चैरपर्णामुखचंद्रबिंबं गरामृशंतं निजपाणिपल्लवैः  
गंगाधरं नौमि भुजंगराहुप्रकृष्टभीत्या चकितं मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ २ ॥  
महादेवतनूजन्मा भारद्वाजकुलोद्भवः  
दिवाकरो रविं नत्वा ह्याचारार्कं तनोत्यमौ ॥ ३ ॥

Colophon at the end :

श्रीबालकृष्णार्यजसूनुनिर्मितं वर्षेऽग्निवेदाश्वहिमांशुसंयुते  
जनाः प्रकुर्युः किलधर्मकार्यमाचारसूर्यं किल संविशेक्य ॥

शके १७०३ श्रावणशुद्ध १३ गुरुदिने लेखनालं ॥ शुभं ॥ वर्षाः ॥ ८ ॥ इति गर्भिणीभोजन-  
निषेधवाक्यानि ॥ पित्रोः प्रत्याब्दिके प्राप्ते तर्पणं तु कथं भवेत् जलेनैव प्रकर्तव्यं निवृत्तैः पितृकर्मणि ॥ १ ॥  
श्राद्धं कृत्वा तु विधिवद्वैश्वदेवादिकं ततः । ब्रह्मयज्ञं ततः कुर्यात्तर्पणं तु तिलैर्विना ॥ २ ॥ स्मृत्यंतरे ॥

52. कोकिलाव्रतम्—Extract from भविष्योत्तरपुराण—Folios 1–11, lines 9, letters 38, size  $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4''$ . Complete.

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीरामचंद्राय नमः ॥ आचम्य अमंत्रक प्राणानायम्य देशकालौ संकीर्त्य—  
etc.

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीभविष्योत्तरपुराणे चतुर्थेऽंशे कोकिलाव्रतं संपूर्णं ॥

53. व्रतार्कः—By शंकरभट्ट. Folios 1–425. lines 9, letters 38, size  $10'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$ . Complete.

Beginning :

दिवाकरपदद्वंद्वं फलद्वंद्वप्रदायकं  
त्रैलोक्यतमसो नाशकर्तृ तत्प्रणमाम्यहं  
यो जाग्रत्प्रतिकरमंदराद्रिमथैर्निर्मथ्य प्रथिततरांधकारसिंधु  
लोकेभ्यो वितरति सत्प्रकाशलं तं वंदे वनजवनीविनोदबंधुं ॥ २६ ॥  
नामं नामं प्रणामोद्धरतचलल्लोचनालिंगनेन  
भ्राम्यद्भृङ्गाब्जभूरिभ्रमजननपरौ जानकीवल्लभांग्री  
तातश्रीनीलकंठामलपदकृपया सर्वशस्त्रात्वर्यतत्त्वं  
कुर्वे श्रीशंकरोहं सहदहदयंभोजतुष्ट्यै व्रतार्कः.....

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीमीमांसकभट्टश्रीमञ्जीलकंठात्मजभट्टश्रीमच्छंकरकृतौ व्रतार्के अनुक्रमणिकासमाप्तमगमत् ॥

\* 54. वार्षिकशिवरात्रिव्रतोद्यापनविधि :—Samvat 1674. Incomplete. Folios 3–18, lines 8, letters 34. size  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$ .



Beginning : Folio No. 3.

क्येन पार्वति ॥ उवाच वचनं तां वै धर्मयुक्तमसंशयं ॥

Colophon at the end :

संवत् १६७४ अंगिरा संवत्सरे माघवद्यचतुर्दश्यां मंदवासरे नारायणसूनुगिरिणा  
अणगरोपनाम्ना शिवरात्रिकथाव्रतोद्यापनविधिर्लेखि ॥ रामेश्वरार्पणमस्तु ॥ कासीविश्वेश्वरार्पणमस्तु ॥

55. श्रीवेंकटेशपूजनं—Folios 1-16, lines 12, letters 16, size  $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$ .  
Complete.

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्री वेंकटेशाय नमः ॥ आचम्य देशकालौ संक्रीत्य ॥ etc.

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीवेंकटेशपूजनं समाप्तं ॥...

\*56. त्रिस्थलीसेतुः—By भट्टोजीदीक्षित. Śaka 1595. Folios 1-18, lines 9, letters 39, size  $10'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$ . Complete.

On the title-page :

नलसंवत्सरे मार्गे शुक्लपक्षे तु पंचमी ॥ सोमश्रवणमध्याह्ने विष्णुराज्यं भविष्यतीति नागभाष्ये ॥

गो-होपनामकधौडभट्टस्येदं पुस्तकम् ॥ त्रिस्थलीसेतुप्रारंभः ॥ राजा वा राजपुत्रो वा ब्राह्मणो  
वा बहुश्रुतः । केशसंरक्षणार्थीयं द्विगुणं द्रव्यमाचरेत् ॥ इति वचनात् ॥

Beginning :

श्रीरेणुका विजयते । साधारणस्तीर्थविधिः प्रथमं सम्यगुच्यते ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीधर्मशास्त्रसर्वस्वाख्ये निबंधे तीर्थविषयकर्त्तव्यताधिकारः ॥

इति श्रीपदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञश्रीलक्ष्मीधरसूरेः सूनुना भट्टोजीदीक्षितेन रचितः त्रिस्थलीसेतुः  
समाप्तः ॥ छ ॥ शके १५९५, प्रमादिसंवत्सरे कार्तिकवद्यतृतीयायां इंदुवारे इदं पुस्तकं भास्करसूतेन  
विद्वलेन लिखितं ॥

\*57. गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयव्याख्या—By शंकरभट्ट. Śaka 1691. Complete. Folios 1-72, lines 10, letters 25, size  $9'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

स्मृत्यर्थसार उक्तो यो गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयः

नातिस्फुटो विव्रियते शंकरेण स्वया धिया ॥ १ ॥

एतदर्थोखिलप्रंथप्रथिभेदनतो मया

अनेनैव तु ते सर्वे प्रायशो व्याकृता मताः ॥ २ ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीमत्पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारपारीणधुरीणमीमांसाद्वैतसाम्राज्यधुरंधरश्रीभट्टनारायणसुतभट्ट-  
शंकरोक्षीते धर्मद्वैतनिर्णये गोत्रप्रवरसंशयोद्भेदपरिच्छेदः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीश्राकं चंद्रप्रहरसंदु १६९१  
युते विरोध्यद्भे शुक्लशुक्लनवम्यामिदौ गो-होपनामकविद्वत्खंडभट्टसूनुनामभट्टेन लिखितोयं धर्मद्वैतनिर्णयः  
स्वार्थ परार्थ च ॥

\*58. निर्णयाभरणम्—By भट्टमयूरेश्वर, Śaka 1767. Incomplete. Folios 3–99, lines 11, letters 26, size 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Beginning : Folio No. 3a :

मती । दुंदुभिरोद्गारीरक्षाक्षीक्रोधनक्षयः इति ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति भट्टपद्माकरसुतभट्टमहादेवसुतभट्टमयूरेश्वरप्रकाशितनिर्णयाभरणे चैत्रमासादिकृत्यं समाप्तं .....महादेवसुतेनायं मयुरेश्वरशर्मणा । उन्नीतो धर्मसिद्ध्यर्थं तथा शिष्टेष्टतुष्टये ॥ गुणं गृह्यै बुधै सोयमादरे विभाव्यतां .....स्वस्तिश्रीमन्नृपशालिवाहनशके १७६७ विश्वावसुनामाब्दे दक्षिणायने शरदृतौ मासोत्तेमे षष्मासस्य षव्वक्षे पंचम्यां विधुवासरे अस्मिन्दिने पूर्वरात्रौ अयं ग्रंथः समाप्तः ॥ इदं पुस्तकं गोन्हेत्युपनामः प्रह्लादिभिः पुत्रलक्ष्मणनामकेन स्वकरेण स्वार्थं परार्थं चायं ग्रंथोऽस्ति लिखितं ॥

\*59. सापिण्ड्यदीपिका—By भट्टश्रीधर, Śaka 1754. Complete. Folios 1–28, lines 10, letters 25, size 10" × 5".

Beginning :

महेशानं नमस्कृत्य शारदां गुरु [ ५१६ ] मादरात्  
विवाहे वर्जनीयत्वात्सापिण्ड्यं प्रविचिच्यते ॥ १ ॥

Colophon at the end :

सापिण्ड्यदीपिकामेतां श्रीधरेण प्रकाशितां  
प्राप्य पश्यंतु सापिण्ड्यं विमलज्ञानचक्षुषः ॥

इति श्री धर्मशास्त्रकर्मलार्कभट्टश्रीधरविरचिता सापिण्ड्यदीपिका समाप्ता. शके १७५४ नंदनाब्दे मार्गशीर्षशुक्लाम्यां राजारामात्मजहरिणा लिखितेयं सापिण्ड्यदीपिका श्रीवासुदेवसन्निधाविति ॥ काश्यपेयकुलोत्पन्नराजारामात्मजो हरिः ॥ सापिण्ड्यदीपिकामेतां लिखेत्तान्वयशोधने.....

\*60. —Do—Śaka 1722. Complete. Folios 1–32, lines 11, letters 30, size 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ " × 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ ".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ महेशानं नमस्कृत्य शारदां गुरुमादरात् ।  
विवाहे वर्जनीयत्वात्सापिण्ड्यं प्रविचिच्यते ॥ १ ॥ इह खलु याज्ञवल्क्येन etc.

Colophon at the end :

सापिण्ड्य . . . . विपुलज्ञानचक्षुषः ॥

इति श्रीविद्वन्मुकुटमणिश्रीधरविरचिता सापिण्ड्यदीपिका समाप्ता ॥ शके १७२२ रौद्रनाम संवत्सरे ज्येष्ठशुक्लपंचम्यां बुधवासरे गोन्धोपनामऋषिर्बभट्टेन स्वशयनेन पुस्तकं संपूर्णतां प्रापितं इति दिक् ॥

61. अतिदेशिकसापिण्ड्यनिर्णयः —Complete. Folios 1–6, lines 14, letters 35, size 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Beginning :

अथ सापिण्ड्यं निरूप्यते । .....

End :

स्वजनकसपत्नमातामहकुले आचतुर्यं विवाहनिषेधः सिद्धः ॥ समाप्तं प्रकरणं ॥

\*62. यतिधर्मप्रकाशः—By वासुदेवाश्रममुनि, Śaka 1777. Complete. Folios 1–76 lines 11, letters 32, size  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीवासुदेवं सुरवैरिभंगं । रमाधरालिंगितसुंदरांगं ॥  
पदाब्जसंभूतपवित्रगंगं । नमामि तं वारितदोषसंगं ॥ १ ॥  
रामकृष्णाश्रमं वंदे परमं गुरुमादरात् ॥  
तथा गुरुं ब्रह्मनिष्ठं गोविंदाश्रमनामकं ॥ २ ॥  
निबंधान् माधवादीनां तथा विधेःपद्धतिं ॥  
दृष्ट्वा प्रणवमीमांसां तथा प्रणववार्तिकं ॥ ३ ॥  
यतिधर्मप्रकाशोयं वासुदेवस्य तुष्टये ॥  
वासुदेवेन मुनिना परमहंसेन तन्यते ॥ ४ ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीरामकृष्णाश्रमपूज्यपादशिष्यश्रीगोविंदाश्रमपूज्यपादशिष्य-  
वासुदेवाश्रमेण मुनिना विरचितोयं यतिधर्मप्रकाशः संपूर्णः.....श्रीमन्त्रपशालिवाहनशके १७७७  
राक्षसनामसंवत्सरे फाल्गुणमासे कृष्णपक्षेऽष्टम्यां तिथौ मंदवासरे गोन्होपनामकनारायणभट्टात्मज-  
ब्रह्मगिरिपुत्रेण लक्ष्मणाख्येनायं यतिधर्मप्रकाशस्तच्छुक्रप्रतिपदमारभ्य स्वहस्तेनाऽलेखि ॥

\* 63. संन्यासपद्धतिः—Śaka 1775. Complete. Folios 1–43, lines 13, letters 32, size  $11'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning : अथ संन्यासकर्तारं प्रति ब्रह्मानंदपद्धतिमनुसृत्य प्रयोगमात्रमुच्यते ।...

Colophon at the end :

श्रीमन्त्रपशालिवाहनशके १७१० तथा च श्रीमन्त्रपशालिवाहनशके १७७५ प्रमादीनाम-  
संवत्सरे दक्षिणायने हेमंतर्तौ महामांगल्यप्रदमासोत्तमे मार्गशीर्षमासशुक्रप्रतिपदि प्रातरिदं पुस्तकमारभ्य  
श्रीगोदादक्षिणतीरस्य क्षेत्रपुण्यस्तम्भस्थितगोन्होपनामकब्रह्मगिरिसूनुना लक्ष्मणाबानाज्ञा गालवर्ष्या-  
श्रमनिकटसिंध्याल्यराजसेनानिवेशे पूर्वलिखितमासस्य शुक्रचतुर्दश्यां मूर्यास्तात् गतघटीषु नवसु,  
स्वहस्तेनैव लिखित्वा समाप्तिं प्रापितं.....

64. संन्यासभिक्षाविधिः—Complete. Folios 1–9, lines 7, letters 13, size  $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ अथ संन्यासभिक्षाविधिः ॥

End :

इति श्रीभक्षभक्षविचारः समाप्तः ॥

\* 65. आशौचे स्पृश्यत्वशुद्धिनिर्णयः—By महामहोपाध्याय लौगाक्षिभास्कर. Folios 1–3 a, lines 12, letters 28, size  $10\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ . Complete. Dated Śaka 1775.

Beginning :

वासुदेवं रमाकांतं नत्वा लौगाक्षिभास्करः  
करोत्याशौचित्वस्य निर्णयं शिष्टसंमतम् ॥ १ ॥

End : Folio No. 3a :

इति महामहोपाध्यायलौगाक्षिभास्करविरचित आशौचे स्पृश्यत्वशुद्धिनिर्णयः ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

\* 66. कर्तृविपर्ययविचारः—By भट्टभ्यंवरक. Folios 3a-5, lines 12, lines 29, size  $10\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$  Complete. Dated Śaka 1775.

Beginning :

श्रीमन्मदनगोपालं नत्वा व्यंबकशर्मेणा  
सम्यग् व्याख्यायते गृह्यपरिशिष्टस्थकारिका ॥  
असगोत्रः सगोत्रो वा यदि स्त्री यदि वा पुमान्  
प्रथमेऽहनि यो दद्यात् सदशाहं समापयेदिति ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति भट्टभ्यंवरकृतः कर्तृविपर्ययविचारः समाप्तः ॥.....श्रीमन्नृपशालिवाहनशके १७७५  
संवत् १९१० प्रमादीनामाब्दे मार्गशीर्षकृष्णपंचम्यां क्षेत्रपुण्यस्तम्भस्थश्रीवृद्धगंगातीरनिवासिगोन्धो-  
पनामकब्रह्मगिर्यात्मजलक्ष्मणावेति नाग्नौ पुस्तकं स्वकरेण सिंहाख्यराजसेनानिवेशे स्वपरार्थं लिखितं  
स्यात् ॥

## SECTION V—वेदान्त

67. ईशावास्यभाष्यम्—By महीधर. Complete. Folios 1-28, lines 7, letters 16, size  $6'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
गणेशं नृहरिं लक्ष्मीं नत्वा तत्त्वविदा मया  
संहिता चरमेध्याये वेददीपो वितन्यते ॥ १ ॥

End :

इति वाजसनेयसंहितायां महिधरभाष्ये चत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

68. ईशावास्तोपनिषद्भाष्यटीका—By नरेन्द्रपुरि. Complete. Folios 1-11, lines 11, letters 35, size  $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
येनात्मना परेशेशा व्याप्तं सर्वमशेषतः  
सोऽहं देवद्वयी साक्षा व्रजितो देहतद्गुणैः ॥ १ ॥

ईशावास्यमित्यादिमंत्रान्वयासुर्भगवान् भाष्यकारस्तेषां कर्मशेषत्वशंकां तावद्युदस्यति ॥

Colophon at the end :

ईशप्रभृतिभाष्यस्य शांकरस्य प्रमात्मनः  
मंदोषकृतिसिद्ध्यर्थं प्रणीतं टिप्पणं स्फुटम् ॥

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमन्नरेन्द्रपुर्यां विरचिते ईशावास्यभाष्यटीका संपूर्णा ज्ञाना...  
गोन्धोपनाम्ना आस्याभट्टेनेदं पुस्तकं स्वकरेणालेखि तस्यैवास्ते ॥.....

69. महावाक्यविवरणम्—By शंकराचार्य. Complete. Folios 1-10, lines 7, letters 13, size  $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ अथ षोडश महावाक्यानि लिख्यते ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीमत्संकराचार्यविरचितं महावाक्यं विवर्णं समाप्तं हरिः ॥

नारायणं पद्मभवं वशिष्टं शक्तिं च तत्पूत्रपराशरं च व्यासं शुक्रं भौडपदं मद्भूतं गोवीर्ययोगेन्द्र-  
मथास्य शिष्यं ॥ १ ॥ श्रीशंकराचार्यमथास्य पद्मपादं च हस्तामलकं च शिष्यं तत्रोटिकं वारककर्मभ्यत्  
मस्यद्गुल्लत्वं (?) सततं स्मरामि ॥

70. पञ्चीकरणवार्तिकम्—By सुरेश्वराचार्य. Complete. Folios 1-13, lines 7, letters 13, size  $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्री शिवो जयति ॥

शंकरं शंकराचार्यं ॥ केशव बादरायणं ॥

सूत्रभाष्यकृतौ वंदे भगवन्तौ पुनः पुनः ॥ १ ॥ etc.

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीमच्छंकरभक्त्यादपूज्याशिष्टां श्रीमत्सुरेश्वराचार्यविरचितं पञ्चिकर्णवार्तिकं संपूर्णम् ॥

71. वेदान्तपरिभाषा—By धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्र. Incomplete. Folios 1-18, lines 8, letters 28, size  $9'' \times 3\frac{5}{8}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

यदविद्याविलासेन भूतभौतिकसृष्टयः ॥

तं नामि परमात्मानं सच्चिदानन्दविग्रहं ॥ १ ॥

यद्वैवासीपंचास्यैर्निरस्ता भेदवारणाः ॥

तं प्रणामि नृसिंहाख्यं यतीन्द्रपरमं गुरुं ॥ २ ॥

ब्रह्मबोधाय मंदानां वेदांतार्थावलंबिनी

धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्रेण परिभाषा वितन्यते ॥ ३ ॥

End : Folio No. 18b.

अस्मिन्पक्षे च मिथ्यात्वलक्षणे पारमार्थिकत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकत्वस्य ।—

72. प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वानुमानखंडनविवरणम्—By जयतीर्थभिक्षु. Complete. Folios 1-15, lines 12, letters 31, size  $8'' \times 4''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीवेदव्यासाय नमः ॥

नत्वा विश्वोदयक्षेमलयहेतुं पतिं ध्रियः ॥

कुर्म प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वमानखंडनपञ्चकां ॥ १ ॥ etc.

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीमदानंदतीर्थभगवत्पादाचार्यकृतप्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वानुमानखंडनविवरणं जयतीर्थभिक्षुकृतं समाप्तं ॥

73. प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वानुमानखंडनपञ्चिकाव्याख्या—By श्रीनिवास. Complete. Folios 1-38, lines 13, letters 39, size  $8\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{8}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीरामं हनुमत्सेव्यं श्रीकृष्णं भीमसेवितं

श्रीव्यासं श्रीमदानंदतीर्थसेवितं भजे ॥ १ ॥

प्रणम्य यादवाचार्यगुरुणां पादपंकजे  
व्याख्यास्ये विश्वमिथ्यात्वमानखंडनपंचिकां ॥ २ ॥

Colophon at the end :

...श्रीमध्वकृतसिद्धांतं योभ्यधात् स्नेहतो मयि  
तं वंदे यादवाचार्यं गुरुं शिष्यकृपानिधिं ॥ २ ॥

इति श्रीमध्वपुत्रपुत्राचार्यपूज्यपादाराधकेन श्रीनिवासेन विरचिता प्रपंचमिथ्यात्वानुमान-

खंडनपंचिकाव्याख्या समाप्ता...

संवत्सरे प्रजात्यत्तौ शर्दता मासि कार्तिके ।  
पौर्णमास्यां तिथौ तस्मिन्वासरे सौम्यसंज्ञिके ॥ १ ॥  
मानखंडनमिथ्यात्वव्याख्यानं च शुभप्रदं ।  
लिखितं पूर्णबोधनं गुर्वनुग्रहतेजसा ।  
तेन तुष्टोभवेच्छ्रीशो मध्वहृत्पथसंस्थितः ॥

74. महाभारततत्पर्यनिर्णयः—By श्रीमदानंदतीर्थः. Incomplete. Folios 223–379, lines 9, letters 30, size 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ " × 4".

Beginning : Folio No. 223a :

पि तत्र ॥ चक्रे मत्सन्वाधिकान्सत्कथाभिर्वासं वाक्यं श्रद्धधानो हरेस्तत् ॥ १७१ ॥

End : Folio No. 379b :

पूज्येभ्यः पूर्वमेवैषां देहयातवर्ताप्सतां ॥ ८२ ॥ तत्कमा देहपातो—

#### SECTION VI—ज्योतिष ( ग्रह + फल )

75. ग्रहलाघवोदाहरणम्—By विश्वनाथभट्टः. Complete. Folios 1–103, lines 10, letters 30, size 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 4".

Beginning :

श्रीदुर्गविनायकाय नमः ॥ . . . श्रीबाजीभट्टगुरुचरणारविंदेभ्यो नमः ॥

ज्योतिर्विद्वरुणा गणेशगुरुणा निर्मथ्य शास्त्रांबुधि  
यथक्रे ग्रहलाघवं विवरणं कुर्वेस्य सत्प्रीतये ॥

स्मृत्वा शंभुसुतं दिवाकरसुतस्ताद्रश्चनाथः कृती  
जाग्रज्ज्योतिषगर्भगोकुलपरित्राणाय नारायणः ॥ १ ॥

श्रीमद्वरुणा गणेशदैवज्ञेन ये ग्रंथाः कृतास्ते तद्भातृपुत्रेण श्रीनृसिंहज्योतिर्विदा स्वकृतग्रह-  
लाघवटीकायां श्लोकद्वयेन निबद्धाः । तद्यथा ॥

कृत्वादां ग्रहलाघवं लघुबृहत्तिथ्यादिर्वितामणी  
सस्तिद्धांतशिरोमणेऽश्वविद्वृतिं लीलावतीव्याकृतिं ॥

श्रीबृंदावनदीकिं च विद्वृतिं मौहूर्ततत्त्वस्य वै  
संज्ञादादिर्विनिर्णयं सुविद्वृतिं छंदोर्णवाख्यस्य वै ॥

सुधीरंजनं तर्जनीयंत्रकं च सुकृष्णाष्टमीनिर्णयं होळिकायाः

लघुपायपातस्तथान्यानपूर्वान् गणेशो गुरुर्ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमापत् ॥ २ ॥

श्रीमत्कौशिकमुनिश्रेष्ठवंशोद्भवः पश्चिमजळधितीरनिकटवर्तिर्नक्षिग्रामनिवासी सकळभूमंडळपति-  
हरजितचरणयुगळाम्भोरुहनिखिलशास्त्रार्थप्रवीणाष्टादशसिद्धांतोपपत्तिकोविदः समस्तवैयाकरणाग्रणीरगणित-  
गणितशास्त्रविचारसारचतुरो ज्योतिर्विष्णुकुळावतंसः श्रीमत्केशवदैवज्ञात्मजः श्रीमद्गणेशो दैवज्ञवर्यवर्यः  
ग्रहलाघवाख्यं करणं चिकीर्षुः...

( Probable date—Not earlier than Śaka 1535. )

End : Folio No. 102-103a :

अनेन प्रकारेण नैजदेशे स्वदेशे पळभावशात् उदयमथवा खमय्यं वास्तमयं वजस्तु प्रामुवत्सु  
अश्विन्यादिनक्षत्रेषु सत्सु धीः बुद्धिमान् स्थिरलक्ष्मकानि सुखार्थं विदधीत कुर्यादित्यर्थः ॥ एवं जातानि  
उदयमध्यास्तलक्ष्मकानि ॥ इति ग्रहलाघवउदाहरणस्य दशमाधिकारः सः ॥

\*76. ग्रहप्रबोधस्य उदाहरणम्—By यादवभट्ट, Śaka 1685. Complete. Folios 13, lines 9, letters 25, size  $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{7}{8}''$ .

Beginning :

नागनाथं गुरुं नत्वा यादवेन वितन्यते  
ग्रहप्रबोधसंभूतमूदाहरणमदगत् ॥ १ ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति ग्रहप्रबोधस्योदाहरणं समाप्तं ॥ शके १६८५ सुभानुनामसंवत्सरे श्रावणशुद्धप्रतिपदा १  
बुधवासरे तद्दिने जनार्दनभट्टेन ग्रहप्रबोधमुदाहरणं समाप्तं ॥ मगमत ॥.....

77. नक्षत्रसारणीअयनांश—Complete piece with tables. Folio 1, size  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10''$ .

\*78. नीलकंठीज्योतिषप्रकरणम्—with a Commentary by विश्वनाथभट्ट—Śaka 1725. Complete. Folios 1-63, lines 11, letters 30, size  $10\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीमहालक्ष्मी पल्लिनाथाभ्यांनमः.....  
चंडीकुंडलमाकलय्य कुतुकादंबाभण्डाग्रं  
कृत्वा तांडवतुंबरे पशुपतेः खेलः खलु शृंखलं  
चंडाशोरिव मंडलं तदुपरीं संदर्शयन्नंबरे  
हेरंबो जगदंबिकां विहसयन्वः श्रेयसे गर्जतां ॥ १ ॥

Colophon at the end :

अथ ग्रंथालंकारः ॥ तत्रादौ पितामहवर्णनमाह—  
अ ( आ ) सीदसीमगुणमंडितपंडिताग्र्यो  
व्याख्यद्वजंगपगवीः श्रुतिवित्सुवृत्तः ।  
साहित्यनीतिनिपुणो गणितागमज्ञं  
चिंतामणिर्विपुलगर्गकुलावतंसः ॥ ६३ ॥  
तदात्मजोनंतगुणोत्सृज्यंतो  
योऽब्धौ सङ्कुप्तिः किल कामधेनुः  
संतुष्टये जातकपदातिं च  
न्यरूपयद्दुष्टमतं निरस्य ॥ ६४ ॥

पद्मांबया साविततो विपश्चि—

च्छीनीलकंठः श्रुतिशास्त्रनिष्ठः

विद्वच्छिवप्रीतिकरं व्यथस्तां

संज्ञाविवेकैः सहमावतंसं ॥ ६५ ॥

इति श्रीमद्विवाकरदैवज्ञसुतविश्वनाथदैवज्ञविरचिते नीलकंठज्योतिर्विकृतसंज्ञातंत्रे सप्तमाध्यायस्य व्याख्योदाहृति समाप्ता ॥ . . .

शके १७२५ रथीरोद्वारिनामसंवत्सरे मार्गशीर्षकृष्ण ३ गुरुवासरे लेखनं चिकणप्राप्ते समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ . . . इदं पुस्तकं खांडेकरोपनामकभाष्याजीसुतराचवाख्यानानामस्ति ॥ . . .

\*79. नीलकंठीफलश्रुतिप्रकर्ण— By नीलकंठ, Śaka 1726. Complete. Folios 1-28, lines 10, size  $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

. . . अथ नीलकंठी लिख्यते ॥

स्वस्वाभिलाषं न हि लब्धुमीशा

निर्विघ्नमीशानमुखाः सुरोधाः ॥

विना प्रसादं किल यस्य नौमि

तं दुर्द्विराजं मतिलाभहेतुं ॥ १ ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीमदैवज्ञानंतसुतनीलकंठरचिते वर्षफले वर्षविवेके मासफलाध्यायः समाप्तः ॥ . . . शके १७२६ ज्येष्ठकृष्णत्रयोदश्यां गुरुवासरे पुस्तकेदं खांडेकरोपनामकभाष्याजीसुतराचवेण लिखितं सत्समाप्तं ॥ . . .

80. बुद्धिविलासः—Incomplete. Folios 1-15, lines 10, letters 24, size  $8\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥ मल्लारिमातृडाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्योनमः ॥

सिद्धिबुद्धिसमाश्लष्टं दशदोर्दडमंडितं ॥

महागणपतिं वंदे शुंडामंडलशोभितः ॥ १ ॥ etc.

End : Folio No. 15b :

अन्यलभे स्त्रियास्तित्तो बुधैः प्रोक्ता विचक्षणैः ॥

अथवा चंद्रलभांतं ग्रहं लभ्या मताः ॥

\*81. शीघ्रबोधः—By काशिनाथ भट्टाचार्य, Samvat 1796. Complete. Folios 1-63, lines 9, letters 20, size  $9'' \times 5''$ .

Beginning :

सधि श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वरस्वती नमः ॥

भासयंतं ज ( ग ) द्वासाः नत्वा भास्वतमद्वयं

क्रिये ( य ) ते काशिनाथेन शीघ्रबोधाय संप्रहं ॥ १ ॥



Colophon at the end of the first प्रकरण—Folio 19a ;

इति श्रीकाशीनाथभट्टाचार्यकृते शीघ्रबोधे.....

Colophon at the end :

संवत् १७९६ वर्षे मती फागुणवदी तेरसी १३ पौथी लषीतं जोसी भवानीदास बेटा अपराम  
सुबा ग्राम फलाई था मध्ये वास तुभ्यं ॥ पोथी लषाई तं ब्रह्मण आटोणीको स्यामजीः ॥

82. तिथिसारोद्धारः—By राघवभट्ट. Incomplete. Folios 1–4, lines 12, letters 34, size 10" × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Beginning :

स्मृत्यर्थसारं हेमाद्रिं माधवं निर्णयामृतं  
वीक्ष्य निर्णयसिंधुं च स्मृतिदर्पणमादरात् ॥ १ ॥  
निर्णयो द च नः मारमुक्तोद्धारकरोम्यहं  
राघवो विदुषां प्रीत्यै निर्णयोद्धारमामकं ॥ २ ॥

End : Folio No. 4.

कन्यायां पराः षोडश ॥ १६ ॥ तुलायां प्रागूर्ध्वं दश ॥ १० ॥ वृश्चिके पूर्वा षोडश ॥ १६ ॥

83. चन्द्रप्रभापद्धतिः ( जातके गणितं )—By राघवभट्ट. Complete. Folios 1–11, lines 10, letters 22, size 8" × 5".

Beginning :

श्रीमहालक्ष्मीपल्लीनाथाभ्यां नमः ।...  
मांगल्यैकनिधिं गणेशममलां बागदेवतां श्रीपतिं  
मां सांबं विहगान् गुरुन् स्वपितरं दैवज्ञवयान् कर्मान्  
नत्वा जातकपद्धतीर्विरचिताः पुर्वैस्तु निर्मथ्यता—  
स्तत्सारं प्रतिगृह्य राघव इमां कूर्वे परां पद्धतिं ॥ १ ॥  
जातकताजिकफलितं विलोक्य संदेशतो रमाजानेः  
कूर्वे विशुधीगम्यां पद्धतिचन्द्रप्रभां बुधप्रीत्यै ॥ २ ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीखांडेकरोपनामकभापापंतसुतराघवपंतविरचिता पद्धतिचंद्रिका समाप्ता ॥.....

84. स्वप्नफलाध्याय (?)—Nameless MS., fully illustrated in pen and ink on a red background, having as many verses as pictures illustrating the subject of each verse and dealing with prognosticating dreams. Folios 5–95, lines 4, letters 8, size 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ " × 2".

Beginning : Folio No. 5a.

धनवृद्धि शुभाप्रीति । रत्नलाभ तथोत्तमः ।  
वज्रवैद्यैर्यलाभश्च । शंखयुग्मप्रसादतः ॥

End : Folio No. 95a

सर्वकार्येभ्यस्संसेद्विनु । त्रिपुष्टिं तथैव च ।  
कल्याणं मंगलावेव स्वेतपक्ष न विनद्दशे ॥ १ ॥

On folio No. 95b there is a picture of दिगंबर which has become extremely faint and unrecognisable. The Sanskrit of this MS. is very faulty and full of scribal errors.

## SECTION VII—तर्क and न्याय

85. तर्कसंग्रहः—By अक्षभट्ट. Complete. Folios 1–8, lines 10, letters 35, size  $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नतिरस्तु ॥ निधाय हृदि विश्वेशं विधाय गुःवंदनं ॥  
बालानां सुखबोधाय क्रियते तर्कसंग्रहः ॥ १ ॥

End :

इत्यक्षभट्टेन विरचितस्तर्कसंग्रहः समाप्तः ॥

\*86. — Do — Śaka 1712, Complete. Folios 1–14, lines 8, letters 21, size  $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीमोहिनीराजाय नमः ॥ निधायहृदि विश्वेशं.....

Colophon at the end :

शके १७१२ श्रावणशुद्ध १० गुरौ मया नारायणकृपेनायं तर्कसंग्रहः लिखितः ॥  
श्रीमोहिनीकुलदैवतेन ॥

87. तर्कसंग्रहदीपिका—Complete. Folios 1–30, lines 9, letters 28, size  $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्री मोहिनीराजाय नमः ॥  
विश्वेश्वरं सांबमूर्तिं प्रणिपत्य गिरां गुरुं  
टीकां शिशुहितां कुर्वे तर्कसंग्रहदीपिकां ॥ १ ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीमदनामद्वैपाच्यायकृततर्कसंग्रहदीपिका समाप्ता ॥  
वंकपुरानिसीनो परकार्यरतेन च दादनामकपुत्रेण लिखिता तर्कदीपिका ॥ १ ॥

88. — Do — Complete. Folios 1–34, lines 10, letters 31, size  $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीमल्लबकणो जयतितराम् ॥ विश्वेश्वरं सांबमूर्तिं ० etc,

End : Folio No. 34b :

इति तर्कसंग्रहदीपिका समाप्ता ।

It seems from the preceding page that the MS. is not quite complete.

\*89. सप्तपदार्थी—By शिवादित्य. Complete. Folios 1–10, lines 11, letters 30, size  $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Title-page :

इदं पुस्तकं कोळवेशोपनामकनारायणाचार्यसुतेन वेदव्यासेन लिखितं सप्तपदार्थाः पर्णानि ॥ ८ ॥

Beginning :

श्रीर्वेकटेशाय नमः ॥ हेतवे जगतामेव संसारार्णवसेतवे ॥ प्रभवे सर्वविद्यानां शंभवे गुरवे नमः ॥ १ ॥

End :

इति शिवादित्यकृता सप्तपदार्थी समाप्ता ।

॥ शके १५८९ चैत्र ४ ॥

\*90. सप्तपदार्थीदानखंडनम्—By नागनाथ, Incomplete. Folios 1–16, lines 10, ( folios Nos. 5, 9, 13, 14 missing ) letters 30, size  $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ . Samvat 1658.

Beginning :

...यस्यांगे वसते लक्ष्मीस्तं वंदे जगतः पतिं  
प्रत्यूहनाशकं देवं भक्तेप्सितकरं विशुं ॥ १ ॥  
सयुक्तिं क्रियते सप्तपदार्थीखंडखंडनं  
विभागं समुपेक्ष्यैव कौतुकं श्रूयतामिति ॥ २ ॥  
येनायं श्रूयते ग्रंथस्तेन सर्वे पराजिताः  
विद्वांसो विजयस्तेन हस्ते तिष्ठति[ष्टति] निश्चितं ॥ ३ ॥  
नागनाथकृतो ग्रंथो रोचतां सज्जनाय वै  
खंडनस्य प्रकाशोयं संक्षिप्तोप्यर्थवानयं ॥ ४ ॥

Colophon at the end :

शिवादित्यकृतेः खंडखंडनं धारयेत् सुधी  
तेन भूमंडलं सर्वं जितं भाविनवेदिति ॥ १ ॥  
इदं कृतं खंडनमार्यबुध्या वेदांतनिष्णातधिया पदाब्जे  
वेदांतविद्यस्य विभोनिवेदि पश्यंतु सर्वे सुजनाश्चरित्रं ॥ २ ॥  
पदाब्जसेवकेनेदं विदुषां विदुषाकृतं ।  
खंडनं शनीयं स्याद्विद्वद्भिर्गुणतत्परैः ॥ ३ ॥  
सुजनेभ्यो नमस्तेभ्यो ये गुणेष्वेव तत्पराः  
ये दोषदहने माद्यस्तेषां शिष्याम्यहंकृती ॥ ४ ॥

इति श्रीनागनाथकृतशिवादित्यकृतसप्तपदार्थीलक्षणखंडनं समाप्तमिति ॥ नागनाथकृतं सप्तपदार्थीदानखंडनं समाप्तमिति ॥...संवत् १६५८ वर्षे भाद्रपदकृष्णपक्षे तिथौ अष्टम्यां भौमवासरा-  
न्वितायां लिखितमिदं सप्तपदार्थीखंडनं ॥

91. न्यायमाला—Complete. Folios 1–38, lines 9, letters 31, size  $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4''$ .

Title-page :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

श्रीवासुदेवं नवनीरदाभं रमाधरालंकृतपार्श्वभागं ॥

मत्स्यादिरूपः कृतलोकतोषं विद्यानिदानं परमं नमामि ॥ १ ॥

अक्षपादं मुनिं नत्वा कणादं च ततःपरं  
लौगाक्षिणा भास्करेण तन्यते तर्ककौमुदी ॥ २ ॥  
॥ अथ न्यायमाला प्रारंभा ॥

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ निर्विघ्नमस्तु ॥ न्यायमालया आदौ स्वकीयग्रंथत्वद्योतनाय स्वमुद्रारूपमने-  
कार्यगर्भं देवतानमस्कारप्रतिपादकं श्लोकं पठति ॥ वागीशाद्या सुमनसः—

End : Folio No. 38b :

॥ इति न्यायमाला समाप्ता ॥

### SECTION VIII—तंत्र and योग

92. तंत्रसारसंग्रहः—By आनंदतीर्थ. Incomplete. Folios 1-4, Chapters I; 2-16, Chapters II & III; 1-19 upto the end of Chapter IV, lines 7, letters 28, size  $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$ .

Beginning : Folio No. 2a :

णभेदिताः ॥ ५ ॥ द्विरष्टपचक्रचतुःपंचत्येवाष्टवर्गगाः ॥

End :

इति श्रीमदानंदतीर्थभगवत्पादाचार्यविरचिते श्रीमत्तंत्रसारसंग्रहे चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥  
संपूर्ण श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥

93. शिवयोगदर्पणसंग्रहः—Complete. Folios 1-5, lines 8, letters 15, size  $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥  
भ्रुवोर्मध्ये शिवस्थानं मनस्तत्र विलीयते ॥  
ज्ञातव्यं तत्पदं दिव्यं तत्र कालो न विद्यते ॥ १ ॥

End :

इति शिवयोगदर्पणसंग्रहः समाप्तः ॥

94. शिवयोगसारसंग्रहः—Complete. Folios 20, lines 8, letters 15, size  $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीशिवयोगसारसंग्रहो लिख्यते ॥ श्रीपांडुरंगाय नमः ॥  
ज्योतिर्ध्यानात्सदायोगी योगसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥  
सर्वभूतहृदिस्थोसौ ज्वलत्पावकसंनिभः ॥ १ ॥

End :

इति श्रीशिवयोगसारसंग्रहः ॥

### SECTION IX—व्याकरण

95. सारस्वतव्याकरण-टीका—By पुंजराज. Complete. Folios 1-120, lines 14, letters 43, size  $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .

**Beginning :**

ॐ श्रीसर्वज्ञाय नमः ॥ प्रणम्य परमात्मानं बालधीवृद्धिसिद्धये ।  
सारस्वतीमृजुं कुर्वे प्रक्रियां नातिविस्तरां ॥ १ ॥

**Colophon at the end:**

पं । कमलविजयशिष्यमु । पुन्यविजय ॥ बधेका कृपाराम.

\*96. षड्ङ्गिरूपावलिः, Complete. Folios 1-12, lines 12, letters 26, size  $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{7}{8}''$ . Dated Śaka 1718.

**Beginning :**

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीनृसिंहाय नमः ॥.....  
रामः रामौ रामाः ॥ १ ॥ etc.

**Colophon at the end :**

शके १७१८ नळनामाब्दे दक्षिणायणे सरदस्तौ अश्विनमासे शुक्लपक्षे तिथ्यां १ प्रतिपदा  
रवावासरे तद्दिनेदं पुस्तकं त्रितियप्रहरी समाप्तं ॥ मगमत् ॥.....इदं पुस्तकं लवनोपम्ना नृसिंहसुनु  
भिकंभट्टेन लिखितं.....श्रिसत्यश्रिगवासिने नमः.....

**SECTION X—गणित**

\*97. पाटीगणिताध्यायः—By भास्कराचार्य, Dated Śaka 1583. Complete. Folios 1-41, lines 13, letters 32, size  $10'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .

**Beginning :**

श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥.....॥ श्रीमद्वाजीभट्टपरमगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥.....श्रीमच्छंकरभट्ट  
गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥.....

प्रीतिं भक्तजनस्य यो जनयते विघ्नं विनिघ्नन् स्मृत—  
स्तं श्रुदारकचुन्दवंदितपदं नत्वा मतंगाननं ॥  
पाटीं सद्गणितस्य वच्मि चतुरप्रीतिप्रदां प्रस्फुटां  
संक्षिप्ताक्षरकोमळामळपदैर्लालित्य लीलावतीं ॥ १ ॥

**Colophon on folio 41a:**

इति श्रीभास्कराचार्यविरचिते सिद्धांतशिरोमणौ लीलावत्यभिधः पाटीगणिताध्याया समाप्तः ॥  
शके १५८३ एवनामाब्दे दक्षिणायने याम्यगोळाश्रिते श्रीमत्पद्मिनीरमणे घटगते शरदस्तौ आश्विनमासे  
बहुळपक्षे नवम्यां तिथौ रविवासरे पुण्यनक्षत्रे साध्ययोगे तत्काळकरणे गराख्ये एवं पंचांगशुद्धौ सत्यां  
पुण्यस्तंभादध उत्तरे तीरे चतुर्योजनमिते गौतमीतीरस्थनूपुरग्रामवासिना दैवज्ञविश्वनाथभट्टात्मजेन  
नृहरिणालिखितमिदं लीलावतीपुस्तकं.....

**SECTION XI—कोश**

98. एकाक्षरनिघण्टः—By बररुचि. Complete. Folios 1-4, lines 9, letters 26, size  $10'' \times 4''$ .

**Beginning :**

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

सर्वासामेवविद्यानां रुचिं जानाति यो बुधः

ख्यातो बररुचिर्भूयो निघंटमकरोत्पुधीः ॥ १ ॥

एकाक्षरमिति ख्यातं सर्वविद्वन्मनोहरं  
सामर्थ्यं सर्वविद्यानां ज्ञानं तेषां बलाबलं ॥ २ ॥  
गंगासुमामुमौपासं सनम्याहं करोमि च  
काव्यकौशलसिद्धयर्मेकाक्षरनिघंटकं ॥ ३ ॥

Colophon at the end :

इति वररुचिप्रोक्तं योबल्येव निघंटकं  
गणये च यथाकामं ख्यातिस्तस्य प्रवर्तते ॥ ४ ॥

इति वररुचिबिरचित एकाक्षरनिघंटः समाप्तः ॥

## SECTION XII—काव्य

99-103. रामायण— By वाल्मीकि.

\*(i) आरण्यकाण्ड—Complete. Folios 1-88, lines 10, letters 44, size, 12½" × 5". Dated, Samvat 1676.

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीरामचंद्राय नमः ॥  
प्रतिप्रयाते भरते वसन् रामस्तपोवने ।  
लक्षयामास सोद्वेगांस्तत्रारण्यनिवासिनः ॥

End :

इत्यार्षे रामायणे आरण्यकाण्डे महर्षिवाल्मीकिविरचिते रामोन्मादो नाम सर्गाः ॥ समाप्तमारण्यकाण्ड-  
मिति ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ श्रीरामचंद्राय नमः ॥ संवत् १६७६ समये फाल्गुनवदि ॥

(ii) किष्किंघाकाण्ड—Complete. Folios 1-93, lines 10, letters 44, size 12½" × 5".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीरामचंद्राय नमः ॥  
तौ तु दृष्ट्वा महात्मानौ भ्रातरौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ॥  
वरायुधधरौ वीरौ सुग्रीवः लवगाधिपः ॥

End :

इत्यार्षे रामायणे किष्किंघाकाण्डे महर्षिवाल्मीकिविरचिते सागरलंघनो नाम सर्गः ॥

\*(iii) सुंदरकाण्ड—Complete. Folios 1-136, lines 10, letters 44, size 12½" × 5". Dated, Samvat 1676.

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीरामचंद्राय नमः श्रीवाल्मीकिमुनये नमः ॥  
जितं भगवता तेन हरिणा लोकधारिणा  
अजेन विभुरूपेण निर्गुणेन गुणात्मना ।

End :

इत्यार्षे रामायणे सुंदरकाण्डे राक्षसंत्रोनाम सर्गः सुंदरकाण्डं समाप्तं शुभमस्तु संवत् १६७६.

(iv) युद्धकाण्ड—Complete. Folios 1-186, lines 10, letters 44, size 12½" × 5".

**Beginning :**

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीरामचंद्राय नमः ॥  
 ससैन्ये सागरं तीर्थे रामे दशरथात्मजे  
 अमात्यै रावणः श्रीमानब्रवीद्धुकसारणौ ॥

**End :**

॥ समाप्तं युद्धकाण्डं ॥  
 कथमिह हि पराभ [ वं ] ब्रजेयुः  
 पुरुषवरं [ ] समाश्रिता ये ॥  
 इह जगति चतुर्भुजाश्रयाणां  
 भवति भवे सर्वसंपदां पूरः ॥

इत्यार्षे रामायणे महर्षिवाल्मीकिविरचिते युद्धकाण्डे रामप्रयानो नाम सर्गः शुभमस्तुः

\*(v) युद्धकाण्ड—Incomplete. Dated, Śaka 1603. Folios 3–204 upto the end, lines 12, letters 36, size  $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning : Folio No. 3a :

ण च वाहिनी । मन्यामहे सुदुर्द्धषां संद्वैरपि सुरासुरैः ॥  
 ..... इत्यार्षे रामायणे युद्धकाण्डे शुकसारणप्रवेशो नाम सर्गः ॥

Colophon at the end :

संवत् १७३८ वर्षे शाके १६०३ प्रवर्त्तमाने दक्षिणायनगते सवितरि कार्तिकमासे कृष्णपक्षे दशम्यां बुधे लिखितोयं काशीरामेण दिग्पालपुरस्थायिना श्रीकृष्णभक्तिमभीप्सता ॥...

104. सावित्र्युपाख्यान—Extract from the महाभारत, Seven Chapters complete. Folios 1–21, lines 10, letters 25, size  $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीभद्रकालिचरणारविंदाभ्यां नमः ॥ श्रीकेशवसद्गुरुदत्तात्रेयचरणकमलाभ्यान्नमः ॥ युधिष्ठिर उवाच ॥

नात्मानमनुशोचामि नेमान्भ्रातृन्महामुने  
 हरणं चापि राज्यस्य यथेमां ह्रुपदात्मजाम् ॥ १ ॥

End :

यश्चंदं शृणुयाद्भक्त्या सावित्र्याख्यानमुत्तमम्  
 स सुखी सर्वसिद्धार्थो न दुःखं प्राप्नुयान्नरः ॥ १७ ॥  
 इत्यारण्यके सावित्र्युपाख्याने सप्तमोऽध्यायः ॥ ७ ॥

105. जैमिनी-अश्वमेध—Complete. Folios 1–54, lines 13, letters 42, size  $14'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशाय नमः । जनमेजय उवाच ॥

कथं युधिष्ठिरः प्रीतो मम पूर्वपितामहः ॥ हयमेधं क्रतुवरं चक्रे बंधुभिरन्वितः ॥

End :

इति श्रीमहाभारते आश्वमेधिके पर्वणि संपूर्णे पर्वश्रवणफलसमाप्तिर्नाम शप्ततिमोऽध्यायः ॥

106. रघुवंश—सर्ग ४ with महिनायटीका—Complete. Folios 1–35, lines 7, letters 21, size  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ शारदा शारदांभोजवदना० ॥

End :

इति श्रीपदवाक्यप्रमाणजपारावारीणश्रीमन्महोपाध्यायकोलाचलमल्लीनाथसूरविरचितायां रघुवंश व्याख्यायां सजीविनीसमाख्यायां चतुर्थः सर्गः ॥ श्रीमोहिनिराजाय नमः ॥ मगमत् ॥

\*107. — Do — सर्ग ५ — Do — Dated Śaka 1759. Complete. Folios 1–36, lines 7, letters 32, size  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीनृसिंहाय नमः ॥

॥ इंदीवरदस्यामं भिदिरानंदकंदल० ॥

Colophon at the end :

शके १७५९ हेमलंबीनाम संवत्सरे माघवद्य सप्तमी शनवार गंगातीरक्षेत्रपुण्यस्तंबग्रामे लक्ष्मण महादेव व्यासेन लिखितं .....

\*108. — Do — Text only. Dated, Śaka 1716. Incomplete. Folios I. 2–7 Incom. III & IV. 9–22 Incom.; VIII 1–8 Complete; XII–XIX. 69–74. Incom. and 76–122 complete, lines 7 letters 34, size  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ .

Beginning : Folio No. 2a :

वार्द्धिक्ये मुनिवृत्तीनां योगेनांते तनुत्यजां ॥ ८ ॥

Canto II, folio No. 10a.

Beginning :

दिगंतसंपदां ॥ यथाक्रमं पुंसवनादिकां क्रिया धृतेश्च धीरः सदृशीर्व्यधत्त सः ॥ १० ॥

Ends with verse No. 10a.

श्रीरघुवंशे महा—

Canto III & IV complete. Folio No. 29 end :

Canto VIII complete. Cantos IX, X, XI missing.

Canto XII : Folio No. 84a. One folio missing ; so that verses between Śloka No. 100 of the XII and the 4th of XIII are lost.

Beginning :

तुः ॥ मातुर्न केवलं स्वस्याः श्रियोप्यासीत्पराङ्मुखः ॥ १३ ॥

—Complete upto the end of Canto. XIX.

Colophon at the end :

शके १७१६ श्रीप्रमादीनामान्दे श्रावणशुद्धतृतीयायां शृगुवासरे पूर्वादिवसनक्षत्रे तद्दिने बाळं-  
बाख्ये देशे सत्यपुर्याख्यनृसिंहदेवधान्यां निवासी श्रीमन्मासोपनामकनारायणसूरितनूजेन माहादेवेन  
लिखितोयं श्रीमद्रघुवंशाख्यग्रंथः समाप्तिमगमत् ॥

109. कुमारसंभवम्—Text—सर्ग ५. Complete. Folios 24–32, lines 9, letters 25, size  $9'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ .



Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

तथा समक्षं दहता मनोभवं ॥

End :

इति श्रीकुमारसंभवे महाकाव्ये कालिदासकृतौ गौरीतपःफलोदयो नाम पंचमः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥

110. —Do— With **मल्लिनाथ's** Commentary, Canto II. Complete. Folios 1-12, lines 11, letters 30, size  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ यावन्नागाधिपः शेषो विभर्ति शिरसि महीं ॥ १ ॥

End :

इति श्रीमहोपाध्यायकोलाचलमल्लिनाथसूरविरचितायां कुमारसंभवटीकायां संदेहविषौषच्यां संजीविनीसमाख्यायां द्वितियोध्यायः समाप्तः ॥ २ ॥

111. —Do—सर्ग ३, **मल्लिनाथटीका**—Complete. Folios 1-18, lines 11, letters 34, size  $10'' \times 5''$ .

\*112. **शृंगारविलासः**—By कालिदास. Dated संवत् 1798. Complete. Folios 1-6, lines 6, letters 23.

On the title-page :

मेघानां च घटाघटाघटघटा घटाघटा गर्जते ॥

विद्वंती च चिकीमुकी चिकिमुकी चीकीमुकी दृश्यते ॥

मंडूकस्य मुकोमुको मुकमुको माकोमुको श्रूयते

मासे भाद्रपदे सकर्द्धमवसे गच्छंतु ते रात्रयः ॥ १ ॥

Beginning :

शिवाभ्यां नमः ॥ बाहू द्वौ च मृणालमास्यकमलं ॥

Colophon at the end :

लिषतमिदं धनराजेन स्वात्मने ॥ संवत् १७९८

113. **घटस्पर्षकाव्यम्**—By कालिदास, with a Commentary by Śankara, Canto I only. Complete. Folios 1-16, lines 10, letters 21, size  $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ पंचभिः श्लोकैः कुलकमाह ॥ तत्र काचित्प्रोषितभर्तृका ०...

Colophon at the end :

इति श्रीघटस्पर्षकस्य काव्यस्य टीकायां शंकरविरचितायां प्रथम सर्ग ॥ १ ॥ इदं तु बासुदेव रघुनाथेन लेखनं कारितं स्यात् ॥

114. **किराताजुनीयम्**—**मल्लिनाथटीका**—सर्ग २. Complete. Folios 1-30, lines 9, letters 28, size  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥

विहितं प्रियया मनः प्रिया ०—

End :

इति पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारिणश्रीमहोपाध्यायकोलाचलमल्लिनाथसूरिविरचितायां किरातार्जुनीय-  
व्याख्यायां घंटापथसमाख्यायां द्वितीय सर्गः समाप्तः ॥

॥ इदं गंगाधरवेदाध्यायिना लिखितं ॥

115. —Do—सर्ग ४. Complete. Folios 1-15, lines 8, letters 38, size  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{8}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ तत इति ॥ ततः प्रस्थानानंतरं ० ॥

End :

इति श्रीमहोपाध्याय कोला ० .....चतुर्थसर्गसमाप्तः ॥

116. सौन्दर्यलहरी—By शंकराचार्य. Incomplete. Folios 2-19, lines, letters 30, size  $6'' \times 4''$ .

Beginning : Folio No. 2a :

निममाना दंष्ट्रा मुररिपुवराहस्य भवती ॥ ३ ॥

End :

इति श्रीशंकराचार्यविरचिता सौन्दर्यलहरी समाप्ता ॥

117. गीतगोविंदम्—By जयदेव. Incomplete. Folios 1-20, lines 17, letters 28, size  $9\frac{3}{8}'' \times 9\frac{1}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

मेघैर्मेदुरमंबरं वनभुवः श्यामास्तमालद्रुमै—

नेक्तं भीरुरयं त्वमेव तदिमं राधे गृहं प्रापय ॥

इत्थं नंदनिदेशतश्चलितयोः प्रत्यध्वकुंजद्रुमं

राधामाधवयोर्यति यमुनाकूले रहःकेलयः ॥ १ ॥

End : Folio No. 20b :

इत्थं केलिकलाविहृत्य यमुनाकूले समं राधया

तद्रोमावलिमौक्तिकावलियुगे वेणी भ्रमं विभ्रति

तत्राल्हादकुचप्रयोगफलयोः लिप्ता भृते हस्तयोर्व्यापारा—

\* 118. गंगालहरी—By जगन्नाथपंडित. Complete. Folios 1-6, lines 13 letters 31, size  $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीमल्लारये नमः ॥

समृद्धं सौभाग्यं सकलवसुधायाः—

End :

इति श्रीजगन्नाथपंडित विरचिता गंगालहरी समाप्ता ॥

शके रसखमुनिभूयुते क्रोधिन्वन्दे तपस्यासितगौरीतिथौ गो-होपनाम्ना रामेणेयं पीयूषलहरी  
समापिता स्वशयेनेति विदांकुर्वतु सुधिय इति दिक् ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

\*119. नीतिशतपत्रम्—By अच्युत, with a commentary by श्रीहरि. Dated Śaka 1760. Complete. Folios 1–8 Text Comm. 1–31, lines 12, letters 45, size 10" × 4".

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगौर्यालिंगितं वंदे सुप्रसन्नं सदाशिवं । युक्तं गुह्यगणेशाभ्यां स्तुतं वेदैः  
सुरैरपि ॥ १ ॥

Colophon at the end of the Text :

इत्यच्युतविरचितं नीतिशतपत्रं संपूर्णं हस्ताक्षर अभिहोत्रीत्युपनामकबालंभटेन लिखितं ॥  
अशुद्ध असत्यास शिष्या न दद्यात् ॥

Colophon at the end of the commentary :

इति श्रीमदच्युतपदपंक्तजपरागलीनश्रीहरिविरचितं नीतिशतपत्रविकासात्मकं टीकाजातं  
समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ शके १७६० विलंबी नाम संवत्सरे मासोत्तमे मासे पौषमासे कृष्णपक्षे पंचम्यां  
तिथौ मंदवासरे तद्दिने सींदरकरोत्युपनामकरामचंद्रभट्टस्य सुत बालंभटेन लिख्यते ॥

120. रामशतम्—By केशवभट्ट लौगाक्षि. Complete. Folios 1–14, lines 7. letters 32, size 10" × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Beginning :

॥ श्रीमद्धनंजयजबंधवे नमः ॥  
वामांगे जनकात्मजां कटितटे वासस्तब्धित्संनिभं  
चंचत्कांचनकुंडले श्रवणयोर्वक्षस्थले कौस्तुभं ॥  
कस्तूरीतिलकं दधानमलिके विज्ञानमुद्रांकितं  
रामं सांद्रपयोदमुंदरतनुं ध्यायाम्ययोध्यापतिं ॥ १ ॥

Colophon at the end :

श्रीलौगाक्षिकुलारविंदतरणिर्माध्यंदिनाम्नायविन्—  
मीमांसायुगतर्कनंत्रचतुरः साहित्यरत्नाकरः ॥  
रामश्लोकशतं चकार मुकृती गोदातटप्रोद्धसत्—  
पुण्यस्तंभनिवासिकेशवसुतानंतात्मजः केशवः ॥ १०१ ॥

इति श्रीमन्माध्यंदिनीयलौगाक्षिकुलसंभूतसकलपंडितमंडलीमंडायमानभट्टकेशवसुतानंतभट्टसुत-  
केशवभट्टेन विरचितं रामशतं संपूर्णं ॥

121. रामार्याष्टोत्तरशतम्—By महामुद्गलभट्टाचार्य. Complete. Folios 1–8, lines 10, letters 31, size 10" × 4".

Beginning :

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
त्वयि विमुखे मखमुख्ये सख्येनान्यस्य कस्य जीवामि ॥  
जीवामितभवदर्पितवसनाशनमात्रजीवनाः सर्वे ॥ १ ॥

End :

इति श्रीमन्महामुद्गलभट्टाचार्यकृतरामचंद्रार्याष्टोत्तरशतसंपूर्णं ॥

SECTION XIII—नाटक

122. हनुमन्नाटक—Incomplete. Folios 1-18, lines 8, letters 52, size  $12\frac{7}{8}'' \times 4''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीकेशवसद्गुरुदत्तात्रेयचरणसरोजभ्यां नमो भूयादजस्रम् ॥ श्रीहनुमते नमः ॥  
ससीतं सानुजं रामं सङ्ग्वंगं नमामि तन्  
यन्नामस्मरणेनैव दृष्टत्संघोषि आतरत् ॥ १ ॥

End : Folio No. 18.

॥ मारुतिः ॥ ये चत्वारो दिनकरकुले क्षत्रसंतानवली-  
मालाम्लानस्तबकमधुपा जङ्गिरे राजपुत्राः ॥  
रामस्तेषामभवदमलस्ताटकाकालरात्रि-  
प्रत्यूषोयं सुचरितकथाकं—

123. —Do—टिप्पणी—Incomplete. Folios 1-5, lines 8, letters 52, size  $12\frac{7}{8}'' \times 4''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

अथ हनुमन्नाटकाप्रथमस्य टीकायाश्चिट्ठणं ॥ श्लोकः ५ उर्वीवर्बरेत्यत्र बर्बरौ राक्षसाधमाविति  
धरणिः ॥—etc.

End : Folio No. 5a :

॥ ३६ ॥ अवतीर्यतेस्मिन्निति अवतरणं वासस्थानम् ॥ ३७ ॥

SECTION XIV—गाय-चम्पू

124. भोजप्रबंध—Incomplete. Folios 1-9, lines 12, letters 38, size  $10'' \times 4''$ .

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ नारायणं नमर्त्येति ० ॥  
गिरामाहुर्देवी दहिणगृहिणीमागमविदो  
हरेः पत्नी पद्मा हरसद्वर्ती हैमतनयां  
तुरीया कापित्वं दुरधिगमनिःसीममहिमा  
माहामाये विश्वं भ्रमयसि परब्रह्ममहिषी ॥ १ ॥

End : Folio No. 9a :

ततस्तस्मिन् मृगयारसिके राक्षि कश्चन पुलिंदपुत्रो गायति ॥ तेन गीतमाधुर्येण तुष्टो राजा  
तस्मै पुलिंदपुत्राय पंच लक्षाणि दत्तवान्.....यल्लक्ष्मीवसतेस्तवमधुपैरुपजीव्यते कोशः ॥ १ ॥

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| 16. कमलविजयशिष्य पुन्यविजय । बघेका<br>कुपाराम (?) -95. | 27. भास्करसुत विट्ठल-56.  |
| 17. लवनोपनाम नृसिंहसूनु भिकंभट्ट-96.                   | 28. दार्दभट्ट-87.   |
| 18. दैवज्ञ विश्वनाथभट्टात्मज नृहरि-97.                 | 29. कोळवेशोपनामक नारायणाचार्यसुत वेद-<br>व्यास-89.              |
| 19. काशीराम-103.                                       | 30. गंगाधर वेदाध्यायी-115.                                      |

### III DATED MSS.

- |                     |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Saṁvat 1658—No. 90. | „ 1716—No. 108.         |
| „ 1674—No. 54.      | „ 1718—Nos. 39, 41, 96. |
| „ 1676—No. 99, 101. | „ 1719—No. 38.          |
| „ 1688—Nos. 44, 55. | „ 1722—No. 60.          |
| „ 1796—No. 81.      | „ 1725—No. 78.          |
| „ 1798—No. 112.     | „ 1726—No. 79.          |
| Śaka 1583—No. 97.   | „ 1747—No. 46.          |
| „ 1589—No. 89.      | „ 1754—No. 59.          |
| „ 1595—No. 95.      | „ 1759—No. 107.         |
| „ 1603—No. 103.     | „ 1760—No. 119.         |
| „ 1636—No. 37.      | „ 1767—No. 58.          |
| „ 1685—No. 76.      | „ 1772—No. 3.           |
| „ 1691—No. 57.      | „ 1775—Nos. 63, 65, 66. |
| „ 1703—No. 51.      | „ 1776—No. 50.          |
| „ 1709—No. 118.     | „ 1777—No. 62.          |
| „ 1712—No. 86.      | „ 1803—No. 47.          |

### Appendix :

A consolidated list of MSS. in possession of Messrs. Gangādhara Rām-kr̥ṣṇa Dharmādhikārī, Śankara Vināyaka Nidre and Śankara Bājākr̥ṣṇa Lūmpāthakī, of Punatāmbe, District Ahmednagar. The following abbrevia-  
tions have been used to indicate the owners respectively : (Dh), (N), (L).  
MSS. marked with asterisks are dated.

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Agnipurāṇa—(N)            | 4. Atipavitra-iṣṭiḥ—(L)                                 |
| 2. Agnihotra-prāyaścitta—(L) | 5. Adhomukhajananaśāntiḥ—Extract<br>from Ratnākara (Dh) |
| 3. Agnihotra-stotra—(L)      |   |

6. Anantavratākathā — Extract from Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa, Folios 20 (Dh)
7. Anantavratodyāpanavidhiḥ — Folios 17, Scribe : Bālakṛṣṇa Govindabhaṭṭa (Dh)
8. Anantādigrahaṃaṇḍaladevatā — Folios 12 (Dh)
9. Anāhitāgnirnavaprāsaṇam — Folios 115, 180 (Dh)
10. Anumānapaddhatiḥ — Folios 20 (Dh)
11. Antyeṣṭiprayogaḥ — By Keśava-bhaṭṭa Laugākṣi, Folios 120 (Dh)
12. Apamṛtyuhārakastotra (N)
13. Apavyanayanam (?) — Folios 1 (Dh)
- 14-16. Apāmārjanastotra — 2 copie- (Dh) + 1 (L)
17. Amarakośa, savigraha — (L)
18. Amarakośa, III Kāṇḍas, with a Commentary — (L)
- \*19. Arghyapradānam, Śaka 1713, — Folios 10 (Dh)
20. Āśaucadaśakabhāṣyam — By Harihara — (Dh)
- 21-23. Āśaucanirṇayaḥ (Tryambakī) (L) 2 copies & 11 folios of the 3rd (Dh)
24. Āśaucanirṇayaḥ — By Bhāskara, Folios 26 (Dh)
25. Āśaucasaṅgrahaḥ — (Dh)
26. Āśvattha-udyāpanavidhiḥ — By Laugākṣi, Folios 3 (Dh)
27. Āśvattha-upanayana — Śaunakokta, Folios 5 (Dh)
28. Āśvadhātukā — (L)
29. Ācārādīpa — By Nāgadeva (Dh)
30. Ācāramayūkhaḥ — By Nilakanṭha Sankara (Dh)
31. Ācārāṅkaḥ — By Divākara Mahadeva, Folios 79 (Dh)
32. Ātmabodhaḥ — Sankarācārya (Dh)
33. Ātmabodhaprakaraṇam — By Sankarācārya, verses 68 (Dh)
34. Ādityarhdaya — (Dh)
35. Ādhānaprayogaḥ — By Tryambaka Kṛṣṇa (Dh)
36. Āpastambasūtraparavānanirṇayaḥ — By Bhaṭṭojibhaṭṭa, Folios 5. Complete (Dh)
37. Ārabdhavivāhādyaśaucapati kartavyākartavyanirṇaya-nirūpaṇam — By Śrimalaūgākṣi-bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, Folios 3 (Dh)
38. Ādhānaprayogaḥ — Nāgarakhaṇḍa, Folios 5 (Dh)
39. Āhitāgnimarṇavidihiḥ — (Dh)
- 40-40a. Itihāsaśamuccaya — (N), (Dh) — Chapters 32, Folios 175.
41. Upāṅgalalitākathā — Incomplete, Folios 6 (Dh)
42. Upāṅgalalitāvratā — (Dh)
- \*43. Ekādaśimāhātmya — Śaka 1687, Folios 70. Extract from Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa. Scribe : Rāghavajana Maruṭgaṇa (Dh)
44. Āurdhvadaihiikapaddhatiḥ — By Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Folios 45 (Dh)
45. Kacchapurāṇa — (N)
46. Kaṇṭhābharāṇa — (L)
47. Kaṇvānhikasaddharmamañjau (L)
- \*48. Karakāmeṣṭiprayogaḥ — Śaka 1665, Folios 7, (Dh)
49. Kākasparśasāntiḥ — Folios (Dh)
- \*50. Kātyāyasūtrabhāṣye pārvāṇasrādhapaddhatiḥ — By Gadādhara Dikṣita, Śaka 1759, Folios 16. Scribe : Jayarāma (Dh)
51. Kātyāyanasūtra — Folios 10 (Dh)
52. Kātyāyanāntantrokta-saptasatividhāna — Śaka 1785, Folios 19.
53. Kātyāyanīya-pariśiṣṭa (Dh)
54. Kātyāyanokta-snanavidhibhāṣya — By Harihara (Dh)
55. Kāmataḥ śrīvadhe prāyaścittanirṇayaḥ — By Vasudevāśramamuni (Dh)
56. Kārtavīryakavaca — Folios 10 (Dh)
57. Kārtavīryārjuna-homavidhiḥ (Dh)
- 58-58a. Kārtikamāhātmya (L), Folios 45 (Dh)
59. Kālanirṇayaḥ — By Raghunātha Daivajña (Theṭopanāmaka) (Dh)
60. Kāvyaaprakāśakārikā — (Dh)
61. Kīrātārjunīya vyākhyā — By Mallinātha (Dh)

62. Kirātārjunīyam—Cantos V, VII, XI, XIII, XV—(L)
- 63-64. Kuṇḍamārtanḍa—(L). —By Ananta Daivajña, with a comm., Folios 61 (Dh).
65. Kuṇḍasiddhaḥ—By Viṭhala Dikṣita, Sangamanerakara, Folios 8 (Dh)
- \*66.—Do.—Scribe : Jejurakara, Śaka 1740, Folios 21 (Dh)
67. Kuṇḍārkaḥ, Saṭikah—(L)
68. Kuṇḍārkamaricimālā—By Raghuvira Dikṣita, Folios 25 (Dh)
69. Kumārasambhavam, Sarga V. (L)
70. —Do.—with Bālāvabodhaṭikā (Dh)
71. Kumārikāpūjanam—(L)
72. Kuśakaṇḍikā—(L)
73. Kuhusinivālidarśa—Janana-śāntiḥ—(Dh)
74. Kūpādijalāśayādipratiṣṭhā Extract from Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra, Folios 8 (Dh)
75. Kṛdantaprakriyā—A chapter from Śārasvatīprakriyā—By Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya, Folios 60 (Dh)
76. Keśavapaddhatiḥ—(L)
- \*77. Keśavi-udāharaṇam—Śaka 1731 Scribe : Rāmendra Pāṇḍuraṅga, Folios 70 (Dh)
- \*78. Kokilāmāhātmya—Extract from Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa, Folios 39, Śaka 1712 (Dh)
79. Kheṭakṛtiḥ—Folios 18 (Dh)
80. Gaṅgālaharī—(L)
81. —Do.—Bālābodhinīṭikā—By Dalapatirāma (Dh)
82. Gaṅgāsahasranāma—(L)
83. Gaṇeśapurāṇa—(N)
84. Gaṇeśasahasranāmastotra, Folios 17 (Dh)
85. Gadādharaḥpaddhatiḥ Folios 101 (Dh)
86. Gadādharaḥbhāṣya—(N)
87. Gayāmāhātmya—(L)
- \*88. Garuḍapurāṇa—Pretakalpa, verses 1580, Folios 81, Śaka 1669 (Dh)
89. Gāyatrīpuraścaraṇavidhiḥ—Folios 10 (Dh)
90. Gāyatrīvivaraṇa—(N)
- 91-92. Gāyatrīśahasranāma—2 copies (Dh)
- \*93. Gītagovinda—Śaka 1683 (Dh)
94. Gītagaurīpatau prathamasaṅgaḥ—By Bhanudatta—Incomplete (Dh)
95. Gītāmāhātmya—Extract from Padmapurāṇa, Folios 40 (Dh)
96. —Do.—Extract from Skandapurāṇa (Dh)
- \*97. Gurugītastotra—Extract from Skandapurāṇa, Śaka 1714, Folios 19 (Dh)
98. Gṛhyasūtrakārikā—(L)
99. Gṛhyasūtrabhāṣya—By Gadādhara (L)
100. Gotrapravarāṇirṇayaḥ—By Kamalākaraḥbhaṭṭa (Dh)
- \*101. Gotrapravaramañjarī—By Puruṣottama Mayureswara Jejurakar, Śaka 1733 Folios 84 (Dh)
- \*102. Gotrapravaraśāṁsayodbheda-paricchedaḥ—Extracted from Dharmadvaitanirṇaya of Śankaraḥbhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa—Śaka 1736, Folios 46 (Dh)
103. Gotrasāpiṇḍyaśākhābdhiḥ Dhanabhāraḥ (Dh)
104. Godāna—(L)
105. Gopīgītā—(L)
106. Gopīcandanopaniṣad—(Dh)
107. Goprasavaṇḍiḥ—(Dh)
108. Goprasavaśāntiḥ—Extract from Prayogadarpaṇa (Dh)
109. Govindastotra—By Śankarācārya, Folios 32 (Dh)
110. Grahamakha karmaprayogaḥ—Incomplete—Folios 25 (Dh)
- \*111. Grahālāghava—Śaka 1655, Folios 34 (Dh)
- \*112. —Do.—Śaka 1732, Folios 36 (Dh)
113. Grahālāghava vivaraṇam—By Nṛsiṁha (Dh)
114. Grahālāghavasāra—(L)
115. Grahālāghavasiddhāntaraḥṣya (Dh)
116. Ghaṭītādhyāya—Incomplete—Folios 8 (Dh)
117. Ghaṭotsargaṇiḥ—By Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭa, Folios 27 (Dh)
118. Catvāro bhāṣyaṇi—(L)
119. Carakasāṁhita—Folios 201 (Dh)
120. Carāṇavyūha—Incomplete (Dh)



- \*121. Caranavyūha—Śaka 1648, Folios 4. Scribe : Govindabhaṭṭa Dharmādhikāri (Dh)
- \*122. Caranavyūhabhāṣya—By Gadādharaḥaṭṭa Saucē, Śaka 1755 (N)
- \*123. Calācalapratisthā—By Śrīkṛṣṇadevācārya, Śaka 1767, Folios 25 (Dh)
124. —Do.—By Nārāyaṇa, Folios 27 (Dh)
- 125-126. —Do.—Prayoga, (2 copies) (Dh)
- \*127. Calārcā—By Anantadeva, Śaka 1766, Folios 10 (Dh)
128. Cāturmāsahautrapaddhatiḥ—(L)
- 129-132. Cāturmāsyaśkhyayāgaḥ—4 copies (Dh)
133. Jātakābharaṇam—(L)
- \*134. Jātivivekaḥ—By Gopinātha, Śaka 1668, Scribe : Govindabhaṭṭa Dharmādhikāri, Folios 22 (Dh)
135. Jāteṣṭhiprayogaḥ—(Dh)
- \*136. Jirṇoddharaḥ—Extract from Nūṇayasindhuḥ, Śaka 1768. Folios 2 (Dh)
137. Jivatpitrkanirṇayaḥ—(L)
138. Jivatpityajñāḥ—(L)
139. Jivanmukti—(L)
- \*140. Jaimini aśvamedha—Śaka 1799, Adhyāyas 76, Folios 338, Scribe : Govinda Rūmacandra (Dh)
141. Jyeṣṭhaśāntiḥ—Kātyāyanokta, Folios 2 (Dh)
142. Jvaracikitsā—Folios 45 (Dh)
143. Jvarastotra—(Dh)
144. Jvarāṅkuśa—Folios 6 (Dh)
145. Dāmari—Kātyāyani tantroktaprayogaḥ, Folios 12 (Dh)
146. Tarkaprakāśa—Anumānapaddhatiḥ, Folios 27 (Dh)
- 147-148. Tarkasaṅgraha—(L) & (N)
149. Tarkasaṅgrahadīpikā—By Anambhaṭṭa, Folios 48 (Dh)
150. Tālikābhūṣaṇa—(L)
151. Tithikaustubhaḥ—(Dh)
152. Tithicintāmaṇiḥ—(L)—By Gaṇeśa Daivajña, Folios 14 (Dh)
153. Tithicintāmaṇisārāṇi—By Gaṇeśa Daivajña, Folios 18 (Dh)
154. Tithinirṇayaḥ—(Dh)
155. —Do.—By Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Folios 16 (Dh)
- \*156. —Do.—Folios 14, Śaka 1699, (Dh)
157. Tithyarkaḥ—By Divākara (Dh)
- \*158. Tulsimāhātmya—Śaka 1685, Verses 869, Fifteen chapters, Folios 47 (Dh)
159. Tripuṇḍraavidhiḥ—Folios 4 (Dh)
- \*160. Trirātraśloki—Śaka 1713, Folios 14 (Dh)
- \*161. Tristhalīsetuḥ—Extract from Vidhānapārijāta. Scribe : Sakharāma Dharmādhikāri, Śaka 1782, Folios 22 (Dh)
162. Dattakamīmāṃsā—(L)
163. Dattātreyapaṭala—(N)
164. Dantajananaśāntiḥ—Extract from Matsyapurāṇa (Dh)
- 165-167. Darśapūrṇamāsaḥ 3 copies (Dh)
168. Dānamayūkhaḥ—(L)
169. Dānahārāvali—Folios 100. Extracted from Sudhāsindhuḥ—By Divākara Mahādeva Bhāradwāja (Dh)
- \*170. Dinamānasādhanaṁ—Śaka 1699, Folios 17 (Dh)
171. Devī-upaniṣad—Folios 5 (Dh)
172. Dhanañjayakośaḥ—Incomplete (Dh)
173. Nakṣatrasaṅjñam kusumam—Folios 26 (Dh)
174. Nakṣatrasatra—(L)
175. Navagrahanyāsa—(L)
- \*176. Navagrahavidhāna—Śaka 1738, Folios 9 (Dh)
- \*177. Nāgabaliḥ—Śaunakokta, Samvat 1631, Folios 15 (Dh)
178. Nārada-purāṇa—(N)
179. Nāradiśikṣā—(L)
180. Nārasimhakāvya-campū—(L)
181. Nārasimhapurāṇa—(N)
182. Nārāyaṇabaliḥ—Śaunakokta, Folios 13 (Dh)
183. Nārāyaṇopaniṣad—(L)
184. —Do.—Folios 2 (Dh)
185. Nirṇayasindhuḥ—Prathama Parichchadaḥ—(Dh)
- \*186. —Do.—Śaka 1702—By Kamalākaraḥaṭṭa, Folios 375 (Dh)

- \*187. —Do.—Śaka 1739, Slokas 12000,  
Folios 307—By Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭa-  
maja Divākara-bhaṭṭa (Dh)
188. Nīrṇayasindhau dattakaviṣayaḥ  
—Folios 2 (Dh)
189. Nīrṇayāmṛta—(L)
190. Nītiśatakam—By Bhaṭṭaṭṭari (L)
191. Nīlakaṇṭhī (L)
192. Nīlakaṇṭhī-udāharaṇam  
—Folios 72, (Dh)
- \*193. Nūtanamūrtipratīṣṭhā—Śaka 1681  
Incomplete, Folios 4 (Dh)
194. Naiśadha—Cantos I, II, XIII (L)
195. Naiśadhiyacaritam—Text & Com-  
mentary (Dh)
196. Nyāyasastra—(N)
- 197-198. Pakṣādikarmaprayogaḥ  
(2 copies)—(Dh)
- \*199. Pañcāyatanapratīṣṭhā—Śaka 1699  
Folios 34—By Divākara (Dh)
200. Patnikapravṛttāgnyādhānavidhiḥ  
—Extract from Brahmānanda-  
paddhatiḥ, Folios 56 (Dh)
201. Padārthamālā—By Bhāskara-  
bhaṭṭa Laugākṣi, Folios 33 (Dh)
202. Padmapurāṇa—(N)
- 203-204. Parāśaramādhava (2 copies)  
—(Dh).
205. Pārṇāsanavidhiḥ—Folios 23 (Dh)
206. Pallipatanaśāntiḥ—(N)
207. Pākayajñah—(Dh)
208. Pāraskaraghyasūtra, Prathama  
kāṇḍa—Folios 42 (Dh)
- \*209. Pāraskaraghyasūtrabhāṣya — By  
Gadādhara, Śaka 1735, Folios  
164 (Dh)
210. Pārijāta, — Śaunakokta-dattaka-  
putraparigraha-vidhiḥ, Folios 5  
(Dh)
211. Pārthakṛta-iṣṭiḥ—(L)
212. Pingalācāryasūtra—(L)
- \*213. Punaḥpratiṣṭhā—Śaka 1766,  
Folios 6.—(Dh)
214. Puraścaraṇahavanavidhiḥ  
—Folios 5 (Dh)
215. Puruṣasūktabhāṣya—Folios 7  
(Dh)
216. Prakṛti-iṣṭiḥ—(Dh)
- \*217. Pratāpanārasimho Kuṇḍavicāre  
Śrautavihāraḥ—Śaka 1740,  
Folios 9 (Dh)
- \*218. Pratāpanārasimho kuṇḍaprakāro  
Navakuṇḍavicāra—Śaka 1740.  
Folios 15 (Dh)
219. Pratiṣṭhākaumudī—(L)
220. Pratiṣṭhādarpaṇa—(L)
221. Prathamaraṇajodaraśanaphala— (N)
222. Pradoṣavṛata-udyāṇa— Extract  
from Skandapurāṇa, kedāra-  
kāṇḍa. Scribe : Bhāskara  
Candrātreyā, Folios 6 (Dh)
223. Prayāgamāhātmya (L)
- \*224. Prayogadarpaṇa—Śaka 1745,  
Folios 191 (Dh)
- \*225. Prayogapārijāta—Incomplete,  
Śaka 1460, Folios 176 (Dh)
226. —Do.—Folios 39-90 (Dh)
227. Prayogaratna—By Sadāśiva  
Dikṣita, Folios 79 (Dh)
- 228-229. Pravaranīrṇayaḥ—(2 copies)  
(Dh)
- 230-231. Pravāsa-vidhiḥ—(2 copies)  
(Dh)
232. Prānapratīṣṭhādimātrkāḥ  
—Folios 10 (Dh)
233. Prānāgnihoṭra—(L)
- \*234. Prāyaścitta—By Bhaṭṭoji Dik-  
ṣita, Śaka 1679, Folios 48 (Dh)
235. Prāyaścittamañjarī—(L)
236. Prāyaścittamayūkah—By Nīla-  
kaṇṭha, verses 3500 (Dh)
- \*237. Prāyaścittamādhava—Śaka 1460  
(Dh)
238. Prāyaścittenduṣekhara—(L)
239. Prāsādapratīṣṭhā—(N)
240. Prāsādapratīṣṭhā (N)
- \*241. Prāsādapratīṣṭhā—Śaka 1713,  
Folios 29 (Dh)
- \*242. —Do—Matsyokta, Śaka 1729,  
Folios 30—(Dh)
243. Prokṣaṇavidhiḥ—(L)
- \*244. Baṭubhairavastotra—Extract  
from Rudrayāmala, Saṁvat  
1118, Folios 10 (Dh)
245. Bṛhadgaurivṛata—(Dh)
246. Brahmāstravidyā—(N)
- \*247. Brahmottarakāṇḍa—Śaka 1704,  
Folios 95. Scribe : Rāma  
Dharmādhikāri.
248. Bhaktirasāyana—(L)
249. Bhaktiṣṇupadī—(L)
250. Bhagavadgītā—with a comm.  
Sankarānandī (L)

251. *Bhagavadgītātikā*—By Śrīdhara-  
rayati, (Incomplete) (Dh)
252. *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* (N)
253. *Bhāttacintāmaṇi*—(N)
- \*254. *Bhāminivilāsa*—By Jagannātha  
Paṇḍita, Śaka 1739, Folios  
16 (Dh)
255. *Bhāratacampu*—(L)
256. —Do—*Ṭikā* (L)
257. *Bhāśāpratyayavāda*—(Dh)
258. *Bhāśāmañjari* (N)
- \*259. *Bhuvaneśvarīstotrabhāṣya*—  
Śaka 1631, Folios 19 (Dh)
260. *Maṭhāmāyapaddhati*—(L)
261. *Maṇḍalabhāṣya*—(L)
262. *Maṅgalavīra*—(N)
263. *Matsyapurāṇa*—(N)
264. *Madanapārijāta*—(N)
- \*265. *Māmaśamāhātmya*—Extract  
from *Padmapurāṇa*, Saṁvat  
1783, Folios 56 (Dh)
- \*266. *Mallārikavaca*—Extract from  
*Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa*, Śaka 1628,  
Folios 9 (Dh)
- \*267. —Do—Śaka 1692, (Dh)
268. *Mallārimāhātmya*—(L)
269. *Mallārisahasranāma*—(L)
- \*270. *Mahārudranāyasa*—Śaka 1697,  
Folios 17 (Dh)
- \*271. *Mahārudrapaddhati*—By Para-  
śarāma, Saṁvat 1688, Folios  
66 (Dh)
- \*272. —Do—Śaka 1740, Folios 71  
(Dh)
273. *Mahimnāṭikā*—By Ailācārya  
(Dh)
- \*274. *Māghakāvya*, Canto I, Comm.  
Śaka 1721, Folios 31. Scribe :  
Sadāśiva Govinda (Dh)
- \*275. —Do—Sarga XX, Śaka 1516,  
Folios 120 (Dh)
276. *Mātrgotranimayā*—By Kāśi-  
rāja Bālakṛṣṇa (N)
277. *Mādhavagītā*—(L)
- \*278. *Mādhyaṇīyavedaparibhāṣā-  
sūtram*—By Keśava, Śaka 1750,  
Folios 6 (Dh).
279. *Mānaśasāna*—Folios 10 (Dh)
280. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*—(N)
- \*281. *Mārgaśīrṣamāhātmya*—Extract  
from *Skandapurāṇa* Śaka 1689,  
Folios 51 (Dh)
282. *Mitākṣarā*—(L)
283. *Mitākṣarāpañcīkā*—(Dh)
284. *Mitravindā iṣṭi*—(L)
285. *Muktāvali*—(N)
- 286-287. *Muhūrtamārtanḍa*—2 copies  
—(L)
- 288-289. —Do—2 copies (Dh)
290. *Muhūrtamālā*—(L)
291. *Mūlajananaśānti*—*Kātyāyanokta*,  
Folios 81 (Dh)
292. *Mṛgā*—(L)
293. *Mṛtyuñjayavidhi*—Folios 5  
(Dh)
294. *Yajurvedasaṁhitā*—(Dh)
295. *Yajñapārśvaparīśiṣṭa*—(L)
296. *Yatidharmaprakāśa*—(L)
- \*297. —Do—By Vāsudevāśramamuni,  
Śaka 1726, Folios 74. Scribe :  
Kṛṣṇa Viśvanātha (Dh)
298. *Yatidharmānhika*—(L)
299. *Yamalajananaśānti*—(L)
300. *Raghuvamśam*—Cantos V, VII,  
IX (L)
301. *Raghuvamśaṭikā*—By Malli-  
nātha (Dh)
302. *Ratnamālā*—(L)
303. —Do—By Śrīpati, Folios 39  
(Dh)
304. *Ratnamuktāvali*—(L)
305. *Rasaratnākara*—(N)
- \*306. *Rākṣasakāvyaṭikā*—Śaka 1698.  
(Dh)
307. *Rājaniṭīśāstra*—(N)
308. *Rāmakṛṣṇa*—(L)
- \*309. *Rāmanāmāvalivratodyāpana-  
Kathā*—Saṁvat 1766, Folios 12,  
Extract : *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*  
(Dh)
- \*310. *Rāmaśatakam*—By Keśavabhāṭṭa  
Laugākṣi, Śaka 1663, Folios 10  
(Dh)
311. *Rāmāṣṭaka*—By Śankarācārya,  
Folios 12 (Dh)
312. *Rudrapaddhati*—Incomplete  
(Dh)
312. *Rudramahānyāsapaddhati* (Dh)
314. *Rudrayāmala bhavānīstotra*—  
(Dh)
315. *Lakṣanamaskārodyāpanaprayo-  
ga*—(Dh)
316. *Lakṣmīsūkta*—Folios 3 (Dh)
317. *Laghupārāśara*—(N)

318. Laghuvākyavṛttiḥ—By Śaṅkarācārya, Folios 4 (Dh)
319. Liṅgātobhadra —(L)
- \*320. Liṅgapraṭiṣṭhā—Śaka 1766, Folios 18 (Dh)
321. Vajrasūciḥ—Folios 5 (Dh)
322. Varāhapurāṇa—(N)
323. Vāpikūpotsargavidhiḥ—(Dh)
324. Vāpikūpotsargavidhiḥ—By Karmākārabhaṭṭa, Folios 6 (Dh)
325. Vāstusāntiḥ—By Padmanābha, Folios 42 (Dh)
326. Vidhānapārijāta —By Anantabhaṭṭa (Dh)
- \*327. —Do.—Saṁvat 1810, Folios about 900 (Dh)
328. Vidhivilāsaḥ—Folios 31 (Dh)
329. Vināyakaśāntiḥ, —Extract from Saṁskārabhāskara, Folios 8 (Dh)
330. Viṣṇuyāgapaddhatiḥ—By Mādhavācārya, Folios 120 (Dh)
331. Viṣṇusahasranāma—(Dh)
332. Viśvaguṇādarśakāvya—(L)
333. Vṛttaratnākara—(L)
334. Vṛttaratnākaraśetu-ṭikā—(Dh)
335. Vṛṣotsarga—(L)
336. Vedastutiḥ—Commentary by Chakravartī (L)
337. —Do.—Commentary by Pārtha (L)
338. Vedānta Ātmanirūpaṇa—Verses 475, Folios 31. Scribe : Pāṭhaka (Dh)
- \*339. Vedārambhaprayogaḥ—Śaka 1774, Folios 21 (Dh)
340. Vairāgyasatakam—By Bhartṛhari (L)
- \*341. Vaisākhmāhātmya—Extract from Padmapurāṇa, Saṁvat 1784, Folios 80 (Dh)
342. Vyatipātānirūpaṇa—Extract from Śrīpurāṇa saṁhitā. (Incomplete), Folios 114 (Dh)
343. Vyatipāta, Vaidhṛti, saṁkrānti—śāntiḥ (Dh)
344. Vyākṛteśapurāṇa—(N)
345. Vyāsapūjā—(Dh)
346. —Do.—Folios 7 (Dh)
347. —Do.—Folios 56 (Dh)
348. Vratakaumudī—(L)
- \*349. Vratakaumudī—Śaka 1777, Folios 128 (Dh)
350. Vratārkaḥ—(N)
351. Vratārkānukramaḥ - By Śaṅkarābhaṭṭa (Dh)
352. Satacandī—Kamalānūsārī, Folios 28 (Dh)
353. Śatapathabrāhmaṇa—Incomplete (Dh)
- \*354. —Do.—Some incomplete prapāṭhakas, Śaka 1552 (Dh)
355. Śanaīscarastrotra—By Daśaratha, Extract from Agnipurāṇa, Folios 9 (Dh)
356. Śabdaśaktisindhuh—By Vararuci (Dh)
357. Śāṇḍilyapañcādhyāyikā — Folios 7 (Dh)
358. Śātātapaśmṛtiḥ — 5 Chapters, 16 (Dh)
359. Śāntipāṭhaḥ—(Dh)
360. Śāntimayūkha—(N)
- \*361. Śāntimayūkha — By Śaṅkarābhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha, Śaka 1685, Folios 167 (Dh)
362. Śārīrasūtra—(N)
363. Śālākarma—By Lakṣmīdhara, Folios 59 (Dh)
- \*364. Śivapūjavidhiḥ—By Bhaṭṭa Bhavānīdāsa, Śaka 1845, Folios 16 (Dh)
365. Śivavarmakathana—(N)
366. Śivasahasranāmakathā —Extract from Śivarahasya, Folios 34 (Dh)
367. Śivasahasranāmāvalī—Scribe : Viṣṇu Anantācārya, Folios 11 (Dh)
368. Śivaparādhastotra—with a commentary (L)
- 369-372. Śiśupālavadha of Māgha—Text & Comm. of Mallinātha, 4 copies (Dh)
373. —Do.—Cantos II & IV (L)
374. Śighrabodhaḥ—Incomplete, verses 127, Folios 10 (Dh)
375. Śighrasiddhiḥ—(L)
376. Śuklayajurveda, padapāṭha — (Dh)
378. Śulbasūtra—(L)
379. Śūdrakamalākārī—(L)
380. Śṛṅgāraśatakam—By Bhartṛhari (L)

381. Śravaṇadvādaśinirṇayaḥ  
—Extract from Bhaviṣyottara-  
purāṇa, Folios 7 (Dh)
382. Śrāddhakalpasūtra—By Kātyāya-  
namuni, IX Kaṇḍas, Folios 6  
(Dh)
383. Śrāddhacandrikā—By Divākar-  
ātmaja Vaijanātha (Dh)
384. Śrāddhadipakalikā—By Bopa-  
deva (Dh)
385. Śrāddhapaddhatiḥ—(Dh)
- \*386. Śrāddhapaddhatiḥ, (Vājasaneyā  
śākhāyām)—Śaka 1782, Folios  
38 (Dh)
387. Śrāddhaprayogaḥ -- By Bhā-  
karabhaṭṭa, Folios 23 (Dh)
388. Śrāddhamayūkhaḥ—(Dh)
389. Śrāddhasūktabhāṣya—By  
Cchāga, Folios 24 (Dh)
390. Śrāddhasūtra—By Bhāskarācārya  
(L)
391. Śrāddhasūtrabhāṣya—(L)
392. Śrīmadbhāgavata — with Comm.  
by Nilakaṇṭha (Dh)
393. Śrīmahābhāratasāraḥ—(Dh)
- \*394. Śrīrāmapratiṣṭhā — Śaka 1766,  
Folios 9 (Dh)
395. Śrīsūktabhāṣya (Dh)
396. Śrautakuṇḍavedinirmāṇakārikā—  
(Dh)
- 397-397a. Śrautapaddhatiḥ 2 Copies  
(Dh).
398. Śrautolhāsa—(L)
399. Śatpañcāśikā—(L)
400. Santānagopālavidhiḥ — Folios 3
401. Sannyāsapaddhatiḥ -- (L)
- \*402. — Do.—Śaka 1701, Folios 21.  
Scribe: Kāśirāja Balakṛṣṇa  
(Dh)
403. Saptapadārthīkikā, Padārtha—  
Candrikā (Dh)
404. Saptasatī—(Dh)
405. —Do.— Commentary Nāgoji-  
bhaṭṭ (Dh).
406. —Do.—Tika—By Lālamaṇi Bāla-  
krṣṇa Tripāthī of the Māla-  
viya family, Folios 118 (Dh)
407. Saptasatīvidhāna — Folios 39  
(Dh)
408. Saptasatīvyākhyāna—By Nāgoji-  
bhaṭṭa, Folios 56 (Dh)
409. Saptasatīstavanamālāmantra—  
(Dh)
410. Saptasatīstotra, with a Com-  
mentary in Marāṭhī—(N)
411. Sabhāraṇjanakathā—(L)
412. Samayamayūkhaḥ—(Dh)
413. Samādhi-utsarjanavidhiḥ—(L)
414. Samādhi-utsavaḥ --- By Dhaneś-  
vara Paṇḍita, Folios 5 (Dh)
415. Samāstvādhyāyabhāṣya—By  
Mahidhara (L)
416. Samitsamāropaḥ —Extract from  
Smārtapaddhatiḥ of Gangā-  
dharabhaṭṭa, Folios 24 (Dh)
417. Sarvatobhadra --(L)
418. Sarvatobhadradevatā—Prayoga-  
darpaṇanusāreṇa, Folios 26  
(Dh)
419. Sarvadevānām jirṇoddhāra  
vidhiḥ—Folios 2 (Dh)
420. Savapṛṣṭa-iṣṭiḥ—(L)
421. Sarvaprāyaścitta—(N)
422. —Do.—(L)
423. —Do.—By Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita,  
Folios 79 (Dh)
424. Sarvaprāyaścittaprayogaḥ—(Dh)
425. Sarvasādhāraṇaprāyaścittam—  
(Dh)
426. Sahasracandī—Rudrayāma-  
lokta, Folios 34 (Dh)
427. Saṅkṣepasāriraka, Chapter II—  
By Mahāmuni, Folios 15-70  
(Dh)
428. Sanjñāprakriyā—(Dh)
429. Saṁdhyā -- Hariharakṛta. Folios  
99 (Dh)
430. Saṁprokṣaṇavidhiḥ—Śaka 1774,  
Pañcarātrokta, Folios 5 (Dh)
431. Saṁskāra-kaustubhaḥ—(Dh)
- \*432. Saṁskāra-kaustubhe Dattakanir-  
ṇayaḥ—Śaka 1718, Folios 19  
(Dh)
- \*433. Saṁskārapaddhatiḥ—Śaka 1764,  
Folios 120 (Dh)
434. Saṁskārabhāṣkara—By Śankara  
Nilakaṇṭha, Folios 150 (Dh)
435. Saṁhitāsvāhākāra, Vājasaneyi—  
(Dh)
436. Sāgnikapāvāsavidhiḥ—(L)
437. Sādhyasankalpaprayogaḥ—  
Folios 17 (Dh)
438. Sāpiṇḍyadipikā—(N)
439. Sāyamprātarhomah—(Dh)

440. —Do— Folios 9 (Dh)  
 441. Sārasvata—(L)  
 442. Śiṃhasthapaddhatiḥ—(L)  
 443. —Do.—Folios 71 (Dh)  
 444. Sudarśanasamhitokta śaṭpīṇa-  
 vasamputītarudrajapaḥ—(Dh)  
 445. Sundaralahari—(L)  
 446. Sūkṣmagāṇitānitakuṇḍapari  
 māṇe koṭīhomāvadhiḥkuṇḍa-  
 vicāraḥ,—Folios 8 (Dh)  
 447. Saundaryalahari—By Śaṅkarā-  
 cārya, Folios 13 (Dh)  
 448. Strikṛtapūjāvidhiḥ—(L)  
 449. Sthālipākaprayerogaḥ—(Dh)  
 450. Śnānasūtra—Chapters 5, Folios  
 29 (Dh)  
 451. Smārtagangādhari—(L)  
 452. Smārtapadārthasamgrahaḥ  
 —By Gangādhara. Scribe :  
 Anantabhaṭṭa, Folios 75 (Dh)  
 453. Smārtapaddhatau digpītryajñah  
 —By Gangādharaḥṭṭa, Folios  
 37 (Dh)  
 \*454. Smṛtikaustubha—By Ananta-  
 deva, Śaka 1711, Folios 368,  
 (Dh)  
 455. Smṛticandrikā—Incomplete,  
 Folios 47-125 (Dh)  
 \*456. Smṛtyarthasāraḥ—Śaka 1710,  
 Folios 162 (Dh)  
 \*457. Smṛtyarthasāre dattakānimayāḥ—  
 Śaka 1708, Folios 10 (Dh)  
 458. Hanūmatpatākāvidhāna—Folios 4  
 (Dh).  
 \*459. Hanūmatpratiṣṭhā—Pancarātrā-  
 gamokta, Śaka 1766, Folios 7  
 (Dh)  
 460. Haratālikākathā—Extract from  
 Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa (Dh)  
 461. Hariharātmakastutiḥ—(Dh)  
 462. Harivamśam—(L)  
 463. Hotṛprayerogaḥ—(Dh) †  
 + 3 = 466

† Besides these Skr. MSS. Mr. Dharmādhikari has in his collection the follow-  
 ing two Marāṭhi MSS., which might be noted here in passing :

1. Yakṣiṇīprakaraṇa—Folios 8.
2. Rukmiṇīsvayamvara—Adhyāyas 18, verses 700, Śaka 1704. Scribe : Rāma-  
 bhaṭṭātma Vināyaka.

# ON THE DEFINITION OF THE MORPHEME

By

C. R. SANKARAN and M. G. VENKATESIAH.

The morphological system of a language could be described without reference to the phonemic quality, i.e. the phonemes could be regarded as 'disjunctive' functional elements, as they are in fact regarded for the purpose of the graphic representation of literary languages, without considerations of their accoustic relations.<sup>1</sup> All the definitions of the morpheme with the exception of NOREEN'S which JESPERSEN records in his *Analytic Syntax*<sup>2</sup> indicate 'expressive' units constituted by given phoneme-combinations. The object of this paper is to demonstrate that the conception that the morpheme is the closest significative or conceptual counterpart of the phoneme alone, is adequate to explain certain facts of language. We draw our instances here in illustration of this conception from Kannaḍa, one of the important languages belonging to the Dravidian family.

VACHEK<sup>3</sup> objects to SKALICKA'S view that the correlative relation of two phonemes should be considered as their private affair which has no bearing on actual speech. We would like to lay special emphasis on the view that while the phoneme is the phonic unit which represents the phonological analysis synchronically relevant to the significative side of language, the morpheme represents the furthest degree of significative (semantic) analysis synchronically relevant to the phonic side of language.<sup>4</sup> L. BLOOMFIELD defines morpheme as the smallest meaningful unit<sup>5</sup> (lexically) and is of the opinion that the total stock of morphemes in a language is its lexicon.<sup>6</sup> Now according to this definition, *bekku* 'a cat' in Kannaḍa is to be reckoned as a morpheme.

ZIPF<sup>7</sup> reckons as morphemes - prefixes, roots, suffixes and endings, e.g. in *bekkannu* (accusative), we would have two morphemes *bekku* + *an-n-u* (acc. suffix).

<sup>1</sup> C. B. BAZELL, On Form and Function. *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*. Vol. 37, 1938, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> Otto JESPERSEN, *Analytic Syntax*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> VACHEK, Phonemes and Phonological units. *Travaux du cercle Linguistique de Prague*, VI, 235 ff. VACHEK, Can the Phonemes be defined in terms of Time? *Mélanges van Ginneken*.

<sup>4</sup> C. E. BAZELL, 'Archimorpheme' and 'Phonomorpheme.' *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 53, 1938, pp. 363-64.

<sup>5</sup> See O. JESPERSEN, *Analytic Syntax*, p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> See also L. BLOOMFIELD, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, *Language*. Vol. II, 1926, pp. 155-157.

<sup>7</sup> ZIPF, *Psycho-biology of Language*, p. 15.

Now we meet with the following situations :—

- (1) all the *vibhakti-pratyayas* (case-suffixes);
- (2) the plural endings like *-gaḷu* in *bekkugaḷu* 'cats' and those endings which are used in the formation of abstract nouns;
- (3) *avyayas* (indeclinables) like *dal* 'indeed', *vol* (< *vōl* < *pōl*) 'like' and *pratyayas* (suffixes) like *-isu* (causative), *-ike* (abstract nominal suffix), *alpaḍu* (*al-paḍu*), *ante* 'like' (adverbial suffix); [*māḍisu* 'to cause to be made': *māḍuvike* 'the act of doing': *māḍ-al-paḍu* 'to allow to be made': *māḍidante* 'just as it is made' and *camḍranante* 'like the moon']—all these are to be counted as *morphemes*.
- (4) *māḍidare* 'if done' can be analysed in any one of the following ways :—
  - (i) *māḍ(u)-i-d-are*, where *-are* denotes 'if' and *-i-* may be taken as a sign of the absolutive.
  - (ii) *māḍida-re* where *-da* is not merely euphonic and *-re* may be taken to denote 'if'.
  - (iii) *māḍu + ādare*, where *-da* is doubtless not euphonic. [It may be noted here that *-are* (as also *-re*) is a form derived from *ādare*.]
- (5) *māḍidamēle* 'after having done' has three morphemes (*māḍ-ida-mēle*).

(6) Now a question crops up : in *māḍida* 'that which has been done' and *māḍada* 'that which has not been done', have we to reckon *i* and *a* of the second syllable alone as morphemes? In an instance like (*avamu*) *māḍidanu* 'he did', *-i-* indicates the past tense according to CALDWELL while *-da-* is merely euphonic<sup>8</sup> and he illustrates this view through the form *māḍ-i*. KITTEL's view is that *-i-* is merely euphonic and *-d-* is the real indicator of past tense.<sup>9</sup>

According to A. N. NARASIMHIA however, in *māḍida*, *-da* is the declinable past participial suffix added to the adverbial past participial [or absolutive, cf. (4) (i) above] form *māḍ-i* which itself is formed by adding *-i* (the adv. pp. suffix) to the base *māḍ(u)*.<sup>10</sup>

GAJ suggests that *māḍada* may be analysed into *māḍ(u) + a + da* where *-a-* may be taken to indicate negative and *-da*, as in the case of *māḍida* above, the decl. pp. suffix.

<sup>8</sup> CALDWELL, *CGD* (*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* 3rd ed., 1913), p. 498.

<sup>9</sup> KITTEL, *KG* (*A Grammar of the Kannaḍa Language*, 1903), p. 104.

<sup>10</sup> A. N. NARASIMHIA, GOKI (*A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions*, Mysore, 1941), p. 202.

The form *kēḷidu* found in M. K. (cf. Kannaḍa *Kaipiḍi*, 1936, p. 433) shows that *-idu* is added to form the adv. pp.



We venture to suggest here that in *māḍida* and *māḍidanu*, *-ida* indicates past affirmative on analogy with the negative *māḍada*. We therefore analyse *māḍidanu* into *māḍ(u) + ida + an(u)*. This *-ida* may have been derived from *ide* (it is) on analogy with the derivation of the negative suffix *ada* < *ade*.

With regard to the form *māḍada*, we would like to point out that the meaning of *bāra*, *kēla* in the affirmative<sup>11</sup> clearly shows that *-a* or (*-ā*) by itself could not have indicated the negative. We have the neg. suff. *-āde* in *tappāde*.<sup>12</sup>

Again instead of taking *-da* (in *māḍada*) as the decl. pp. suffix,<sup>13</sup> we make the contrary assumption that *-da* is not the adjective indicator.<sup>14</sup> Therefore *-da* in *māḍada* need not be taken as the decl. pp. suffix. Thus, since the last syllable *da* has no semantic configuration in these two words *māḍida* and *māḍada*, we have to take *-ida* and *-ada* as morphemes, *-ida* denoting the past affirmative and *-ada* denoting the negative meaning. Hence in each of these two cases we have two morphemes only.

(7) The cases of substitutions like 'u' indicating affirmative as in *Nīnu baruttiyō?* (will you come?) 'u': (yes!) and in the case of a wife addressing a husband as *ēnu andare* 'that means', where *andare* stands as a circumlocution for husband, as a result of taboo.

(8) Particles like *ā*, *ē*, and *ō* in *hāge hēḷideyā* (did you say like that?) *nānu hōgalē?* *nānu hōgalō?* (shall I go).

(9) The emphatic *ē* in *adē mātu* 'the same word', *nāvu olleyadannē māḍabēku* 'we must do good only'.

(10) *ō* which indicates affirmative: *Nīvu hōgiddirō* 'ō' (have you gone? yes!)

(11) *ō* which indicates doubt: *avaru bandarō ēnō?* (have they come?)

(12) *ō* as an indication of exclamation: *hāgō!* (like that!)

Nos. 7 to 12 are left out if we adhere to BLOOMFIELD's definition of morpheme. As illustrated by the examples, these have a *semantic configuration*

<sup>11</sup> No instance like this -ending in *ā*, indicating the negative meaning is found in Old Kan. In New Kan. *bāra* means 'he does not come.' *bāradavanu* > *bāranu* > *bāra*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. GOKI, p. 208.

<sup>13</sup> As suggested by G. S. GAI.

<sup>14</sup> Here it is needless to point out that a diachronic relationship is dealt with and in the very nature of things diachrony will have in it something of the speculative (on this question, see C. D. CHRÉTIEN, Indo-European final *-s* in Germanic. *Univ., of California Publications in Modern Philology*, Vol. 25, No. 1, p. 9). All that we wish to point out here is that there is no evidence other than the logical principle of economy of thought (as we believe) for adopting the assumption we have made.

which must be taken into account and undoubtedly they have a claim to be considered as morphemes, because each one of them is the smallest *meaningful* unit. This is in support of the view we like specially to emphasise here that any unit which has a *semantic configuration* or which alters the *semantic content* of a meaningful unit whether found in the lexicon or not, should be considered as a morpheme.

# ON THE SUB-CLASS OF $\alpha$ -PHONEME<sup>1</sup>

By

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[ABSTRACT :—In this paper, the similarity between the various *classes of phonemes* (already defined) are pointed out. It is also shown that the definition of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme is a *construction*. The *basic physical assumptions* on which the problem of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme has to be worked out experimentally, are indicated. The advantages got by the definition of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme are also shown.]

It has been demonstrated that  $\alpha_1$  has a one to one relation with  $k$  and  $\alpha_2$  with  $c$ ,  $\alpha_3$  with  $t$ ,  $\alpha_4$  with  $t$ ,  $\alpha_5$  with  $p$  and  $\alpha_6$  with  $\tau$ .<sup>2</sup> The class  $a \alpha_1 k$  is similar to the class  $a \alpha_2 c$  for there is a one-one relation which correlates the terms of the first class each with one term of the other class.

In like manner $a \alpha_2 c$	is similar to	$a \alpha_3 t$ and
$a \alpha_3 t$	„	$a \alpha_4 t$
$a \alpha_4 t$	„	$i \alpha_4 t$
$i \alpha_4 t$	„	$e \alpha_1 k$
$e \alpha_1 k$	„	$a \alpha_5 p$
$a \alpha_5 p$	„	$a \alpha_6 \tau$
$a \alpha_6 \tau$	„	$u \alpha_6 \tau$
$u \alpha_6 \tau$	„	$e \alpha_6 \tau$

since there is a one-one relation of which the one class is the *domain*, while the other is the *converse domain*. These are *finite* classes and have the same number of terms and are *transitive*.<sup>3</sup> A change-point is defined to be any point at which any organ changes from one type of function to another and an  $\alpha$ -sound is defined to be the segment between two successive change-points.<sup>4</sup> The sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme is a segment even as  $\sqrt{2}$  is the segment

<sup>1</sup> It has been already pointed out how we can define a sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme the *Āytam* in old Tamil. See *BDCRI*, 2. 345 ; 3. 393.

<sup>2</sup> See *BDCRI*, 2. 348-49 ; 3. 393 fn. 8. The *āytam* in old Tamil is a *combinatory variant* (for it occurs only before  $k$ ,  $c$ ,  $t$ ,  $p$  and  $\tau$ ) like the Hungarian  $\eta$  which occurs only before  $k$  and  $g$ . Cf. J. VON LAZICZIUS, A new Category in Phonology. *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 60.

This  $\eta$  is also found in Pāli and Bengali and all NIA Vernaculars as a combinatory phoneme, though not often represented as such in writing. (Prof. S. M. KATRE draws my attention to this fact). Similarly  $\tilde{n}$  is of like type in NIA loan words from Skt. as in *Jñāna* etc. and occurs only before  $c$  and  $j$  as in *evañ ca* ; *iṭhañ-janayati*, with the exception of Pāli and Māgadhi, where it has an independent existence.

<sup>3</sup> See RUSSELL, *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy*, 1919, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> C. F. HOCKETT, A system of descriptive Phonology, *Language*. 18. 5.

consisting of all those ratios whose square is less than 2.<sup>5</sup> It can be easily seen that the series (of segments) constructed is Dedekindian. The definition of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme here is an example of 'construction' as against 'postulation'.<sup>6</sup> Of course here the phonemes (the vowel + *āyām* + the consonant) form a *densely ordered class* and my belief is that the *distance* between them can be measured to a great degree of accuracy consistent with the axiom of equi-distance and the axiom that the distance is always positive.<sup>7</sup>

By 'distance' is meant 'interval', since here we are dealing with 'interval of time'—*durative*—and not 'interval of space.'

The essential difference between vowel and consonant is no doubt a moot point. The traditional way of distinguishing them may look all right only when we deal with clear-cut cases.<sup>8</sup>

Now the problem of this sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme has yet to be worked out experimentally on the following *three basic physical assumptions* :—

1. In the *transitional*, the vowel and the consonant are always together : there is superimposition.

<sup>5</sup> RUSSELL, *ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> For the distinction between 'construction' and 'postulation' see RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Prof. M. D. MANOHAR shares this belief with me. A rapid acting heterodyne wave analyzer—O. H. Schuck's sound prism—enables the experimenter to make observations on the components of sound waves in one tenth of a second, and photograph their spectra at any given moment during the observation. *Proceedings of Radio Engineers* 22, 1295-1310, Nov. 1934. M. J. ANDRADE, Some questions of fact and Policy concerning Phonemes, *Language*, 12, 5, fn. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Rao Sahib S. R. RANGANATHAN (in a private communication to me dated 22nd Aug. 1942) narrates to me a curious experience he had with his boy who is ten years old. The boy began to play with syllabification. He naturally drilled himself in syllabifying some of the words in his stock. He called his father to his aid in difficult situations and in trying to equip him with some reasoning which would pull him through all the difficulties that proved too much for his intuition, the father had to bring in the essential landmark of vowels in syllables and to say that the vowels get encased in a consonantal setting. The popular notion of vowels and consonants can be of use only in such elementary spheres. But for deeper studies we should if we can, change over to a *quantitative definition* instead of a qualitative one. Now when we have to deal with *continuous* instead of *discrete* entities the analogy, rather the *background* which we are obliged to use ordinarily, is only either space or time. Perhaps there might be other fundamental backgrounds also for dealing with entities amenable to quantitative measurements. But if the assumption made here is correct, then it is obvious that it is only the *time background* that is available for the study of vowels and consonants. Undoubtedly there is a large vista of investigation along this line. In any scientific investigation ordinarily, these two fundamental bases of quantitative distinction of entities viz. space and time recur frequently. But *Phonematics* has apparently to use only one fundamental background viz. *time*.

2. During the transitional as a consequence of super-imposition, the *masking effect* will be of importance.
3. If the *duration* of the consonants extends beyond the refractory period, there is a chance for the *audibility* of the consonant, in case the preceding vowel has an influence on the following consonant.<sup>9</sup>

The definition of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme has the following advantages. It defines a new 'bound' class (rather a sub-class) of phoneme.<sup>10</sup> It might throw new light on the famous Verner's law and the allied problems and even on Sanskrit visarga-sandhi,<sup>11</sup> besides the Kannada  $\text{ɽ}$ .<sup>12</sup> It might throw a new light on Dedekind's axiom itself.<sup>13</sup>

I am not unaware that there are serious difficulties in accepting Dedekind's theorem even in the realm of pure mathematics.<sup>14</sup> The objection that the Dedekindian series are a 'fiction' on this basis is not valid for the very conception of the 'phoneme' itself according to TWADDELL and others is a 'fiction'.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> I am indebted to Prof. M. D. MANOHAR for these formulations.

<sup>10</sup> See *BDCRI*, 3. 393.

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA for pointing this out to me.

<sup>12</sup> *BDCRI*, 3. 394.

<sup>13</sup> I venture to contend (I believe with justification) even beyond SAPIR who claims that 'it is far from unlikely that the accumulated experience of linguistic research may provide more than one valuable hint for the setting up of problems of research to acoustics and physiology themselves' SAPIR, *Status of Linguistics as a Science*, *Language*, 5. 213.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 'There are infinite number of series for which Dedekind's axiom is not verified.' RUSSELL, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>15</sup> See TWADDELL, *On defining the Phoneme*, Language Monograph, No. 16, Baltimore, 1935. VACHEK, One aspect of the Phoneme Theory. *Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, 1936, pp. 33-40. W. F. TWADDELL. On Various Phonemes, *Language*, 12. 53-59 and Answers to Andrade's Questions, *Language*, 12. 294-297. Cf. also "Le phonème est par conséquent un phénomène idéal, une entité abstraite qui résulte de l'analyse du sujet parlant et qui fait partie d'un système." A ROSETTI, Sur la définition du phonème, *Bulletin Linguistique*, 7. 103.

# A MARATHA CHIEF'S INTEREST IN THE ANCIENT AND MODERN SCIENCE OF WARFARE

By

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The Maratha state was essentially a war-state. It had been established for the express purpose of waging a permanent war against the ideology of the Islamic state which sought the conversion of the whole world to Islam. It was to act as an antidote to the poison of Islamic ideology sought to be introduced into the body politic of India by the zealous Islamic rulers like Aurangzib. When Śahājī and Śivājī found that their efforts to counteract this poison by becoming servants in the Islamic states and trying to influence it from the inside by peaceful and persuasive means failed, Śivājī finally decided that only the establishment of a sovereign Hindu state warring against the Islamic state would solve the difficulty by acting as a direct check against the spread of Islamic virus. Such a state had naturally to make the army as its chief motive power and to keep it in a state of efficiency so as to be effective in gaining its end. One would, therefore, expect such a state to make an advance in the military science and in any case make a full provision for teaching it. But when a student of history tries to investigate into the matter, he finds to his astonishment that no document is forthcoming which would tell him of the arrangements of the Marathas in inculcating the military bias to the younger generations of the Marathas. While their military machine was efficiently working as long as the state was vigorous, they do not seem to have added in any way to the world-stock of military knowledge. Even documents enumerating the duties assigned to the various military officers are not found, except a bare skeleton of instructions issued by Śivājī in his *Qānoon jābtā* of the first year of his reign as Chhatrapati. Rāmachandrapant Amātya in his short treatise for the instruction of a young Chhatrapati has touched the subject but too briefly. It merely proves that the idea of such instruction had been inculcated in the minds of the generation, coming just after Śivājī, but it does not seem to have been pursued by the later generations. A student who wishes to know the military system of the Marāthās, therefore, has to fall back upon the expedient of collecting jots of information from the casual descriptions of the same in various letters and chronicles. This very method, it should be noted, was followed by that assiduous scholar William IRVINE in his *The Army of the Indian Moghuls* and by SEN in his *Military System of the Marathas*.

Curiously enough we have discovered a Marathi document written in Modī in 1828 A.D. by a *munshi* at the court of Satara under Rājā Pratāpsimha. This document is styled *Bini Prakaraṇa* or "About the duties and the qualifications of the Quarter-Master General." It was found among the bundles

of manuscripts in the Parasnīs Collection which is now deposited in this Institute. *Bini Prakaraṇa* is from the pen of Mādhavrao Munshi, who has translated some other books also. His Marāṭhi translation of *A'raish-i-Mahfil*, a Hindustani work composed by Sher Ali at the suggestion of Mr. Harrington at Calcutta in 1804, has been printed under the title *Sabhārañjanī* in *Bhāratvarṣa* (1900) by Rāo Bahadur D. B. PARASNĪS himself. Similarly a short article styled *Akbar Nili* has also been printed in this magazine. The description of the subas of the Mughal empire found printed in the same magazine is in this Munshi's pen. A Moḍī manuscript, presumably copying its contents from *Shāhnāmā* and *Nigaristān* and advising a king on state affairs of every description is found in the same bundle as our present document. Mādhavrao Munshi seems to have been assisted by one Mirzā Ali Munshi.

Rājā Pratāpsinhā, as is known to students of history, was a clever prince, highly proud of his lineage and with ambition to do and achieve something worthy of his great name as a Chhatrapati. He had started a school in Satara for tutoring the Marāṭhās in Sanskrit, Marāṭhi and Persian languages and lores. He was not satisfied with merely copying things. He tried to adopt the knowledge from outside sources to suit and amalgamate with their ancient heritage. With this aim he sought help from his English instructors, his Persian Munshis and his Sanskrit Śāstrīs. Pratāpsinhā had impressed Elphinstone, Malcolm, the historians Grant Duff and Briggs, very favourably and had been elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society on their recommendation. He had heartily co-operated with Grant Duff in his search for documents and information. He wanted the Marāṭhās to keep up their military tradition and with that view tried to encourage the breeding of good horses by offering cash prizes and supplying stallions to villagers in his state. He was a good hunter too. While he copied British methods in his work, he would not accept their opinions. On many points he stoutly opposed slavish foreign imitation in many particulars. He did not believe in the promiscuous mixing of good stocks and hence was not favourable to the breaking of Indian castes. He was against the idea of sending girls to schools, though not opposed to their education at home. He would not sweep away the basic foundations of Indian culture even in fields non-socio-religious.

It seems he wanted to compile a manual for the use of the young Marāṭhās to be employed in his small military establishment, though it is well-known that there had been no duty left to be performed by the various Indian states secured by the British Government against both internal and external foes. Still their military establishments continued to exist for some time on the original lines. The title and the names and the technical terms remained the same, though their duties and their usages were re-modelled after the British pattern. Pratāpsinhā had before him, to be sure, an English military manual which he could have translated straight on. But he would not. He followed the British methodology and properly arranged his work dividing it into chapters and sections, and we have before us only one chapter prepared

after the model framed by him, which deals with, as said above, the duties and the qualifications of the Quarter-Master General and Adjutant. The titles of subordinates and the technical terms are practically all in Persian, which shows that Pratāpsinhā was either copying these directly from a Persian document or continuing the Persian nomenclature already adopted in the Military usage of the Marāthā army, during the days of the Peshwas. We are led to print this document mainly believing in the latter supposition.

While adopting the British system in military matters, he would still like to try ancient Hindu battle formations with the European trained infantry to the accompaniment of artillery, together with Indian cavalry, camel-riders, elephant-riders and charioteers. Where this was not feasible from the military point, he would put guns in place of elephants, musketeers in place of archers and so on. This trend of his mind is clearly exemplified in his essay at military formations.

The term Biniwālā or Quarter-Master is not found in Irvine's standard work on *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, from which it appears this name originated at some Muslim court in the Deccan and was copied by the Marāthās from them. The work of the Quarter-Master-General or Biniwālā was performed in the Mughal army by an officer called Mir Manzil. The Marāthi translation of the word is Senādhurandhar, a title found conferred on the Bhonsales of Nagpur. Biniwālā is an assistant of Sarkhail (Adjutant-General) and the whole establishment of the Sarkhail includes one *waqia gujār*, a *nāzar*, and *hāfiz*, which names are also not found in Irvine's work. Nor are they found in any other Marāthi document. We do not know whence Mādhavrao Munshi has copied these names of officers, for we cannot imagine his coining new terms for officers performing various duties in any army. Sarkhail is a title found attached to the house of Āngrés who were admirals of the Marāthā navy. The general arrangement of this document is, however, definitely modelled after some English work as the word 'book of army regulations' is found directly used in the document. The English words used in the treatment of the subject are regiment, squadron, line, square, troop, battalion, pioneer.

Pratāpsinhā's research attitude is found exemplified in these brochures also. The document begins with the Hindu arrangement with its Sanskrit nomenclature, then proceeds on to the Muslim system and fully blossoms into the Anglo-Marāthā system at the end. Even in the treatment the comparative method is found followed at places. Thus in deciding the proper selection of a site for a camp and the correct arrangement of such a camp to meet all occasions, the Greek (Unani), the Spartan (Lacedaemonian) the Byzantine (ancient Rumi) and the Turkish (current Rumi) as well as the English modes are compared, and it does not seem from the nomenclature that the whole of it was copied from some English work. A Persian Munshi seems to be assisting in the work, giving details from Muslim sources. The usages of the Marāthā Court are also incorporated in the treatment.



In the same bundle (rumāl No. 4) of the Parasnis Collection are found the fruits of researches in the ancient Hindu mode of warfare indulged in by this versatile king. He questioned and cross-questioned the Śāstris at his court about the various battle formations of the Hindu kings in ancient times. The names of the Śāstris are :—1. Dāsācārya, a pupil of Rāghavācārya, 2. Anyābā Śāstri Pendharkar, 3. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri Paṇḍit, 4. Nānā Pāthak Ninhikar, 5. Raoji Joshi Vavikar, 6. Nārāyaṇaśāstri Vyāsa, 7. Yajñeśvara Joshi Pāvaskar, 8. Śivānanda Śāstri, 9. Śukasāstri Vyāsa, 10. Puruśōttambhat Mâté. On a paper dated 7th July 1830, they certify the correctness of the various battle arrangements (*vyūhas*) quoting from various standard Sanskrit works. The works mentioned are :—1. *Vīramitrodaya*, 2. *Parāśara Mādhava*, 3. *Nītisāra*, 4. *Varāhasamhitā*, 5. *Agni Purāṇa*, 6. *Rājadharmā*, 7. *Nītimañjarī* and 8. *Rājakoṣa*.

The most curious thing in the bundle is the exact representation of various *vyūhas* on paper, cut according to their shapes. The representations of the following *vyūhas* are found in the bundle :—1. Cakra, 2. Vajra, 3. Khalaka, 4. Śakaṭa, 5. Sūci, 6. Mālā, 7. Sarpa, 8. Simha, 9. Makara, 10. Padma and 11. Śyena. In the complete list of *vyūhas* are also found :—1. Balāka, 2. Garuḍa, 3. Krauñca, 4. Sarvatobhadra, 5. Agni, 6. Ardhaçandra, 8. Kāka, and 9. Pada. The Sanskrit verses defining these battle-plans are copied on the left hand upper corner and in the right had upper corner is given the Marāṭhi (and in one place Persian) translation of those verses in Moḍi script. For filling in the formations, impressions of the various kinds of troops etc. have been stamped in ink to give them the proper shape of a serpent, a needle, a lotus and so on. These impressions are, however, of the British and Sepoy soldiers of 1830 with guns drawn by bullocks, soldiers with bayonets and European hats, etc. A paper showing us how to combat one *vyūha* by opposing it by its counter-*vyūha* is also found amongst the papers. Side by side in the same bundle are found the modern European plans of battles, siege methods to be used against forts. etc. copied in Marāṭhi presumably from some English work.

The last, but not the least curious thing found in the bundle is an estimate of expenditure dated 1830 necessary for forming a battalion of women troops.

These documents from the court of an intelligent, ambitious and progressive Indian prince in the second quarter of the nineteenth century show us the direction along which the progress of India would have proceeded, but for the introduction of the English system of education based on the ideas of Macaulay. The fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures had already advanced to the farthest point then, and the remodelling of that combined culture by throwing in a third current would have produced an amalgam as useful and as unbreakable as the amalgam of five metals used in India from ancient times to cast a thing for permanent use.

## बिनी प्रकरण-भाग १

श्री

**माधवराव मुनसीकडील**

श्रीमत्जगदीश्वराप्रती नमस्कार करून **फौजेतील कायदे** यथातथ्य लिहिण्याविषई प्रारंभ करीतो की पूर्वापासोन राज्यास मुख्य सेनाबळ प्राधान्य आहे ती सेना च्यार प्रकारची जीजला **चतुरंगसेना** म्हणतात. त्या सेनेतील किती जमातीस काय नांव, कोण कोण कामदार ते विषईचा तपशील :

	रथ	गज	घोड़े	पायदल
पत्ति	१	१	३	५१०
सेनामुख	३	३	९	१५१३०
गुल्म	९	९	२७	४५१९०
गुणा	२७	२७	८१	१३५१२७०
बाहिनी	८१	८१	२४३	४०५१८१०
पृतना	२४३	२४३	७२९	१२१५१२४३०
चमू	७२९	७२९	२१८७	३६४५१७२९०
अनीकिनी	२१८७	२१८७	६५६१	९७३५१२१८७०
अश्वौहिणी	२१८७०	२१८७०	६५६१०	९७३५०१२१८७००

येकूण दोन लक्ष अठरा हजार सातसे जमातीस येक क्षोणी असे नांव ठेवीत होते. परंतु मलावर्ताचे हिशोबाने क्षोणीची मोजणी वेगळे तऱ्हेची आहे ती.

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येणे प्रमाणे मोजणास अडवे चोवीस आंख आल्यास त्यास क्षोणी म्हणतात. असो. परंतु अमुक इतके सेनेचा अधिकारी असेल त्यास अमुक म्हणावे अशी नावे कोठे अदृष्ट्यांत येत नाहीत. तथापि कल्पना असी वाटते की, सदरहू जमातीस नावे लिहीली आहेत त्या त्या अधिकाऱ्यास त्याच जमातीचे नावांनां कांहीं पर्याय योजिले असतील; परंतु यवनाचे कारकीर्दीत त्याणीही आपले फौजेविषईचे मान केले होते ते :

	घोडी	सिपार्ई	रेकले	तोफा	बाणकेंचा	हत्ती	सरखील	बिनीवाला
वफात	१०	२०	१	०	१	१	०	१
जमात	३०	६०	३	०	३	३	०	१
फौज	३००	६००	३०	२	३०	३०	१	वेगळे कामगारीनें
असाकर	३०००	६०००	३००	२०	३००	३००	१	कामगारी प्रा
लस्कर	३००००	६००००	३०००	२००	३०००	३०००	१	कामगारी प्रमाणे
	<u>३३३४०</u>	<u>६६६८०</u>	<u>३३३४</u>	<u>२२२</u>	<u>३३३४</u>	<u>३३३४</u>	<u>३३३४।३</u>	

येणे प्रमाणे जमेतीची नांवे ठेविली. परंतु त्या जमेतीतील कामगार वगैरे हत्येक वेगळ्या प्रकाराचे. ते असे की, सात सिपायांचा एक पाहारा आणि त्याजवर एक आमलदार व दोन

पाहण्यावर येक हवालदार व दोन हवालदारावर येक कोत हवालदार व दोन कोत हवालदारावर येक दफेदार व दोन दफेदारावर येक जमादार व दोन जमादारावर येक सुबेदार व दोन सुबेदारावर येक रिसालदार व येक रिसाल्यात येक निशाण त्यास खील म्हणत होते. अकरा खीलास फौज म्हणत होते व च्यार फौजेवर येक सरकर्दा. या प्रमाणेच स्वाराचाहि बंदोबस्त करून अकरा फौजस्वार व अकरा फौज पैदल येकुण येक लस्कर तयार जाले. त्याचा रहवार व बंदोबस्त करणार येक सरखील मुकरार करीत होते. व फौजेचे मुख्य निशाण ज्यास थोरली ढाल म्हणतात ती, त्याचे स्वाधीन करीत होते. बंदोबस्ताकरीता करोल व भालेकरी स्वार आणि सिबंदी येणे प्रमाणे त्याचे तैनातीस देत होते. आणि दुसरे च्यार कामदार त्याचे हाताखाली योजीत होते ते—

- १ वाके गुजार याणे शत्रुचा अथवा दरयेक उपद्रव देणार लोकांचा कुच मुकाम वगैरे बातमी गुस्वरुपे आपले लोक हर वेषाने पाठऊन आणऊन सरखीलास द्यावी. त्याणी सरकारांत खबर देऊन फौजेचा कुच अगर मुकाम किंवा स्वारी करण्याविशी वगैरे हुकूम होईल त्या अन्वये करावे. कलम
- २ नाजर म्हणजे ज्यास मुलकाची खबर असेल त्याणे आपले वाकफगारीने अथवा नक्षा पाहून हरयेक जी मुकामाची जागा असेल तेथील पाणी व हवा वगैरे आणि मार्गी घाट अथवा बारी अगर हरयेक अडचण असेल की जेथे शत्रूकडून सरकारी फौजेस जलल पोचेल ते वर्तमान सांगावे. आणि सरखीलानी हुजूर अर्ज करून नंतर तमाम सरदारास खबर देऊन फौज हुशारीने न्यावी.
- ३ हाफीज याणे वाटेने फौज जाते समई रयत लोकांचे शेत अगर मकल्यांत कोणी उपद्रव न करी असा बंदोबस्त ठेवावा. त्यातही चुकोन आपराधांत कोणी सापडल्यास त्यास धरून सरखीलापासी हुजर करावे अगर थोर माणूस असल्यास त्याची खबर द्यावी. म्हणजे ते सरकारांत अर्ज करून पारपत्य योग्यतेनरूप करवीतील.
- ४ बिनीवाला याणे सरकारची आज्ञा कुचाविषई सरखीलास जाल्यानंतर त्याणे मार्ग व मुकामाचा अजमास विचारून घेऊन आपण मुकामाचे जाग्यावर जावे. ते काली ढाल बरोबर असावी. आणि वाटेत जो गाव आढळेल तेथे ढालेची भेट वगैरे जे काही येईल ते घेत जावे. आणि मुकामी पोचल्यानंतर त्याची यादी अलाहिदा करून ठेवावी व फौज उतरावयास जागा व सरबरा राखणे ती :—
- १ फौज उतरावयाचे जाग्यास नदी अगर नोढ्याचे पाणी असल्यास ते पाणी फौजेचे मागे घ्यावे. आणि सरकारचे डेरे न्हावयाचे जागी छाया पहावी. कारण जे कोणी गरीब गुरबा वगैरे लोक हुजूर येतात त्यांचे काम होईतो पावेतो त्यास तेथे बसावे लागते. त्यास श्रम न होईत असे पाहावे. परंतु लोक बसावया जोगी छाया जामदारखाना अगर खजीना यांचे जवळ रिकामि ठेऊ नये. जो कचेरीचा डेरा असेल त्याजपुढे अथवा आसपास राहावी.
- २ ज्या गावी मुकाम जाला असेल त्या गांवचे कामदारानी वैरण, लाकडे, शाकभाजी, पानपत्राबळ वगैरे जमा करून गंज घातली असेल तेथे आपला कारकून ठेऊन त्याजकडून किंमत पुसोन घेऊन फौजेत ज्यास जसजसा खर्च असेल तसतशा त्याच्या चीठ्या आल्या म्हणजे त्यांस आपले विद्यमाने देवऊन वाजबी किंमत मालकास पोचऊन त्याची पाबती खरीददारास देवावी.

- ३ हरयेक जागा पेठेचा अगर मोठा गांव अढळत्यास तेथील दुकानदार वाणी वगैरे बाजारांत दाणादुणा घेऊन येतात आणि सवंग विकू लागतात. यामुळे लस्करातील दुकानदार याजपासी जो जीनस मागील माहागाईचा असतो त्याचा खप न होता त्यांचे अंगावर नुकसान येते. ऐसीयास त्या गावची धारण व आपले फौजेतील धारणेसी ताळा पाहावा. फार अंतर नसल्यास जे गांवफरी वाणी फौजेत विकरा करावयास येतील त्यांजपासोन काही बैठक वगैरे महसूल ठरऊन घेऊन विकून घ्यावे. धारणेत जास्ती फेर आहे तरी लस्करचे वाणीयापासोन महसूल त्या दिवसीचा जास्त ठराऊन घेऊन त्यांजकडून गांवातील जीनस आणऊन लस्करात विकरा करावा. गावातील दुकानदारास येऊ देऊ नये. परंतु बारकाईने चौकसी राहावी की असे केल्यामुळे लस्करचे दुकानदार धारणेत आपला ज्याजती नफा करून लस्करवाल्यास न बुडवीत. या योगे दुकानदार व लस्करचे माणूस कोणीच दिलगीर राहात नाही.
- ४ बाजारात कोतवालाच पाल मुकरर होऊन तेथे चौकी असते त्यास असी ताकीद करावी की बाजारात परस्परे कोणी कज्या कावत न करीत. तत्राप कोणी केल्यास बाजारी लोकांचा कज्या आहे तरी चौकीदारानी आपणास समजाविल्यानंतर लाहान कज्या असल्यास गुनेगारी घेणे अगर पारपत्य करणे ते करून येकंदर वर्दा साईकाली सरखीलास थावी. कोणी सिपाई अगर मातबर माणूस याणे कज्या केला असल्यास पुरी तहकीकात करून त्याचा अपराध आहे असे जाल्यास जो त्याचा सरदार असेल त्यास कळऊन पारपत्य करावे. हे व्हावयाजोगे नाही तरी ती खबर जलद सरखीलास थावी. ते हुजूर अर्ज करून बंदोबस्त करवीतील.
- ५ हरयेक फौजेत भिकार, वडार, वगैरे फार असतात. त्यांचे घरांची व माणसाची मोजणी करून हरयेकाचे घरची अमकी माणसे असी नावनिसीवार यादी लिहून ठेवावी. आणि ते काय काम करितात व त्याचा लस्करांत काय उपयोग आहे व पोट कशावर भरतात याची पुरी चौकसी राखावी आणि बाजारांत वाकफगार येकंदोन सिपाई जुजरसीबा॥ फीरवीत जावे. त्याणी गणती खेरीज अधिक अथवा नवे माणूस अढळतांच त्यांचे गांव, नांव, ठावठिकाण, वोलख, वगैरे चौकसी करावी. उगीच परकी माणसे चौकसी खेरीज फिरू देऊ नयेत. त्यांस असी ताकीद करावी की जर इतःपर तुम्हास लस्करांत पाहीले तरी मोठी सजा दिली जाईल. अथवा त्यांची वोलख घेऊन मुखेनेव त्यांस जाऊ येऊ द्यावे. नाही तरी उगेच परकी लोकांस फिरून देऊ नये. कारण शत्रुकडील हेर अथवा चोर नाना प्रकारचे वेष धरून बातमी करीता फिरत असतात व कदाचित वोलखीचे जरी आहेत तत्राप त्यास आघाडीस अगर पिछाडीस किंवा लस्कराजवळ उतर देऊ नये. तलाव्याचे बाहेर त्याणी उतरावे असी ताकीद राहावी.
- ५ मुकामावर सरकारी डेरे जाल्यानंतर ज्यांची उतरावयाची जागा जेथे असेल ती ती बाजू त्यांस दाखळून द्यावी. आणि आपलाले जाग्यावरील डेन्यात आले कोण व कोण आले नाहीत. ते कोठे कोणत्या कारणा करीता राहीले याची पकी चौकसी करून, नंतर सरखीलास खबर थावी म्हणजे ते हुजूर अर्ज करतील.
- ६ परमुलकांत फौज लढाई करीता गेली असता तेथे केवळ गांवोगांव शत्रुकडील कामदार सरबरा राखितात असे नाही. यास्तव कही करावी लागते. ते काली बिनीवाळे याणी

आपले लस्करची बेगमी वैरणीची वगैरे कोणते गांवी होईल, आणि तेथे शत्रुकडील फौज रक्षणकरीता कीती आहे, ये विषईची बातनी पकी हरयेक तरेने आपले माणसाकडून अथवा तेथीलच वाकफगार यास ममतेत घेऊन अगर काही लाल्दच दाखऊन ज्या योगे आपले कहीवर शत्रूचा हात न चाले इतके सरंजामानसी लस्करची कही समागमे घेऊन जाऊन मजबुतीने सर्वास साभाळून आपले फौजेत घेऊन यावे. कोणी येक सरदार अगर मातबर माणुस याणे बिनीवाल्यास कळविल्याखेरीज हरयेक जागा आपली जनावरे कहीस पाठविली आणि तेथे त्यास काही दगा फटका जाल्यास त्याची मदत कदापि करू नये. कारण येक वेळ अदल घडल्यास ते पुनः असे करणार नाहीत. परंतु अशा गोष्टीने आपले लस्करचा बदनक्ष जाला ये विषईची ईर्ष्या पुर्ती मनांत धरून सरखीलाचे विद्यमाने हुजूर अर्ज करून नंतर त्या गांवावर मोहिम अथवा स्वारी करून खंड दंड घेणे अगर असामी धरणे वगैरे विसी मुख्यारीने काम करावे. बंद धरून लस्करांत आणिल्यानंतर मात्र बिनीवाल्याची मुख्यारी नाही. त्याणे सरखीलास कळवावे. ते सरलस्कर अगर सेनापतीचे वि॥ हुजूर अर्ज करून त्याचा खंड दंड करणे तो परस्परे करतील.

७ **फौजेत मोठे मेहनतीचे काम बिनीवाल्याकडे आहे.** सबब तीघा कामदारापेक्षा सरखील बिनीवाल्याची हुरमत मोठी आहे असे समजोन सरकारांत त्याचा मान पान आपले दुयमपणांत वागवितील. परंतु बिनीवाला याने सरकार कामाविषई निष्कपटपणे वागोन मेहेनतीत कसर करू नये, जो कोणी बिनीवाला आहे त्याणे आपले शरीर कसोटीत राखावयाचे ते बि॥

१ **अल्प आहार** विहित असेल तो घेत जावा. म्हणजे मुस्ती अथवा प्रकृतीस विक्षेप न येता झोप थोडकी होईल आणि त्याची हुशारी रात्र दिवस फार आहे सबब त्याचे जरबेमुळे लोकहि भिऊन वागू लागतील. त्या योगें बंदोबस्त चांगला राहील.

२ **बिनीवाला** या नांवाचा अर्थ असा आहे कीं पारसीभाषेत **बीनी नाकास** म्हणतात. ऐसीयास बिनीवाला हे फौजेचे नाक आहे. त्याणे हुशारी न राखिली तरी लस्करास शोभा दिसणार नाही. यास्तव बिनीवाला योजणं तो हुशार पाहुन योजावा.

३ बिनीवाला यास **मुखत थोडकी असावी.** आणि निर्लभपणे सरकारकाम करीत जावे म्हणजे सरकारचा इतबार राहतो आणि लोकहि जरबतात.

४ बिनीवाला याणे अक्षई **शूराच्या व हुशार माणसाच्या** कथा अनेक प्रकारचे हुशारीच्या ऐकोन ध्यानांत धराव्या म्हणजे त्यायोगे समयास हुशारी ज्यास्त सुचते.

५ बिनीवाला याणे **जोर व मुदगल** वगैरे करून आपले शरीरात जी शक्ती आहे ती आपले स्वाधीन राही असी तयारी ठेवावी.

६ बिनीवाला याणे **जागण्याचा अभ्यास** फार ठेवावा. निजणं जाल्यास दोन प्रहरी आपले जाग्यावर कामे आटपली असल्यास निजावे, परंतु रात्री बहुत हुशार असत जावे. अशा योगे कदाचित् मुस्ती आली तरी च्याह, कहवा, वगैरेचा अभ्यास करून पीत जावे.

७ बिनीवाला याणे **सिवीगाल** वगैरे कोणास न देता जरबे मध्येच सारी माणसे वागेत असी कामात **निष्ठुरता बालगावी.** बोलणे जाल्यास आपले व सरकारचे नुकसान न होता **गोड** असेल ते बोलवावे.

येणेप्रमाणे आपली स्थिती राखावी.

८. बिनीवाल्याचे तैनातीस जे स्वार अगर पायदल अस्तील त्याणी त्याचा हुकुम सरकारी कामाविषयी सरकार हुकामप्रमाणे मानीत जावा. तकरार कर नये. कारण स्वारीत सर्व गोष्टी बिनीवाला याचे सिरावर आहेत, त्यापक्षी हरयेक कामात नफा अगर नुकसान जाले तरी त्याचा जबाब बिनीवाला देईल. परंतु तैनाती लोकानी त्याचे हुकमांत अंतर केल्यास त्यास शिक्षा लष्करचे कायद्याचे बुकात लिहीली आहे तशी होईल.
९. लष्कर किले कोट घ्यावयास गेले आहे. सबब तेथील अधीकारीयाने आसपासचा मुळक उज्याड करून रसद हरयेक युक्तीने बंद केली. सा॥ लष्करात दुष्काळ पडतो ते समई लमाण व वेपारी वगैरे याजकडून रसद आगवण्याविशी बिनीवाले आपले मारफतीने त्यासी बोलणे करून सरखीलाचे विद्यमाने सरकारात अर्ज करवीतील. त्या अन्वये सरकार त्यांचे बोलणे मंजूर करून लमाण वगैरेस कौल व बक्षीस व संरक्षणास जमेत वगैरे बिनीवाले सांगतील तीतकी देतील. ये विषईचे बोलणे इतराचे ऐकून घेणार नाहीत. कारण हा इलाखा बिनीवाले याचा आहे. आणी जेथे असीच अवघड गोष्ट येईल तेथे नाजर व हाफीज व वाकेगुजार सर्वहि बिनीवाल्यास बहुत मदत देतील.
१०. जेथे थोडकी फौज रवाना करावयाचे काम पडेल तेथें सरखील जातीनें जात नाहीत. बिनीवाला याची योजना करतील. तेव्हां पांचही हुद्दे सरकारी लिहिले आहेत त्याप्रमाणे बिनीवालेच आपले मुख्यारी ठेवीतील. आणी ते सर्व सामान बातनीची माणसे सुवा यांचेच तैनातीस राहतील.
११. जेथे सरखेल नाही तेथे बिनीवाल्याकडेच सर्व मुख्यारी असते. ऐसीयास परराज्यांत फौज गेल्यानंतर हरयेक किस्ते जमींदार वगैरे लोकांचे अपअपसात असतात. ते सरकारी फौजेचा आश्रय करून या जोरावर आपले काम करून घेण्या बा॥ बिनीवाल्यासी बोलतील ते काम योग्यता पाहून हलके हजार रुपयाचे भांत आहे तरी बिनीवाले अर्धी त्याचा बंदोबस्त करून नंतर सरकारांत खबर देतील. इतकी मुख्यारी त्याजकडे आहे, परंतु हजाराचे वर काम असल्यास सरकारात विनंती केल्या खेरीज कदापि कर नये.
१२. स्वराज्यात फौज फिर लागल्यास बिनीवाले यांस वाटाडे वगैरे पाडिजेत ते त्याणी दर गावांस पेंडा प्रमाणे दोन वाटाडे घेऊन आपला येक येक सिपाई त्या गांवी ताकीदीस ठेवावा. कारण लष्करचे लोक ज्यास पाहिजे ते वाटाड्याकरिता उपद्रव कर लागतील, त्यामुळे गाव हीरासान होऊन त्या अवईने लाहान लाहान खेडी आपली वस्ती उठवितील. यास्तव हा बंदोबस्त अर्धी राखावा. इतक्यावरहि हरकोणी सिपायाची ताकाद मनास न आणीता जबरीने वाटाड्या घेतल्यास ते विषईची खबर सरखीलास द्यावी. म्हणजे ते सरकारात अर्ज करून बंदोबस्त करवितील.
१३. सरकारी फौज स्वराज्यांत अथवा सरहद्दी वरील दीलतदार यांचे राज्यात जात असता हरयेक अडचणीमुळे लष्करचे लोकास बेगारीची गरज लागते. यास्तव बिनीवाल्याने तेथील कामगारांस सांगोन बेगारी लोक आपणापासी आणोन ठेवावे. आणी ज्यास लागतील त्यास देऊन सिरस्ते माफक मजुरी त्यास देवीत जावी. आपले इतल्याखेरीज बेगार न देण्याविशी कामदारास ताकीद करावी. येणे प्रमाणे बंदोबस्त राखल्यास रयत बेदिल होणार नाही. तद्दु बैल वगैरे जे लागतील त्याजविशीहि असेच करावे. सरकारीकामाबा॥ हरयेक सिपाई वगैरे अजारी जाला अशा लोकास बेगारी खेरीज निवांड नाही असे आहे, तरी बेगारीयाची मजुरी सरकारातून देवऊन फडापैकी तो ऐवज खर्ची ल्याहावा.

१४. फडफर्मास बिनीवाल्याने जमा करावी असे पूर्वी लिहिलेच आहे. त्या खेरीज कोंबडी अंडी वगैरे जे सामान इतर लोकास लागेल तेही याणेच आणवावे.

१५. बिनीवाले याची मेहनत ज्यास्त व त्याजकडे सारी फौजेची सरबराई पडते. ऐसीयास कोणी सरदार लोक वगैरे मनांत असे आणतील आम्ही त्याजकडेस काही पदार्थ मागावयास जाणार नाही. ऐसीयास हा विषाद कोणी कधीच मनात आणो नये. कारण बिनीवाला आघाडीचा मालक असतो. परशत्रूवर जाणे जाल्यास त्याजला हरयेक जागा लढाईचा प्रसंग पडतो आणि युद्धाचे वेळेस देखील सर्वा पेक्षा त्याजला निशाणाचे बचावा करिता लढाई फार पडते. याज करिता याची हुरमत इतकी अधिक आहे असे समजावे व जर लस्करचे सरबराईस वगैरे येक कोणी मुखत्यार न राहील तरी बंदोबस्त राहणे कठीण आहे. यास्तव सरकार मुसाफरीचे समई त्याचा इतबार फार बालगतात.

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४ येणे प्रमाणे च्यार कामदार सरखील याचे हाताखाली असतात. जसे लस्कर व सेनाकर्ते वगैरे सेना मंडली सेनापतीच्या दोन बाजवा आहेत. त्याच प्रकारे सरखील हा मुख्य सीर आहे. आणि ते सेनापति राज्याची बाजू आहेत असे सभानीतीत वर्णिले आहेच. या खेरीज लस्करी कायदे बहुत आहेत. परंतु जितके निवडण्याविषई सरकार आज्ञा जाली तितकेच निवडले असेत. मि॥ ज्येष्ठ शु॥ ९ शके १७५० हस्ताक्षर माधवराव मुनसी.

## बिनी प्रकर्ण-भाग २.

१ बिनीवाला म्हणजे काय ? बिनी हे नाव पारसीत नाकास आहे. नाक सर्व शरीरापुढे तसा जो लस्करात साऱ्या लस्करापुढे मुकामाचा जागा मुकरार कर्ण्यास जातो त्यास बिनीवाले नाव मुकरार केले. हिंदुस्थानांत यास मीरमंजल म्हणतात. इंग्रजीत क्वार्टर मेस्तर जनरल म्हणतात. ( शुद्ध मराठीत त्यास ) सेनाधुरंधर म्हणतात.

२ बिनीवाला कसा असावा ? :—

- १ पहीली मोठी मोठी कामे केलेला असावा. त्याणे रयतेचा बंदोबस्त अवल व पाणी व रान पाहणे करावे. व शूर असावे. व शूराच्या गोष्टी ऐकोन ध्यानात धराव्या. त्या योगाने, येखादे समई, मोठी आफत गुजरली तरी, त्या स्मरणाने धैर्य येते.
- २ मोठा समजदार व तेजदार असावा, कारण समज आहे आणि मुद्राहीन आहे तरी लोक पाहताच जरबत नाहीत. याजकरिता तेजस्वी समजदार असावा.
- ३ मुरवत गैरवाजबीविसी अगदी नसावी व दमदारी मोठी असावी. परंतु ज्या दमदारीत सरकारी नुकसान होत आहे असे नसावे.
- ४ बोलणे गोड, परंतु हासीलास कमी नसावे, वाईट हलके भाषण तोंडी नसावे. उरमटपणा नसावा. बोलण्यात सर्वास जरब, असे कारणानरुप भाषण असावे.
- ५ जेवणखाण थोडे परमीतीचे असावे. तेही चांगले सुस्ती येण्याचे पदार्थ न खावे व झोप फार नसावी. निजणे तरी सारे कामाचा बंदोबस्त ठेऊन दिवसा काही झोप आपले जाग्यास घ्यावी. रात्री जागत असावे, ते कारणासारीखे असावे. ज्याप्रणाने कांही विकार झाला तर चाहा वगैर उपचार करावा.
- ६ निषकपटी इतबारदार असावा.
- ७ मुदगल व जोर तालमेचा अभ्यास असावा. शक्ती आहे ती कायम राहावी. या योगाने मेहनत जाजती पडली असतांही प्रकृतीस अपाय होणार नाही.
- ८ भूगोलाचे वर्णन आहे ते व नक्षे पाहून समुद्र, प्रांत, देश, गांव, शहर, कोलेकोट, डोंगर, झाडी, नद्या, घाट, दऱ्या, ओढेसुधा व ओल्या जमीनी, मैदान, माल ( ङ ) दगड पाणी याची माहीत असावी.

३ बिनीवाला याचे आधीकारावीसी. याचा बंदोबस्त व मगदुर हुजुरातून ठेविला पाहिजे.

- १ जेथे सरखील जात नाही तेथे सरखील व वाके गुजार व नाजर व हाफीज व बिनी, या पाच हुद्याची मुखत्यारी बिनीवाला याजकडेच असावी. कदांचांत सरखीलाखेरीज तीचे कामदार त्या लस्करात असलीयास त्यांचे काम पाहतील. परंतु बिनीवाल्यावर हुकुम मग मुख्य सरदाराखेरीज दुसरीयाचा नाही. मग नाजर याणे मार्गाची वगैर खबर देणे ती बिनीवाल्याकडेसच देणे. बिनीवाले याणी हुजूर कलवाचे.
- २ जेथे सरखील नाही, तेथे बिनीवालाच मुखत्यार आहे. त्यास परराज्यांत स्वारी गेलीयास, कोणी जमीदार वगैर काही कामाकरीता बिनीवाला याजकडील येतील,



त्याचा मजकूर ऐकोन सरखील कडून सरकार कानावर घालऊन, त्याचा बंदोबस्त येथे मागे करून देवावा, दुसरेचे मुख नसावे, स्वराज्यातील येतील ते, ज्या ज्या कामाचे असतील, त्या त्या कामदाराकडे जातील.

३ सरदार व कामदार वगैरे मोठे मातबर स्वारीस मागे असतील त्यास काही जीनस भगर वेठ बिगार वगैरे लागलीयास त्याणी गावकर व कामावीसदार व मामलेदार वगैरे कामदार यास सांगोन पाठऊ नये. हरजीनस विकाऊ बिनीवाले याणे जमा करऊन ठेविला असतो त्याजकडेच सांगो पाठऊन भाणवावे. आपले मातबरीचा मोठेपणा मनात आणु नये. कारण तो सरकारचा कामदार व स्वारीतील बंदोबस्ताचे काम बिनीवाल्याकडे त्यापेक्षी त्यासच सांगो पाठवावे. जिनस कमी असल्यास बिनीवाला आणील.

४ फौज गुप्त रूपे जरी पाठवणे जाले तरी मुख्यानी बिनीवाल्यास जाहीर करणे.

५ बिनीवाला जागा पाहण्यास वगैरे कामामुळे जातो, त्यास त्याचे निसबतीस स्वार व सिबंदी व कामगार वगैरे अमुक असावे, असे अलाहीदा कलम लि॥ आह्मे त्या प्रो॥ असेल परंतु काही कारणामुळे नेमणुकी खेरीज जाजती दुसमानी वगैरे मुले पाहिजे असे जाहल्यास, सरकारास खबर द्यावी. सरकारातून विलंब न करिता देवावे.

६ फौजेत बिनीवाला यास मेहनत मोठी स॥ ( सबब ) सरखील याणी तीघा कामगारापेक्षां बिनीवाला याची हुरमत मानपानाविस्वी आपल्या दुयमपणात वागवावी.

७ बिनीवाला यास नाजर व वाके गुजर व हाफीज याणी कारणासारखी मदत देत जावी.

८ कोणी सरदार मुख्यापासून लस्करातून पुढे जाऊन उतरला त्याणे वरदी लिहून पाठवावी ती मुख्यास व आपल्यास अंतर किती व उतरलेल्या जाग्याची लांबी रुंदी पाणी कसे, आकृती उतरलेली कसी, नजीक किले, शहर, गावखेडी किती अंतराने व आसपास प्रांत कसा, दरकुचाचा व मुकामाचा तपसीलवार नक्षा मुकामवार व कही व सरंजाम कसा कोठे मिलतो वगैरे सोय व अडचण बिनीवाला यास लिहून पाठवावे. त्या सरदाराबरोबर बिनीवाला याकडील कामगार असावा.

४ बिनीवाला याणे कोणते समई कोठे असावे येचिसी

१ लढाईचे मोहल्यावर मुख्य सरदाराबरोबर असावे

२ सेनापती याबरोबर रपेटी करणेस असावे

३ याहून बाकी वेळेस आपल्या कामावर असावयाचे तेथे असावे

४ कुचाचे वेळेस आघाडीस असावे.

५ बिनीवाला याचे हाताखाली स्वार व सिबंदी वगैरे असावयाचे ते त्याणी हुकूम जो बिनीवाला करील तें करावे त्यांत हरेकत कर नये कमजास्त जालीयास बिनीवाला जाब करील.

१ दुयेम वगैरे बरोबरी दाख (!) मध्येम कनीष्ट येकून तीन

२ पाच हजार जमेत आहे तरी त्याजकडे चौथ्या साडेबाराशे असावे.  
तपसील:—

स्वार दर हजारी दोनसे प्रा॥

पायदळ दर हजारी तीनसे प्रा॥

१२५०

३ पायनेरचे ( Pioneer ) लोक कामाठी व तबलदार व बेलदार व दिवटे व  
५० २५ २५ ५

चपरासी व ढलकार

१० १० = १२५

४ सरदार व रिसालदार याणी आपली आपली जागा पाहावयास येकक कामगार  
बिनिवाल्याबरोबर थावा.

सदरहु प्रे॥ पाच हजार जमीतीस असावे याहुन जमीत जाजती असल्यास त्या  
मानाने हाताखाली जाजती व्हावे. कमी असल्यास याचे मानाने कमी करावे.

## ६ जागा मुकामास कसी असावी येविसी

१ स्वाराची फौज मोठी आहे तरी, उतरणेस जागा मैदान खुली असावी.

२ पायदल फार आहे. उतरण्याचे जाग्याचे आसपास कुंपन अगर वोढा किंवा काही  
प्राकार टेकाड असी आश्रय युक्त असावी असी पहीली युगांतरी चाल आहे; परंतु  
त्यावेळेस पायदलावर काम फार पडत नव्हते अन्नविद्येमुळे वगैरे. ते हाली सामर्थ्य  
पायदल व तोफा व कवाईती यांत आहे सबब अडचण फार नसावी.

३ जागा असी असावी की, जेथे मुकाम केला असता, दिलास खुलासा वाटावा दिलगिरी  
न यावी

४ पाणी विपुल दोन तीन तोंडी असावे. कदाचीत येक तोंडी असले तरी नदी अगर  
वोढा मोठे पाणी चांगले असावे व पाणीयाची जागा आडचणीची नसावी. जवळ असावे.

५ सरपणाची सोय असावी म्हणजे पायाचे लोकास वगैरे अडचण पडणार नाही.

६ ज्या जाग्यावर उतरले असतां, असपास प्रांतांतून रसद व खाणयाचा वगैरे सरंजाम  
फौजेस सुरलीत पोचसे असावे.

७ वर्ष स्तुत पर्जन्यकाली छावणीस जागा योजणे ती पांढरीची अगर खडक असावी.  
व कालवट गालवट सतण नसावी व छावणीस आघाडीस पाणी व पिछाडीस डोंगर  
असे असावे.

८ जेथे उतरले असता शत्रूचा कोन (?) आलातरी आपल्या सैन्याचा बचाव व्हावा  
असी जागा असावी.

९ जेथे मूळ ठाणे आहे, म्हणजे स्वारीस जाणार मुख्य त्याची राजधानी अथवा त्याचे  
लस्कर कोठे उतरले, त्यापैकी कोणी सरदार पुढे गेल्य तर मुख्याच्या लस्करात  
कागदपत्र उतर प्रत्योतर जाण्या-येण्याची सोय घडे, असी जागा असावी.

१० जेथे साध्या जमीनी कोरव्या असोन नदीचे काठास काही अंतराने उतरावे हे फार चांगले.

११ सदरील प्रकार सांगितले याखेरीज, जागा उतरणेस, चांगली नव्हे. सदरद्वचा तपसील स्वराज्यात दुसऱ्यानीत कसे वागावे हा अलाहिदा लि।। आहे.

सदरद्व कलमाचाविशी माहितगार नाजर म्हणून असतो. त्याला हरयेक प्रांतातील माहीतगारी कची असावी त्याणे ज्या रोखे स्वारी जावयाची असेल तीकडे मुकामाचे अदमासे असल्यास चौहोकडील व मुकामाचे जागायाची माहीतगारी वाकबगारीने व नक्षे सुधा सरखेल यास समजून घ्यावी. ते बिनीवाल्यास नक्षे व वाकबगारीने माहीतगारी जागयाची वगैरे करून देतील.

### पु।। ( पुरवणी ) बिनीप्रकर्ण

७ मुकामाचे जाग्यास कूच होऊन जाण्याचे पूर्व दिवसी जाऊन, निशाणे वगैरे मुकरार करून येण्याविशी.

१ पुढे दुसरे दिवसाचे मुकामाची जागा, पाणी वगैरे पाहणेस जाणे ते बिनीवाल्याचे दुयमाने पूर्व दिवसी जावे अगर आपलेच जाणे येखादे वेळे जाले तरी मागील बंदोबस्त दस्तुर माफक ठेऊन त्याणे जाणे तरी जावे.

२ दुय्यम याणे, पुढील मुकामास कसे जावे, व जाऊन कर्तव्यता काय ते.

१ मुळी सरकार आज्ञा जो रोख कुच व्हावयास सरखीलास होईल, त्याणी नाजर यास, त्या रोखे मुकामास जाग्याची वेवस्था घाट वगैरे नदी नाले बारया याची माहीत पुसावी. नाजर याणे वाकबगारीने सांगावे, नक्षा ही द्यावा. त्या प्रे।। सरखील याणी बिनीवाला यास सांगावे नक्षाही द्यावा. तो दुयमाणे घेऊन व सांगितलेले समजोन रात्रौ घ्यावे आणि मुख्य बिनीवाला ढाल घेऊन निघेल त्याजबरोबर निघोन पहिल्या मुकामास जावे. तेथून पुढील मुकामाचे जाग्यास जावे.

२ बरोबर बेलदार व कामाठी दिवटे जामूद हलकारे, चपरासी वगैरे घेऊन जावे.

३ कुत्री वगैरे जनावरे बरोबर असावी.

४ काही स्वार सिबंदी लस्करचे अनुमानाने बरोबर असावी.

५ तळ निशाणदार समागमे असावे. सारया कारखान्याकडील व सरदार लोकाकडील वगैरे. ते हत्यारबंद असावे.

६ जाताना सारे कारखान्याकडील येक येक असामी हुशार सरदाराकडील सुधा असावी. म्हणजे आपलाले मिसलीचे जाग्याचा अजमास समजेल. त्यास ( कारटर मेस्टर इंग्रजीत म्हणजे स्थलपती. )

रिसाल्याचे येकक व स्थल योजना ही ज्याचे त्याचे असावे. येणे प्रमाणे जावे.

७ जाऊन कर्तव्यता काय त्याचा तपसील :—

१ जागा जाऊन पाह्यावी. आपले लस्कर उतरणेची बेगमीची जागा व सोईची जागा कसी असावी, येविशी अलाहिदा कलम लिहिले आहे; तो अजमास

पाहून खचीत करून सरकारचे डेरे व पागा व तोपखाना वगैरे सरकारी कारखाने व सरदार मंडळी व बाजार वगैरे उतरणेचे मिसली प्रे॥ निशाणे ज्याचे त्याचे हदीवर मुकरार करावी. बरोबर सान्या कारखान्यातील स्थळ योजक असावे.

- २ गांवकर व कामगार गांवचे यांस सांगावे कीं, स्वारी उदईक येणार. तर हर जीनस विकाऊ, उदमी वगैरे सुध्या तयार असावे.
- ३ कामाठी व बेलदार असतात, त्याकडून सरकारी बाडाचें आंतून जागा व दसर व आदालतेचे डेन्यातील व मुदपाख यातील जागा साफ करवावी. बरकड पागा तोपखाना वगैरे जागा आपलाले नीट करून घेत असतात; व पाणी कोठे नसल्यास व चांगले नसल्यास कामाठी याणी पाण्याचे झरेही करून ठेवावे. कारण पाणी गदळते, तो मुस्यास उपयोगी नाही; सबब व पाणीयाचे जागा चौकी ठेवावी. गदल होऊ देऊ नये.
- ४ कुत्री वगैरे जनावरे बरोबर असतात त्यास तळाचे जाग्यावर जाताच पाणी जे लस्कराचे उपयोगास असते ते व असपासचे पाजावे, म्हणजे त्यांत कांही विकार शत्रूकडून विषादिक असलीयास कलते. खातवड वगैरे वाईट पाणी नसावे.
- ५ स्वार सिपाई समागमे असतात ते चौकीस ठेवावे. त्याणी निशाण वगैरे कामाची व जनावरे कुत्री वगैरे असतात त्यांचे रक्षण करावे.
- ६ जाताना वाटाडे बराबर घेऊन जावे; तेच वाटाडे माघारे अस्तमानी असावे; तेच पुन्हा बिनीवाला खुद ढाल घेऊन जाईल त्याज बरोबर न्यावे. कारण वाटेचे माहिती बदल दुसरे बदल माहितीगार चांगले मिलाल्यास, काही दुसरे आणावे, लस्करा बरोबर वाटेचे माहिती बदल याच कामाचे माहितगार नेहमी चार ठेवावे. गनीमाचे वगैरे मुलकांत वाटाडे मीलत नाहीत, स॥ रोजमरा जाजती करणे, दगा केल्यास पारपत्य फार करावे.
- ७ सदरहू प्रे॥ करावे आणी निशाणदार व कामाठी व जनावरे यांस तेथें ठेऊन दुयम याणे कारखान्याकडील मंडळी सुधा माघारील वर्तमान बिनीवाल्यास जाहीर करावे.
- ८ दुयम याणे पुढील मुकामाची जागा मुकरार करण्यास जाताना रस्ता केवढा कसा आहे हे पाहात जावे व रस्ता चांगला पाहावा. कोश दोन कोश वांकडे पडल्यास चिंता नाही. तोफखाना व छकडे जाण्यास अडचण असेल ती कामाठी बेलदार याजकडून नीट करवीत जावे. आपले लस्कर कीती, यास चालावयाचें मानाने रस्ता आहे किंवा लाहान हे पाहावे, निर्वाह व्हावयाजोगा आहे तसे नीट; कदाचीत शेर्ते दुबाजूनी आहेत, अगदी वाट लाहान, त्याणेच गेले असता स्वारीस हरकत होते, असे आहे, तरी त्या त्या गांवकरीयास आणोन रस्ता, निदान पाहीजे किती हे आजमासोन तीतकी जागा सेतातील रस्त्याखाली स्वारी करिता घ्यावी. त्याचा अजमास गांवकरी कामगार याचे विद्यमाने कसो-सीने ठरऊन, याद नुकसानीची, बिनीवाला यास दाखवावी, ते सरकारात

जाहीर करून त्या रयतेचे ठरल्या प्रे॥. नुकसान जाल्याचे ठरल्याप्रमाणे देवीतील. येणे करून रयत फार खुष राहिल. व नदी, नाला, पर्वत, घाट, बारया किले वगैरे अडचण शहर मुघा, जो रस्ता असेल, त्यातून हाती, उंट, तोफा, छकडे स्वार, पायदळ किती किती चालावयाचा अजमास असेल, त्या प्रे॥ सर्वास कलण्याजोग्या यादी करून व त्या त्या कामगाराकडे व सरदाराकडे बिनीवाल्या-कडून त्या यादी जाव्या. म्हणजे ते रस्त्याने तसा फरा व लैन (Line) चालऊन नेतील. नेमला रस्ताखेरीज, पिकास उपसर्ग होऊ देऊ नये.

- ९ वर लिहील्याप्रमाणे जाले म्हणजे सरकारस्वारी पुढील मुकामास कोणचे वेळेस उदईक जाऊन पोहचणार त्यावेळेस, सारा फरासखाना शेकोटी वगैरे खासे कारखाने, पुढील तयारी व्हावी या अजमासे रात्री बिनीवाला याणे ढाल व काही बरोबर स्वार सिपाई घेऊन निघावे, आवसीस सर्व लस्करांत ताकीद असी असावी की, पिकास, लकडास, उदीमदार, यास हरयेक जिनसास कोणी हात लाऊ नये, जर लविलीयास, सीक्षा होईल. येविसी जरब फारच असावी.

प्रे॥ कलम खाली त॥ आहे ते.

- १० सदरहु कलमे लाि आहेत. यात आगोधर येक दिवस बिनीचे दुयमाने जावे आणि चौक्री, पुढील तळाचे जाग्यावर ठेऊन माघारे यावे व खाजगी कडील कारखाने पुढे रात्रीसच जावे व चांगले रस्त्याने जावे वगैरे कलमे लिहीली. परंतु गणीमाचे मुलकात व गनीम जोरावर व त्याचा पैगाम आहे तरी, याचा उपयोग नाही. [ जागा पाहीलीहेयाचे कारण जाहीर त्यास जाले असता ती जागा तो धरील व पाणी वगैरे खराब करील याकरीता पूर्व दिवसी दुसरे दिवसी जावयाचे त्या मुकामी बारकाइने जे गुप्त बातमीदार चांगले हुशार नाजर याणे पाठऊन सदर मु॥ प्रे॥ जागा व पाणी वगैरे याची बातमी आणून त्या बर्हुकुम दुसरे दिवसी कुच करून तेथे, मुकामास जावे. ] तळाचे जाग्याची व रस्त्याची चौकसी करून आपले बचावाची तजवीज पाहून त्या रोखाने व त्या मसलतिने जावे.

- १ मुख्याचा हुकूम अमुक रोख कुचाचा बिनीवाला यास जाला म्हणजे त्यांणी पुढील येकदोन मुकामाची जागा पाहावी ती असी. रस्ता चांगला कोणचा त्याचे असपास तीन कोसपर्यंत पाहावे. घाट, झाडी, डोंगर, नाला, नदी, उतार, सोय, गैरसोय, तलास जागा चांगली कोणची याचा नक्षा करून सरखीलास द्यावा. ते मुख्यास दाखऊन मुकरार करून देतील तेथे मुकाम करावा येविसी त॥ लाि॥ आहे. परंतु दुष्मानीचे मुलकात कुचाची बातमी व लढाई संबंधी खुदास व सरखीलास व बिनीवाला यास मात्र माहीत असावे. वरकडास अगदी अगोधर कळु नये. बोभाट जाला असता दुषमानास कळून तो घास, लकडी व पाणी वगैरे हरयेकबाबे मुकाम जाणेपूर्वी खराब करील; हे जबरदस्त दुषमान असे करील व जो दुस्मान जेर आहे तो दुसरेकडे निघोन जाऊन लढाईची मोहीम मानी करील.

## ८ मार्गाने बिनीवाला जात असता कसे करावे येथिंसी.

- १ ढाल बरोबर घेऊन निघावे तेव्हा वाटाडे समागमे असावे.
- २ लस्करचे आनुमानाने बरोबर स्वार सिबंदी असावी.
- ३ मार्गांनी स्वराज्यातील पिकास वगैरे उपसर्ग कोणी लस्करातील लोकानी केल्यास मना करावे. गावोगाव चौक्या व नाक्या नाक्यावर व मैदान पाहून चौक्या ठेवाव्या. भगदी उपद्रव कोणास लागो देऊ नये. सारे लस्कर गेलीयावर चौकी-दरानी उठोन यावे, जालेला मजकूर बिनीवाल्यास सांगावा, जास्त असलीयास, सरखीलास कळवितील.

## ४ परराज्यात :—

- १ श्रेही आहेत तर, त्याचे मुलकात स्वराज्यासारखे चालावे त्याच्या मुलकात आपले लस्करामुळे खराबा होऊ देऊ नये, जाला असता भरून देवावा.
- २ श्रेही नाही व दुस्मान नाही, त्यास उदास म्हणावे. त्याच्या मुलकात कज्यात गेल्यास श्रेही याचे कलम लिहिले आहे त्या प्रमाणे असावे.
- ३ शत्रूचे मुलकात गेल्यास उपद्रव केलीयास व लागलियास परंतु उपद्रव करणे तो त्याचा जोर आपणावर होऊन आपले लस्करातील बखेडा न होई असा बंदोबस्त राखून करणे ते करावे; परंतु रयेतेस उपद्रव नसावा हे चांगले. रयेतेस आपली खुषी वाटे असे वागावे. मग त्यास चांगले व वाटल्यास चिंता नाही. जीनस विकत न मिलाव्यास जबरीने आणावा लागेल परंतु तो बाजबी किंमत देऊन आणावा.

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- ५ वाट नबट आहे तरी सालपा वगैरे घालून नीट करावी. डंगर टेकाट ही फार आहे, बरोबर कामाठ वगैरे असतात, वाट साफ कामा कारण करवावी.
- ६ मार्गाने जाताना फौज :-

- १ दुस्माना मुलकात गट बाधून मध्ये बुणगे घालोन दंड विडु अगर सूची विडु मार्ग चालावे; याचे उपयोगी अलाहीदा तपसील विडु प्रकर्णात आहे त्या प्रमाणे विडु करून चालावे.
- १ स्वराज्यात, श्रेही राज्यात पुढे फरासखाना वगैरे सरंजाम चालता होणे मागून सरकार स्वारीने सव्या प्रे। जावे.

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- ७ स्वार सिपाई वगैरे लोकास कोणचे कारखान्याबरोबर व स्वारी बे। व गैर चालावयास सागीतले असेल त्या प्रे। चालतात कोण, न चालतात कोण याची बातमी बातमीदार बिनीवाला याणे ठेऊन सदरहुत ज्याकडून अंतर असेल त्यास भोवते येऊ देऊ नये. सरकार हुकूम करील तर येईल. कदाचीत कोणी सरकार हुकूम खेरील राहील. तर येईल त्यास येऊ देऊ नये. हुकूम जाल्यावर येऊ यावे. स्वारीबरोबर आला नाही तरी मशररजुले राहीला याचा ठिकाण लऊन सरखीलास खबर द्यावी. ते सरकारांत कळवितील.

## ९. मुकाम्याचे जाग्यास उतरणे विसी कलम :-

- १ जागा किती सरजामास किती असावी याचे आनुमान व अंतर कसे कसे असावे, येविसी नंबर पहिला इंग्रजी मान :-
- १ पायदळचे येक रीजमीटास उतरणेस जागा पुढील तोंडी दोनशे गजाची असावी, त्यात दाही लयनाच्या तोफा आल्या. आणि त्यापुढील तोंडापासोन पाठीमागे गर्भी ३२० गजाची जमीन असावी, या प्रे॥ येक रीजमीटास नव कंपनी व दर कंपनीचे लोक १०० लोक प्रे॥ हुदेदाराखेरीज करून आसल्यास इतकी जागा लागती आणि त्या जाग्यावर प्रतीयेक कंपनीचे डेरे किंवा राउठ्या दोन दोन वलीने ध्यावा लागतात.
- २ प्र॥ येक कंपनी ७० लोकाची असते तेव्हा दरवळीस त्यास सतर लोकाचे पुर्ते डेरे ध्यावे लागतात तेव्हा त्या रीजमिटास जागा दरशनी १५५ येकशेपचावन गजाची लागती.
- ३ प्र॥ पायदलाविसी येक, पलटणास उतरणेस जागा ऐसी किंवा शेंभर कदमा ईतकी जागा मोजुन ध्यावी, येक पलटणापासोन दुसरे पलटणास अंतर ३० तीस किंवा चालीस कदम जागा अंतर असावे.
- ४ स्वार येक स्काद्रन ( Squadron ) असलीयास त्यास उतरणेस जागा दर्शनी १२० येकशेवीस गज आणि प्रतीयेक रीजमीटास बाजूस अंतर १०० शेंभर गजाचे असावे. स्काद्रन म्हणजे दोन तुरपाचे ( Troops ) येक स्काद्रन असता तर, तुरपास ऐसी स्वार अगर शेंभर स्वार असतात.
- ५ प्रमाने येक स्काद्रनचे स्वारास उतरणेस जागा, तीस कदम जमीन लागती. येक स्काद्रनपासोन दुसरे स्काद्रनपर्यंत अंतर तीस कदम किंवा तीस कदमापेक्षा अधिक जागा साधलीयास साधावे.
- ६ सैन्य दोन किंवा तीन वलीने उतरल्यास येका वलीपासोन दुसरे वलीस अंतर ५०० पाचसे गजाचा असावा.
- २ कोणी कोणीकडे उतरावे येविसी :-
- १ प्र॥ तच्हा उतरणे विसी मध्य भागी डेरा मुख्याचा.
- १ पुढे तोफखाना १ तीही बाजूस पायदळ पाठीमागे बाजार.
- १ बाजारामागे स्वार.
- ही इराणी तच्हा.
- २ प्र॥ इंग्रजी मान :-
- १ उतरणेत शत्रूकडे तोंड करून उतरावे. ती फौज बहुत करून दोन वलीने उतरती. स्वार, आणि द्रिगुण ( Dragoon ) या नावाचें स्वार त्या वलीचे शेवटी उभय बाजूस आणि पायदळ त्या वलीचे मध्यभागी उतरतात. केव्हातरी दोन किंवा तीन किंवा चार बाडीगर्डी ( Bodyguard ).....याची येक येक बल सदरहु दोन वलीचेमागे सेवटी उतरतील. या सेवटी ओलीचे नाव रिबर्ज ( Reserve ) म्हणजे सिलक्री सैन्य म्हणतात.

१ तोपखाना आणि मुदपाक खाण्याचे सामानाचे छक्के ४ सदरद्वू तीन बली प्रे॥ पहिले दोन बलीचे मागे उतरतात. तोपखान्यास सेनापतीनी वा सरलस्कर खचीत करतात तेथे दाहगोला तोपखान्याकडील पलटणे सुधा त्या जाग्यावर उतरतात. तोपखाना सामान्यता दुसरे लैनेचे मध्यभागी किंवा येकाडे वेलेस पिछाडी लैनेचे मध्ये योजीतात.

प्र॥ या सरकारचा संप्रदाया प्रे॥ पाणी मध्यभागी असावे आणि वरकड मंडळ उतरावेत. अग्रभागी

- १ तोपखाना व पायाचे लोक सिपाई.
- २ सेना धुरंधर
- ३ सेनापती वगैरे सरदार.

दक्षिण भाग सव्य भाग उजवी बाजू.

- १ मुख्य प्रधान.
- १ अमात्य.
- १ सचीव.
- १ चिटणीस.
- १ मानकरी मराठे सुधा वगैरे
- १ जाधवराव मालगांवकर सेनासाहेबसुभा सुतदधा !

पृष्ठविभाग

- १ मंत्री
- १ सरलस्कर
- पतकवाले व सरंजामे

वाम भागी म्हणजे डावे बाजूस

- १ सुमंत
- १ पंडीतराव
- १ न्यायाधीश
- १ सबनीसस्वार
- १ पांडरे पवार थोरात टोके आटोले बंडगर व पागे सरदार वगैरे
- १ फडणीस
- १ राजाज्ञा

येकूण सदरद्वू प्रे॥ मिसली आहेत. त्यास ज्याचे जवळ बाजूस व मागेपुढे ज्याची जागा असेल, तसे पहिले वेहीबाटी प्रे॥ उतरावे. नवे कोणी येतील, त्याणी हुकूम त्या प्रे॥ त्या इसमात उतरावे. हली प्रे॥च कायदा ठेवावी. म्हणजे इंग्रजीस व यास मेलही आहे.

२ पाणी लस्करचे पीछाडीस असावे, हा येक पक्ष आहे. परंतु, पिछाडीस पाणी असले तर, आघाडीचे राहणारास, फार लांब पडेल. याज करिता, बाजूस



पाणी घ्यावे, म्हणजे सर्वास पाणी नजीक. कारण, जितकी लांबी फौजची येते तितकी रुंदी येत नाही. तरी लांबीचे आकाराने उतरल्यास, बाजूस घ्यावे. रुंदीचे डौलाने उतरलीयास, पिछाडीस घ्यावे. परंतु, हे आपले राज्यात व लढाईखेरीज स्वारीच्या उपयोगी आहे, लढाईचा प्रसंग आहे तरी तामकदूर बऱ्याच होईल तसेच करणे येते ते करावे. मग पाणी कोणीकडेही असो. परंतु पिछाडीसच पाणी असावे हा मुख्य पक्ष.

४ आकृत करी लस्कर उतरणेत असावी, येविशी बहुत करून कोणचेहि विहुचे डौलाने उतरावे. म्हणजे बंदोबस्त नीट राहतो. अकस्मात शत्रूचा मोहला जाला तरी, अडचण पडत नाही. जेथील तेथे तयारी असती.

१ व युनानी लोक लस्करचे तळाभोवते खंदक, दरवाजे, बुरुज असा आसमंतात प्राकार करून उतरत होते, परंतु हे केवळ प्रशस्त दिसत नाही. कारण, कारणपरत्वे हे आपलेस प्रतिबंधक खंदक होईल. कवाड्ती सरंजामास याचे कारण नाही. पाहिजे तरी गाखरु लोखंडी काट्याचे करून त्याचे जंजीर फौजेचे सभोवते गोलीच्या टप्प्या बाहेर घ्यावी.

२ व युनानी लोकांपैकी लेसीडियमन (स्पार्टातील) या नावाचे संस्थानीक हे वर्तुळाकार उतरत होते म्हणजे चक्रविहुसाखें.

३ प्राचीन रुमी लोक समचतुरख उतरत होते.

४ हालीचे रुमी दौलतवाल्यानी असे केले आहे की,

१ जजारीया नावाचे सिपाई लोक, पहीले ओलीस उतरतात.

२ त्याचेच मागे त्याचे आगा या नावाचा मुख्य सरदार उतरतात.

३ त्याचे मागे शेवटी स्वार वगैरे फौज बाकी उतरती.

४ याचे मागे मोठे मोठे सरदार मातबर, डेरे देऊन तेथे उतरतात.

५ इंग्रज लोक याचा उतरणेचा चाल लंबोतर चेतुर स्कर (square) त्यात तोडची बाजू रुंद.

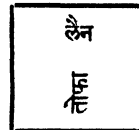
१ आघाडीस लैन

२ मध्यभागी तोफखाना. पुढील बाजूस त्यास सेटर लैन

३ पिछाडीस लैन किंवा सिलकेस फौज अंतभाग सैन्य शेष म्हणतात.

४ मध्ये किंवा बाजूर लैनचे आत तुरूप उतरतात.

तोफखाना सरल रेषा चौकोन, पुढे लैन मागे तोफा.



५ जी जागा सोईची ती खुली असल्यास, नीटच आहे, आसपास जागा सोईची मोकली आणि पीकाची जागा सोईची आहे, त्या खेरीज उपाय उतरणेचा नाही. तरी, जितकी जागा आपणास पाहिजे, तितकी जागा गावकर यास

बोलाऊन, त्यास सांगोन निशाणे रोवामी, त्या जमीनीचा जो आकार असेल, तो पाहावा आणि ज्या रयतेची जागा असेल, त्याचे नुकसानाची किंमत करून, परभार जाहागीरदार बगैरे असतील त्याजकडून, ते उतरतील त्या जाग्याची भरून द्यावी. व सरकारी कारखाना उतरला तरी, सरकारातून द्यावी आणि पावती घ्यावी. येणे करून रयतेचा मोठा बचाव होऊन, लौकीकास व शास्त्रास उत्तम आहे. हे स्वराज्यातील उपयोगी. शत्रुचे देशात तामकदूर बनेल तसा आपला बचाव करणेचे सिस्तीने करावे.

६ सरकारडेरें सावलीस व्हावे, काही जवळ छाया असावी. कारण, कोणी गरीब बगैरे कामास येतात त्यास छाया असली तरी म्हणजे त्यास श्रम होणार नाहीत. परंतु जामदारखाना अगर खजीना या जवळ मात्र जागा मोकली ठेऊ नये. तेथे कोणास बसूं न द्यावे.

७ मुकामावर डेरें सरकारचे जाले म्हणजे ज्याची मिसल त्यास दाखवावी. आणि आपले जाग्यांस उतरवावे. मील कलमांत पूर्वे दिवसी निशाणे रोववावी, असे आहे. साऱ्या सरदाराची व कारखान्याची निशाणे रोवली असलीयास, मग उतरणेची गलबल व्हावयाची नाही. कदाचित निशाण मुकरार करणेचे काही कारणांमुळे जाले नसले तर, स्वारी जाईल तेव्हा, बिनीवाला याणे मिसली प्रे। उतरवावे, खटका होऊ देऊ नये.

१० मुकामास बिनीवाला जाऊन पोचल्यावर सरकारस्वारी येइतोपर्यंत कुच होणे करीत! आणखी बिनीवाला चालता ढाल घेऊन होईपर्यंत काय काय कामे येविशी.

१ बरोबर बिनीवाला याचे स्वार सिपाई असतात त्यास तलावर जाताच चोहो-कडील बातमी त्या त्या कारण आणविणे करीता पाठवावे. व तलाचे सभोवांत पाहारे ठेवावे. पूर्वे दिवसी दुयम बिनीवाला याकडील निशाणे मुकरार करीतो तेव्हा बरोबर लोक असतात ते पाहान्यावर असतातच. परंतु बिनीवाला याच-बरोबर असतील तेही ठेवावे. काही लबास माणसे नीराली असतातच.

२ तलावर जाताच गावकर व त्या गावचा शेखदार अमलदार बगैरे कामगार यास बोलाऊन आणावे. त्याणी पूर्वे दिवसी दुयम बिनीवाला याची ताकीद जाली असताच त्यावरून तयार असावे. हरजीनस करून असावे तरतूद गावकरचे बाजारात बिनीवाला याणे सारे जीनस बालाणेविशी उदमी यास सागावे. जे लस्करचे बाजारात नसलीयास आणावयास सांगोन आणवावे. जमले असेल सरंजाम त्यावर गावचा कोणी असावा. तेथे बिनीवाला याणे आपले कडील कारकून ठेवावा. लस्करांत कोणांस जीनस काय पाहिजे त्याची चिठी सरकार कारखान्यातील देखील सुधा बिनीवाला यास याची त्याणी ती चिठ्ठा कारकुनाकडे पाठऊन जीनस देवावा. त्याच्या यादी गावकर व कारकून याणी दोन घालव्या. सारे लस्करास पोचून सायंकाली येकंदर आकार करावा, जो पैका होईल तिसके रुपये बिनीवाला याणे अगर आपणच घ्यावे देवावे. परंतु कोणकोणाकडील जीनस गावकर देतात त्याची याद घेऊन त्या त्या असामीची

पावती घ्यावी. कारण गावकर लबाडी करून सरकारस्वारी आली यामुळे खर्च पडला असे सांगोन जीनस विकणारास बुडविलेली. सा॥ गावकरास लस्करातील मंडलीकडे याद देऊन पैका मागावयास पा॥ नये. कारण त्यांत तक्रार होते. बिनीवाल्याकडील मागणे जाऊन पैका आणऊन घेऊन आपला मोबदला उगवावा. व अशा कारणाने बिनीवाला याचा येवज येक दिवस मोबदला किती पडतो ती हारीने पाहून त्या अजमासे सरकारातून त्याचे तसलमातीस तितके बेरीज पाहून ठेवावे. सदरहू अडचणीमुळे कोणी जिनस बिनीवाल्याकडे न मागता परभारे घेतलीयासहि चिंता नाही; परंतु जो जिनस लस्करातील बाजारकरी याजवळ नाही तो गावचा आणणावा. नाहीतर लस्करचे बाजारकरी बुडतील, परंतु त्या गावी करकसा जिनसाचा आहे व बाजार लस्कर येथे कसा विकतात हे पाहावे गावच्या व बाजारच्या धारणेस अंतर विशेष नसावा. व गावकर उदीमदार लस्करचे बाजारांत येऊन काही जिनस विकतील त्यापासोन काही हसील ठरऊन घ्यावे.

...सरकारात खाशाकडे जीनस सरकारी कारखानदाराकडील नसेल तो भक्षणी पदार्थ बाहेरून बिनीवालें याणे आणविला असता त्याणे समक्ष चवकसी करून समक्ष गुजरावे.

### कहीचिसी.

- ३ शत्रूच्या मुलकात स्वारी गेल्यास कोणाकडून सरबरा होती असा अर्थ नाही. तेव्हा वैरण जलण वगैरे जिनस कही पाठऊन आणवणे प्राप्त. त्यास कोणचे गावी नजीक पास सदरहू जिनसाची लस्करची भरती होईल याची बातमी त्या सारख देतील कोणी हाताखाली घेऊन लालूच दाखऊन पकी करून घ्याव. आपणही शुक्तीन पाहून यावे. जेथे कही गेली असता शत्रूकडील उपसर्ग न लागे अशा विचाराने कही पाठवावी. बरोबर स्वार सिबंदी शत्रूकडील आदमासानसार व फौजेतील मुनीम याणी येक सरदार देऊन पाठऊन बंदोबस्ताने भारून आणवावे. लस्करातील हरकोणी बिनीवाल्याचे हुकुमाखेरीज कहीत कोणी पाठऊ नये आसी ताकीद सर्वास करावी. इतके असोन कोणी गेला आणी त्यास शत्रूकडील लोकानी वगैरे घरले मारलेस तो आल्यावर त्याचे पारपत्य करावे म्हणजे फिरून ऐसे कोणी करणार नाही.

[ खूष खरेदी जीनस मिळत नाही सा॥ दुस्मानाचे मुलकात कही करावी. परंतु कही भरल्यास त्या रयतेस किमत द्यावी. म्हणजे त्या रयतेस वाकडे वाटणार नाही व आपल्या धन्यापेक्षा हे चांगले असोन फार सुख देतात असी लस्करांत चाल ठेवावी. ]

- ४ ज्या गावी मुकाम होतो तेथील गावकरी जवळ असावे. त्यास आसपास गावची व पुढील मुकामास जाण्याचे गावची माहीतगारी पुसोन ठेवावी त्यात काही विशेष वर्तमान असल्यास सरखीलास खबर द्यावी.

[ स्वराज्य व स्नेही व उदासीन दुस्मानी मुलकातील माहीतगारी बा॥ वाटेचे माहीतगार नेहमी असावे हे अल्हाहिदा कलमात लि॥ च आहे. ]

- ५ वाटाडे व बिगारी माणसे बोडी बैल बुधा आपल्या लस्करात लागतात किती याचा आदमास पाहून गावकर व कामदार यास सांगोन तिसरे प्रहरी दिवसास सारे जमा करून ठेवावे. बहुत करून बिगार घेऊ नये. परंतु कारण पडल्यास ज्यास पाहिजे त्याणी बिनीवाल्यास चिठी पाठवावी. त्याप्रे॥ त्यास बिनीवाले याणी देवावे. जो बिगारी न दील [ परराज्यांत वाटाडे लागल्यास त्यास वाटेस द्यावे. ] त्याजकडून सिरस्ते माफक पोटास देवावी व सिपाई माणुस पायाचे आजाराने पडले असोन सरकार कारखान्यातील डोल्या तटे वगैरे खाली नसल्यास बिगार देवावी. त्याची मजोरी पूर्वांच देवावी आणि बेकंदर बिगार किती होईल ती कोणाकडे लागली याची याद गावकर याजकडून नावनिसीवार करून मजोरीचा पैका ज्याचा त्यास दिल्हा असे त्या गावचे कुलकर्णी याचे हातची याद करून घेऊन समक्ष बिगारी यास पोटास द्यावे. असे केल्याने कोणी बिगारी विशेष मागणार नाहीत.
- ६ शौच्यकूप व गवत कुजलेले हे जमले तरी छावणीस फार वाईट. सा॥ शौच्यकूप दूरकरावे अगर मीठ घालावे व खलगे भरून बंद करावे. कुजलेले गवत वगैरे दूर टाकावे त्याचा वारा लस्करावर येऊ नये. अशा दुर्गधीने मोठी हवा लागून दुखणी येतात. सा॥ याचा बंदोबस्त फार राखावा.
- ७ लस्करा बाहेर काही अंतराने भयस्तंभ आहेत. त्यावर निशाण असते तेथे बिकट पहारा ठेवावा. त्यावर काही खूण गलबलेची जाली म्हणजे जेयाजबल येक तोफ हलक्री असते ती त्याचक्षणी घेऊन लस्करचे अघाडीस पाहरेकरी उभे केलेले असतात त्यासव आपले स्वाराकडील सिबंदीस बोलाऊन ज्या ठिकाण्याकडून गटबल जाली असते तेथे जाऊन तो उपद्रव दूर करून येतो. हे असाध्य असल्यास बचाव करून निघोन जावे. गलबलीचे खुणीची माहीतगारी हाताखालचे कामगारास असावी. गलबल होताच साऱ्यानी येक ठीकाणी जमावे आणि हुकूम बिनीवाला काय करतो हे पाहावे.
- १० सदरील कलमे बिनीप्रकर्णी लिहिली आहेत. या कामात चाके गुजर व नाजर व हाफीज या कडील कामे आहेत त्याचा उपयोग आहे. त्याणी त्याणी आपली कामे करीत असोन बिनीवाला यास तिघांनी मदत द्यावी. जर तीघे कामगार पैकी येकाचा नाही अगर तीघेही नाहीत तर त्याची कामे कामगारानी लिहिली आहेत त्या प्रे॥ बिनीवाला याणे सर्व तिघांचीही कामे करावी.

# A UNIQUE MĀRĀTHA MARRIAGE-INVITATION TO THE DEAD

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR

While going through a bundle of miscellaneous letters in the Parasnis Collection, a curious letter besmeared yellow with turmeric powder came to our notice. We knew from the colour that it should be a marriage-invitation in the usual form. That it was, no doubt, but it was not addressed to the living, but to a dead member of the host's family. This invitation is issued by Ānandibāi, the Queen Dowager of Śāhu II of Sātārā, on the occasion of her son Pratāpsinha's marriage to the sister of Ramachandrarao Mohité, and addressed to (presumably her father-in-law) the late King Rāmrajé. As no such invitation to the dead addressed in writing is found uptill now, we print it below without comment.<sup>1</sup>

The invitation (29-11-1821)

श्री  
तीर्थस्वरूप कैलासवासी श्री  
रामराजे वडिलाचे सेवेसी  
अपत्य आनंदीबाईनी चेरणावरी मस्तक ठेउ ( न )  
दंडवत विज्ञापना ऐशी जे चिरंजीव राजश्री  
( प्र ) तापसिहाचे लग्न मार्गशीर्ष शु॥ पंचमी गुरुवारी  
योजिल आहे शरीर संबंध राजश्री रामचंद्रराव मोहिते  
याची भगिनी वधू निश्चय केला आहे तरी वडिली येऊन  
कार्यसिद्धी केली पाहिजे \* शेवैशी श्रुत होय हे विज्ञापना

Prince Pratāpsinha married two sisters of Ramachandrarao Mohité one after the other on different occasions, the second marriage taking place only after the death of the elder sister. The last sentence marked with asterisk is in the handwriting (modi) of Ānandibāi alias Maisāheb.

The date put in pencil at the top seems to be the work of some research man, possibly R. B. PĀRSNIS or the late curator of the Sātārā Museum. There is no material with us to verify the truth of the same.

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<sup>1</sup> The sociological bearing of the letter we are not in a position to decide. Whether there was a regular custom amongst the Marāṭhā families to issue such invitations or whether this was an individual case due to special reasons of a personal nature and whether such a custom holds ground to this day, will have to be investigated and decided by students of sociology.

# CAPTURE OF KENNERY (OR KHĀNDERI) ISLAND BY SIVĀJĪ

By

B. K. APTE.

The year 1679 witnessed the last naval success achieved by Sivāji. The occupation of Khānderi was long coveted by him. In 1679 he had to drop the project. Now he took up an aggressive attitude with better preparations.

The military acumen of Sivāji grasped the importance of Khānderi commanding a key-position. The island lies in the mouth of Bombay bay. The movements of ships in the Bombay waters can be watched from the island. Any ship entering the Bombay back bay between the present points of Malbar and Kolaba is visible from Khānderi. To the southern side an observer can see the neck-like projection of Korlai and the Rewadanda fort. Korlai is at a geometrical distance of twelve and a quarter or half miles from Khānderi. The jutting portion of land between Mazagaon and Vihur of the Janjira State hides the historic fort of Janjira. Beyond this jutting portion of land the vision becomes hazy. The famous fort of Kolaba is situated at a distance of five and a half miles from Khānderi, in the south-east direction.<sup>1</sup> The Nagaon river in the mouth of which Kolaba fort stands, after taking a north-westerly course meets the sea near Alibag.<sup>2</sup>

Khānderi (north latitude 18° 42' 8" and east longitude 72° 48' 17") is a small island near the entrance of Bombay harbour, eleven miles south of Bombay and six miles north-west of Alibag. It lies two and a half miles from the Kolaba mainland and one and a half miles from its sister island Underi. From Underi it is separated by a channel which can be used only by small coasters. The island which is one and a half by half a mile broad, is larger and considerably higher than Underi, rising to the south. The soundings near Khānderi are very irregular and on the offside a vessel may pass within a quarter mile of the shore in four fathoms at half tide. Off the north-east of the island, where the boats lie, is a reef dry at half tide. It is about five hundred yards from the island, so that there is a good harbour between. The whole space between this reef to Underi is foul ground and impassable to boats of any size.<sup>3</sup> The greatest measurements of Khānderi island are about 1300 feet long by 950 broad. It is formed of two oval-shaped masses of trap, each about 950 feet long by 450 feet wide, their longer axes being parallel to each other and lying north-north-east by south-south-west. The higher of the two mounds lies to the eastward and its highest point 100 feet above the high water level. The western hill is 70 feet above the mean high water level. The crest

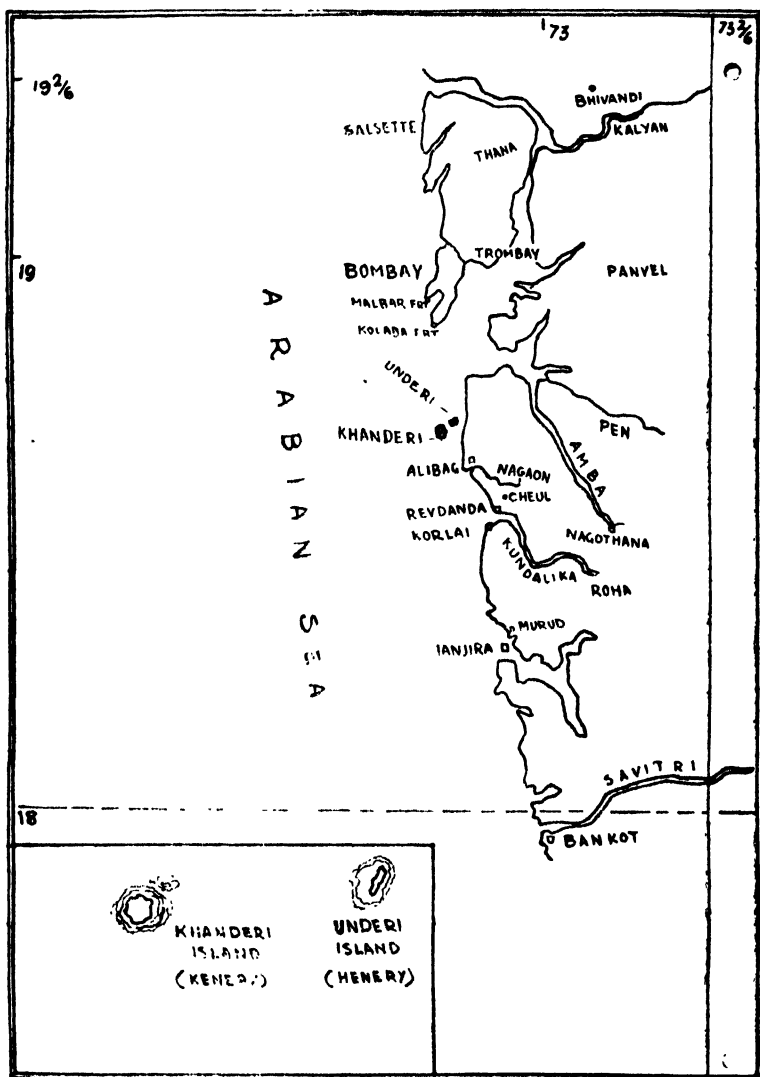
<sup>1</sup> Kolaba Fort was built in 1680; *Kulabkar Angre* by D. G. Dhabu, Chapter I, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Nagaon creek is the present Sakhar-creek.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gaz.*, Kolaba and Janjira, pp. 324-25. History of Khānderi, "As early as 1538 A.D. Khānderi has been described by the Portuguese Viceroy, Dom João da Castro. The next notice has been traced of Khānderi is by Fryer in 1674 A.D. He mentions Hunry and Cunary to the south of Bombay harbour." The Portuguese it seems left the island as it did not afford good water supply. B. G. Paranjpe, (*English Records on Sivāji.*) Part II, letter No. 418.

of the hill are about 500 feet apart and between is a valley at its highest part about 18 feet above high water.<sup>4</sup>

Politically the whole coast line from Bombay to Bankot was strewn with powers hostile to Śivājī. The Sidi was his natural enemy and possessed Janjira and its surrounding territory. The English had their stronghold at Bombay and the Portu-



Scale 1 inch = 15.783 miles.

<sup>4</sup> *Bombay Gaz.*, Kolaba and Janjira, p. 472. The dimensions of Khānderi, (p. 324) a mile and a half long by half a mile broad, and the dimensions (p. 472) 1300 feet by 950 feet broad, appear contradictory. The first measurement appears to be very rough, but the second seems to be nearly correct, because the Govt. of India Survey sheet No. 47 B/14 (1 inch = 1 mile) 1927 shows almost the same measurements.

guese were powerful at Thana and its vicinity and commanded the key-points Revadanda and Korlai. The attitude of these Europeans to the Marathas was many times hostile and sometimes indifferent as the then political situation demanded. They kept up the balance of their powers by siding with the weak. Especially the English allowed the Sidi to anchor in their harbour under the garb of neutrality, to the exasperation of Śivājī. To put a stop to this nefarious practice seizure of Khānderi was essential.

The trade of Bombay, which was to become an emporium in the immediate future, was on an increasing scale, and Śivājī wanted to control it for the benefit of his kingdom.

Thus the capture of Khānderi had a twofold aspect—political and economic. The latter was the corollary of the former. The universal law that trade can prosper under the shadow of armed protection was applicable to the times of Śivājī. Khānderi in the hands of Śivājī was a pistol perpetually pointed at the heart of Bombay. However Śivājī did never molest the trade of Bombay as the English were afraid he would, after the capture of Khānderi. What Śivājī would have done at the most was to compel the English to enter into a commercial contract profitable to him. In one of the overtures of the Khānderi treaty, it is stated that the inhabitants of the Raja's dominions shall have free ingress to and egress from the dominions of the English to trade and buy merchandize.

#### *Capture of Khānderi.*

As early as 22nd April 1672, it was reported from Surat to Bombay that Śivājī intended to fortify the island of Khānderi. The factors at Bombay replied that they had no news that Śivājī did intend to build a fort on Khānderi but they would stop any attempt of that sort.<sup>5</sup> The Marathas' progress in fortifying was very slow and in September next the fortifications were still incomplete. The English and Sidi fleets came there in concert and warned the Marathas to stop their work. Śivājī's admirals Daulat Khan and Mai Nayak, finding themselves opposed to superior forces, withdrew.<sup>6</sup>

Seven years later about 27th August 1679 definite intelligence reached Bombay, that Śivājī intended to fortify the island of Khānderi. Men and material were ready before hand at Cheul to execute the design. The Bombay factories informed their headquarters about it at Surat.<sup>7</sup>

On the 2nd September the Bombay factors came to know that men and material were being transported from Thal to Khānderi by Śivājī's Officers. This affected their interests seriously. Accordingly Ensign Daniel Hughes was ordered to cruise between the main base and the island, equipped with three *shibars* and six files of soldiers.<sup>8</sup> On the 4th inst. he came to an anchor and prevented two enemy boats going to the island. On the island there were four hundred men or more, and they had constructed a wall all round the island about a yard high of clay and stones. They had four to six guns mounted in the valley as big as of the English in their boats. They had also new carriages on the island.<sup>9</sup>

The Deputy Governor of Bombay wrote Mai Nayak Bhandari to quit the island. To which a civil and humble reply was sent, that it was not possible for him to quit the island, without the orders from his master to that effect.<sup>10</sup> It was argued that Khānderi belonged to the Bombay island and hence the English were its lawful

<sup>5</sup> *English Records of Śivājī*, B. G. Paranjpe, pt. I, letter Nos. 302, 303.

<sup>6</sup> J. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, third edition, 1929.

<sup>7</sup> *English Records on Śivājī*, B. G. Paranjpe, pt. II, letter No. 364.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, letter No. 365.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 370.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 369.



owners. It was declared that the island belonged to the King of Great Britain and none could attempt to invade it without open breach of friendship. If this method failed, the English were left obviously with no alternative, other than armed resistance. The frigate *Revenge* was fitted with men and ammunitions and ordered to join the three already working at Khänderi.<sup>11</sup>

Fortunately for the Marathas for three days—14th, 15th and 16th, nature favoured greatly. Continuously for 30 hours the rain poured in torrents, the dark clouds obstructed the vision and violent gusts of south-west winds rendered the English helpless. The Marathas took fullest advantage of this fury of wind and water and provided the island with food and other requirements. Since the appearance of the three *shibars* under Captain Ensign Daniel Hughes, i.e. from the 4th to the 13th of September, it seems that no provision could reach the island. The stormy weather prevailing for three days compelled the three *shibars* to leave their positions for shelter; during which period Maratha boats in groups of two and four relieved the stress of blockade.<sup>12</sup>

About the 11th of this month it was rumoured that Daulat Khan was coming with eight to ten *ghurabs* to help his people.<sup>13</sup>

On the 19th inst. an engagement took place, though on a small scale and ended in favour of the Marathas. Lieutenant Thorpe in his tipsy mood made a rash attempt to land on the island. He was killed along with two other men, John Bradbury and Henry Welch. Several others were wounded and Mr. George Cole and others were made prisoners. The captain's ship was taken by the Marathas.<sup>14</sup> This first defeat meant a great set-back to the English and encouraged their enemy to continue their work with vigour. It made the English realise that landing was no easy task.

About the 20th of September Capt. Minchin tried to keep close to the island, but the Marathas did not allow him to come within the range of their guns. They got two boats from the main and sent them back.<sup>15</sup> On the whole in the month of September, the English were not able to cut off the supplies of their enemy.

At the beginning of October, the English started their blockade with fresh resources and additional fleet. Mr. Gape's *ghurab* and Popjee Naik's *ghurab* were hired for the war. Capt. Richard Keigwin was appointed as the admiral of the Navy.<sup>16</sup> Now the English fleet amounted to eight ships; *Revenge* frigate, two *ghurabs*, three *shibars* and two *manuchuas*. The soldiers on board these ships numbered two hundred.<sup>17</sup>

A sharp engagement took place on the 18th October. At day break, Sivaji's armada issued out off the Nagaon creek, rowing towards the English keeping close to the shore. A fresh land breeze blew from the east. The Marathas rowed up as far as Thal abreast of the enemy. All of a sudden they came fast upon the English with wind and oars scarcely giving them time to direct their guns. The English *shibars* lying aft were forced to cut and loose sails. The *shibars* and *man-chuas* kept so far from Captain Keigwin and Mr. Gape's *ghurab* that they could not aid them. The top sail and ensign of Gape's *ghurab* were struck and captain Keigwin and Minchin were left alone, the rest of the fleet having fled away. Both of them fought gallantly with the odd number of the Maratha ships 24 *ghurabs* and some *galivats*, all amounting to 40 sail. They were mute till the Marathas approached their ship and when within gun shot showered cartridge and round shots on the enemy and scared them away. The Marathas were brought by the lee and

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 375.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 378.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 374.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 380.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 381.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 386.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 388.

compelled to run away. They escaped into the Nagaon river. In the engagement 5 boats and Gape's *ghurab* were captured.<sup>18</sup>

During this short struggle, Śivājī frightened his enemies—the English, by all possible ways. Bombay was threatened now and then by an invasion. He mobilized his forces at Kalyan and intended to enter Bombay by way of Thana. But to the good luck of the English, the Portuguese denied him a passage *via* Thana and they were saved. The inhabitants of Bombay were panic stricken by the daily intelligence of Śivājī's invasion. By the 22nd of October the Bombay factors wrote to Surat that Śivājī had concentrated his army, about four thousand at Panvel to embark on board seven ships for landing on Bombay.<sup>19</sup> The English of course guarded the three vulnerable points of Bombay island, Karanj, Trombay and Sion by Watch-boats.<sup>20</sup> As a matter of fact Śivājī did not raid Bombay. The very threat of it disturbed the English very much. About the 22nd inst. the English sunk three enemy *ghurabs*, killed 300 men and wounded 100 men.

After the second engagement with the Marathas on the 18th, the English thought of increasing their forces to impede the enemy's progress. The force was actually sent from Bombay on the 20th, consisting of a ship named 'Fortune' with eight guns, four chamber pieces, gun-powder and shots, five files of 'Topasses,' thirty Laskars, and fourteen English men, accompanied by two other *shibars* having two guns each. The Capt. of this extra squadron was Aderton.<sup>21</sup> In spite of the new fleet and their watchfulness, the English were miserably fizzled out and the Marathas supplied their people on Khānderi. Under the cover of night twelve *gullivats* on the 22nd and seven small boats on the 25th escaped to Khānderi. Again on the 28th sixteen to seventeen *gallivats* relieved the island by provisions. To be sure the sons of the ocean—the English, were unable to cut effectively the supplies of the island from the base depot. They were dreaming that shortage of food and water would bring the enemy to his knees, while they were not able to isolate the island into starvation. Soon they realised that if this lingering and ineffective blockade continued, Śivājī would fortify the island to invincibility and they would be compelled to leave the siege at the advent of monsoon.<sup>22</sup> The expenditure they were incurring, told heavily on their treasures and the drain of soldiers weakened the position of Bombay, which was daily under the dread of invasion. However a withdrawal or a retreat even when the circumstances were adverse meant loss of prestige. To keep up the prestige of their Company and King or Nation, the English searched for some honourable, though patched up peace with the Marathas. This honourable peace was to be brought about either by the mediation of a proper person or by that of the Portuguese General at Bassein or by the thrust of the Sidi into the disturbed waters.<sup>23</sup> The last was the most promising way of all. Sidi was the natural enemy of the Marathas and would join hands with the English to crush his enemy in difficulty, if possible. The Sidi actually entered the theatre of war about the 10th of November. The English first welcomed him with open arms but in the end his appearance created complications.

When the English were brooding over the whole situation, that was perplexing and expensive to them, a letter from Śivājī showing his aptitude for peace, brought by the Rajapur factors gave them solace. This letter was a stepping stone to further negotiations with the Śivājī Raja if they wished. In the consultation held at Surat on the 31st of October it was concluded that a civil reply should be sent to

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 399.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 402.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 409.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 405.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 418. Here monsoon means the north-east monsoon. It prevails from December to February.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 421.

the Raja. The Deputy Governor of Bombay was instructed to see, with the advice of his Council, whether it would be better to send a person to Śivāji for negotiations or to proceed in that matter through the Subhedar of Cheul. In this letter the Deputy Governor was to mention the troubles which Śivāji's people caused to the Company's men, the payment of money due by the Raja and the compensation for war, liberty to the English factors for a free egress and access to his dominions, and the release of the prisoners in the sad affair of Khānderi.<sup>24</sup>

This letter did not terminate the war. On the 1st of November, early at dawn, Maratha boats slipped into the Nagaon river from the island, so quickly that the English could not pursue them. A new frigate, Hunter was fitted out and Norgrave was ordered to sail in the capacity of a captain to Khānderi.<sup>25</sup> About the 10th inst. Sidi arrived on the scene.<sup>26</sup> On the 16th he went round the island and estimated the Maratha force to five hundred; three hundred soldiers and two hundred coolies. He expressed his plan to land on the island by a joint attack.<sup>27</sup> The Sidi and the Marathas exchanged shots without hampering the progress of either party. Meanwhile information reached Bombay that the enemy had received no supply since a week (about the 17th November) and with the stock at their disposal, they would hold the island somehow for ten days more. Labouring under this false impression Bombay authorities wrote to Keigwin, how he should act if the Marathas capitulated.

The whole situation wore a lazy outlook, when an interesting episode of the white flag occurred on the morning of 21st.<sup>28</sup> The Marathas on Khānderi island erected a white flag. The English sent a boat, with a Portuguese and a Dutch on board in order to know the meaning of the white flag. On approach they told the Marathas that if they surrendered they would protect them from the enemies. Upon which the Marathas gave them a clear understanding that even if the English remained in their position for the whole year they would not surrender. But they allowed free correspondence. Again on the 22nd inst. under the cover of night a Maratha boat went to the island. The Sidi took this action as the result of negligence on the part of the English.<sup>29</sup> He suspected their honesty because he smelt of the possible treaty between the Marathas and the English.

At the end of this month a renegade coming to the Sidi from Khānderi gave a minute account of it, its supplies, condition of the beleagured and Śivāji's strict orders not to surrender under any circumstance. According to him the islanders had six candy of powder and thousand balls, twelve guns, two hundred fire arms, three hundred swords and five hundred and sixty men. The island had four wells about to be dried. The men on the island were war weary, but held on as Śivāji threatened them with capital punishment and would cut off the heads of their wives if they surrendered without his orders<sup>30</sup>. On the 17th Bombay received a letter from the Peshwa, sent with a messenger; the English replied that the island should be given over to them and they would leave it uninhabited as before as soon as the Sidi returned<sup>31</sup>. On the 27th inst. Bombay received an answer contrary to expectation. The Raja was resolved to fight at all costs<sup>32</sup>.

The month of November passed with little prospects for the English, the Sidi being their new ally. His man power was from 500 to 700. December dawned and the whole situation for some time tended from bad to worse. Sidi's men landed on Śivāji's territory opposite to Bombay and burnt some four villages, plunder-

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 427.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 431.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 435.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 436.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 442.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 442.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 446.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 447.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 447.

ing and carrying many captives. Daulat Khan chafed with anger and held the English responsible for this cruel act of the Sidi. The English felt that they were scapegoated. The Sidi on his part suspected the integrity of the English. The English found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. The perseverance of the beleaguered, the escape of the Maratha boats with daily new tricks and the fear of the monsoon put the English into anxiety. The growing expenditure rendered their economic position precarious<sup>33</sup>. Thus ended the month of December.

Some formal letters passed between the Marathas and the English. About the 29th of December Bombay received a letter from Śivāji. He acknowledged the two letters sent from Bombay, but took no notice of the one sent from Surat.<sup>34</sup> By the 2nd of January the small crafts were not able to withstand the force of the north-east monsoon and went under Underi for refuge. The Marathas mounted big guns on the Thal coast and fired at them.<sup>35</sup>

The oscillatory condition created by the conciliatory letters on both the sides, ended with good hopes of peace once for all. By the 8th of January 1680 Śivāji's minister demanded from the Deputy Governor of Bombay etc., a reasonable and full text of the proposals of peace, which the Marathas would take into consideration, and send their own terms to the English within a short period. Ram Shenvi was deputed by the English to discuss with the Subhedar of Cheul and Annaji Pandit.

Following were the proposals, made by John Child, the Deputy Governor of the Bombay island and his Council to the ministers of Śivāji Raja to be confirmed by him for concluding a peace between the English and the Raja.

(1) The English demanded the money due to the Company payable from Śivāji's country and also the money due to their inhabitants.

(2) All the war material, guns, balls, powder, *ghurab*, sails, swords etc. captured by the Marathas was to be restored to the English and their men were to be released.

(3) All the vessels coming to and going out from the Bombay port were free to go to any other port if they informed that they belonged to Bombay. Śivāji was not to stop or hinder such vessels and in case of a storm if a vessel (coming from or going to Bombay) was weather beaten and damaged he was to send it to the Bombay port with its goods and other things unmolested.

(4) Śivāji's people had landed on Khānderi without previous intimation and had brought their fleet. The English fleet had gone there (to Khānderi) to know their design; whereupon they had attacked the English fleet unreasonably. Therefore Śivāji was to pay the charges of the fleet the English were forced to keep.

(5) The English factors were free to trade during their pleasure and no restraint was to be laid on their coming to, staying in and going out of the Raja's dominions. If any of the factors was called out from the Raja's dominions as the occasion did demand, the English were free to substitute the absentee or absentees by servants native or otherwise and such servant or servants could freely enjoy the possession of the house or houses etc. left to them by the English without any disturbance. On the return of the absentee factor or factors, they were to have freedom to trade as before.

(6) Formerly there was a treaty made in writing between the English and Śivāji. This treaty likewise was to be observed if the ministers swore by Mahadeo. The ministers were to make a new writing, sealed and signed by Śivāji Raja for himself and his successors and then the English and their successors were to observe the same<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 447.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 469.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 470.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 471.

These points of the treaty were drafted on the 8th of January 1680 in the consultations held at Bombay. Annaji Pandit sent his proposals to the Deputy Governor of Bombay dated 16th January with a promise to see all the terms confirmed by the Raja. They run thus : --

(1) What was due to the Company by Sivāji and by his inhabitants to the Company's merchants was immediately ordered to be paid.

(2) The English were to keep friendship with Sivāji Raja and in future there was to be no difference between them. The English prisoners, vessels and other things in the Maratha custody were ordered to be delivered to the English.

(3) The proposal No. 5 of the English was granted.

(4) The proposal No. 3 of the English was conceded to.

(5) The proposal No. 6 of the English was to be observed. The English were to do the same.

(6) The Marathas promised to observe all the above written articles in the future. Therefore the English were to withdraw their fleet from Khānderi. Sidi Kasim had come to Underi, by the instigation of the English and had landed on the same, to whom the English were to speak in a fair way and command him to leave the said Underi. The English factors were to be treated in compliance with these terms. The English were not to give any assistance to the enemies of the Marathas and were to keep friendship with the Marathas. If the English broke any of the terms they were not to blame the Marathas afterwards<sup>37</sup>.

The same proposals were sent by the Subhedar of Cheul to the Deputy Governor of Bombay. He also promised the confirmation of the proposals on an oath.

In addition to these terms some proposals were made to the Deputy Governor of Bombay by Annaji Pandit and the Subhedar of Cheul.

(1) The Sidi's fleet which had come to Khānderi by the assistance of the English was to be ordered to be withdrawn along with their own.

(2) If the Sidi refused to withdraw on the ground that he was the servant of the Mughal Government, then the English were not to give him any succour, neither ammunitions nor boats. And so long as the fleet continued to be at Khānderi, the Marathas could keep in Bombay a person of quality and ten other men accompanying him to see whether the English gave him aid.

(3) Any person or persons absconding from the Maratha dominions to that of the English, to evade the payment of debts was to be handed over to the Marathas. But if the English stated that it was not their custom, all debts due by the person or persons or other things laid on his or their charge were to be taken by the English judges.

(4) None of the enemies of the Marathas were to be allowed to enter into the rivers of Nagothana and Pen, it being so agreed in the first treaty. Due to the difference the Sidi had taken many of the Marathas as prisoners. The English were to manage to release them.

(5) The inhabitants of the Raja's territory were free to come and go out of the English dominions to trade and buy merchandise, and the English were not to tolerate the Raja's men being abused—were to treat them properly.

(6) Daud Khan, in the Siddi's service who assisted Bombay had entered the Raja's territory and had done much harm. The English were to turn him out of the island<sup>38</sup>.

These new proposals were sent by Annaji Pandit and the Subhedar of Cheul for confirmation to Bombay. On the 18th January the Deputy Governor and his

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 476, p. 285.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 476 p. 286.

Council sent their own proposals with the following modifications in those they received from Annaji Pandit and the Subhedar of Cheul jointly.

(1) The Sidi was not to get war material, guns, balls, powder etc., but the English were not to hinder him from taking water and provision, as they did not hinder the Marathas for the same. The English had their factories in the Raja's dominions, and also in the Mughal dominions. So there was to be no hindrance to the Sidi of water and provisions.

(2) According to the proposal No. 3 the Marathas were to acquaint the English in any of their inhabitant escaped to Bombay island, and the English court of Judicature was to investigate the case and do justice to the Marathas. If such a person were an insolvent, he was to be imprisoned till he paid the dues.

(3) The English were not to be wanting in endeavouring to fulfil the proposal No. 4 of the Marathas.

(4) According to the proposal No. 5 of the Marathas, the English were to take care that none of their inhabitants was wronged.

(5). According to the proposal No. 6, if any body remaining in the Bombay island disturbed the Maratha country he was to be punished severely and driven out of the island<sup>39</sup>.

The Marathas promised to release the prisoners as soon as possible, and in lieu of the *ghurab* etc. captured by them, hundred candies of beetlenut was ordered to be delivered to the English, at Cheul. The English on their part were to withdraw their fleet. In the consultation at Bombay on the 27th it was unanimously agreed to order the fleet to come to Bombay<sup>40</sup>. The fleet actually came to Bombay to an anchor on the 30th.<sup>41</sup> Thus ended the struggle of Khānderi after five months.

It is interesting to note that Śivāji did not agree to the term No. 4, proposed by the English—John Child Deputy Governor of Bombay and the Council, on the 8th of January<sup>42</sup>. In this term the English stated that Śivāji should defray the charges which the English suffered for the maintenance of the fleet during war period. Śivāji deliberately avoided replying this term because he thought it an unreasonable demand and a slur upon his admirals.

The English had no right to object to Śivāji's people. Yet they did so because it jeopardised the trade of Bombay. The issue could be decided only by a fight. Śivāji won the struggle and settled the matter.

#### *Why the Marathas Succeeded.*

When the blockade of Khānderi was begun the English had not sufficient war-ships to strangle their enemies. Their armada numbered eight ships at the start. After the second engagement on the 18th of October which ended in favour of the Marathas, the English added to their former force, three more ships, the frigate, *Fortune* and two more *shibars*. The crew on board the eight ships were two hundred and by the coming of the three ships, five files of Topassas and thirty Laskars were added. Meanwhile the frigate *Hunter* was also ordered to join the fleet. So, when the struggle came to its head the English had twelve battle-ships with guns and ammunitions. The Maratha fleet under Daulat Khan numbered 40 sail, excluding the boats that were already engaged between Khānderi and the main base. The maximum number of Maratha war-ships was approximately between 50 and 60. The crew of the Marathas were not less than 400 and between 450 and 550. The English navy was superior to the Maratha war-ships in every respect. The slimly built Maratha ships were no match for a single massively built English frigate.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 476 pp. 287-88.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 479.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 481, p. 293.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, letter, No. 481, p. 294.

with big and long range guns. The Marathas knowing fully well their inferiority in the navy never encountered the English battle-ships in the open sea. Often they made their appearance at the mouth of Nagaon creek and when the English ships chased them they were waylaid and other Maratha boats escaped to the island or returned to the base. Escaping to the island and slipping back into the Nagaon river, under the cover of night was the most effective method of relieving the island which the Marathas practised. The heavy English ships watched these enemy tricks idly and could not stop them. Neither had they light boats, for which they clamoured, to cope with the Marathas. The Maratha light boats had definite advantage over their enemy ships. They escaped into the narrow creeks with the speed of lightning. The shallowness of the sea, the soundings near Khānderi and the nature of the coast were peculiarly suited to the movements of lightly built Maratha boats. The only convenient anchorage for the English ships was to the north-east of Khānderi five hundred yards from it where there was a reef dry at half tide, the space between this reef and the Underi island being impassable for boats of any size.

When the Sidi alighted into the arena he added some more ships to the English fleet. In spite of this force the Marathas held on. Instead of chalking out a joint programme of attack the Sidi and the English mistrusted each other and continued the strife half-heartedly. An onslaught on the island was planned by the Sidi but the English did not deem it expedient and the idea was given up. The English were thinking of ending the struggle in an honourable manner by some patched-up treaty to keep the prestige of the Company. The Sidi scented this intrigue, contrary to his expectations. The English were afraid that if the Sidi occupied Khānderi he would be more troublesome than the Marathas and scrupulously avoided to co-operate with him. This atmosphere of distrust rendered the idea of combined attack impracticable.

The English had not sufficient man power to force a landing independently, whereas the Maratha man power on Khānderi was 500 : 300 soldiers and 200 coolies. The latter could be recruited as soldiers if need arose. An offensive move against this odd figure would have required a force of 700 to 800 soldiers of resolute will. This was impossible especially when Bombay was daily under the dread of invasion. A concentration of 4000 contingent at Kalyan was more than enough to put the English into deep despair. The very news of it distracted their attention though it did not diverge their force near Khānderi.

The supply depot of the Marathas was nearer—Alibag and Thal, while the English boats had to come from Bombay. The other supply base of the Marathas was at Cheul away from the influence of the English navy. The English had no such base near Cheul to counteract. Moreover the whole coast of present Alibag Taluka was under Sivāji's sway.

The extra expenditure of war the English had to bear amounted to 5000 Rs<sup>43</sup> per month. The Company had no economic stability to continue this costly game when other circumstances were adverse.

Nature also seemed to side with Sivāji. At the outbreak of the struggle the English were obstructed by heavy rain-fall. At the beginning of January the north-east monsoon had begun to show its signs, and the fear of its violent gusts in the coming months loomed large upon the English. In consideration of all these unfavourable incidents the English came to terms.

<sup>43</sup> Asiatics serving as soldiers were named as Topasses and East Indian seamen as Laskars.

<sup>44</sup> Xerapheen-phin or Seraphin was a silver coin formerly current in India, worth about 1s. 5d. The original Arabic word is شرفی (sharifi), the name of a gold coin.

## REVIEWS

*Ancient Vijñaptipatras.* By Dr. Hirananda ŚĀSTRĪ, M.A., M.O.L., D.LITT., Ex-Director of Archaeology, Baroda State ; (Śrī-Pratāpasimha Mahārāja Rājyābhisheka Granthamālā, Memoir No. 1), pp. ix, 72, Index and Plates I-XXVIII. 1942. Price Rs. 9-12-0.

This work owes its inception to the interest which Sir V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, Dewan of Baroda, who contributes a small Foreword to the Memoir, takes in all things cultural—particularly those related to Western India.

In it Dr. ŚĀSTRĪ has tackled a hitherto rather neglected source-material which, when critically studied, would illumine several aspects of Indian history and culture. *Vijñaptipatras* or *lekhas* as they are called in one specimen, are letters, written by Jaina Saṅgha (congregation of laymen) to their head priest, Ācārya, requesting him to come and spend the next *cāturmāsa* (Rain-retreat) at their town or city. Incidentally they crave forgiveness of their past sins. This is the theme of these Letters-of-Request. But were it merely so they would not be of much interest. What endows them with interest and importance is the language in which they are couched, the personages and places mentioned in them and above all the paintings with which they are usually illustrated. Language and literature, history and geography, material culture, and fine arts of the period are thus laid bare for those who would see.

In the present Memoir Dr. ŚĀSTRĪ has given us 24 *Vijñaptipatras* ranging from early 17th century to the late 19th century. Of these the most important is the first, which records the *farmān* of Jahāngir, prohibiting animal slaughter during the Paryuṣaṇā Week. This throws an important side light on Jahāngir's administration which was so far missed, as Dr. ŚĀSTRĪ has pointed out, by historians. Equally important are the miniature illustrations in it, among which portraits of the Emperor himself and his son Khurram may be noted. We are told that these were painted by the court painter Sālivāhana.

The language of this letter-of-request is Mārṇwādī, as it is of many others ; but there are some which are written in good Sanskrit also.

Since the *Vijñaptipatras* either emanate from places in Gujarat or relate to places therein though written outside—e.g. Rajputana and are so far found among Svetāmbara documents, Dr. ŚĀSTRĪ is inclined to regard these *Vijñaptipatras* as peculiar Gujarati *Svetāmbara documents*. Unless an exhaustive search is made among both Svetāmbara and Digambara documents from outside Gujarat as well as among documents pertaining to those of other religions—particularly Vallabha Vaiṣṇavism, one may regard Dr. ŚĀSTRĪ's view as inconclusive.

Dr. ŚĀSTRĪ has very briefly described the paintings. But there is scope for much detailed study. For instance, one should like to know the nature of the ships, if these could be identified from their enlarged prints. As to dress, etc. particularly of lay women in Pls. IXb, and XIVb it is like that to be seen nowadays worn by Mārṇwādī women. Hence their description as 'well-dressed Gujarātī ladies', (p. 43) does not seem to be accurate, unless it is presumed that that was the woman's dress common all over Gujarāt in the 17th century. Mārṇwādī women, be it noted, have stuck to this dress even now and display them in all gorgeous colours and designs every morning and on festive occasions, when they visit their (Jaina) temple. Likewise the remarks (p. 51) "Three high class ladies wearing precious jewels and dress with *padar* or decorated border covering the right side in the *Marāṭhā* fashion. The Gujarātī ladies would usually put the *padar* on the left side,"



would appear meaningless when it is remembered that not only the Marāthā women wear the *padar* on the right side, but it is also the modern fashion, the so-called Bengali fashion, which really seems to come down from the Mughal or North Indian fashion of wearing the loose end of the scarf-like (*oḍhani*) upper garment on the right side.

Not only linguistic but detailed ethnographical studies could be based on these and similar records of the early and late mediaeval periods for which the title 'ancient' appears inappropriate and misleading.

All persons who contributed towards the publication of these *Vijñaptipatras*—Sir V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI for taking interest in and sanctioning the project, Dr. Hirananda SĀSTRĪ for undertaking to do the work and Munis KĀNTIVIJAYAJI and PUNYAVIJAYAJI of Pāṭaṇ for lending the important *Vijñaptipatras* Nos. I, VII, VIII and translating and explaining them—deserve to be congratulated.

H. D. S.

*Magadha Architecture and Culture.* By Sris Chandra CHATTERJEE, C.E., Sthāpatya Viśārād, Calcutta University, pp. i-xxvii, 1-78 Pls. I-XXX. Price Rs. 5.

The writer of this work is an architect by profession. His aim is to revive Indian art and architecture, after a careful, first-hand study of the existing monuments of India, and particularly of Magadha. With this end in view, the writer travelled extensively in India and Greater India, consulted ancient works on Indian Culture, and had the honour of projecting his new ideas into stone and mortar in Patna, Delhi and Calcutta.

After giving a sketch of the history of Magadha—and of its magnificent monuments at Rājagṛha, Bodhgaya, Nālandā, Sāsāram, over a period of more than 2000 years, he indicates the hidden strength of the survival of this Hindu-Buddhist-Muslim architecture upto the advent of the British rule and then its subsequent degeneration and downfall. He rightly pleads for the renaissance of Indian architecture, instead of the blind imitation of the streamlined, but soulless foreign architecture. His experience of constructing public and private buildings in Indian style shows that these are not at all incompatible with our modern ideas of economy, efficiency and sanitation. This and the fact that we are having something beautiful that we can call our own, belonging to the Indian soil, should be a sufficient incentive for encouraging the efforts of Mr. CHATTERJEE in reviving Indian architecture.

H. D. S.

*Studies in the History of the British in India:* By Dr. A. P. DAS GUPTA, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.); University of Calcutta, 1942, pp. 165.

These studies contain five separate articles four of which had already appeared in various journals. All the articles are connected with the internal matters and squabbles amongst the higher officials of the East India Company's government in the three Indian presidencies during a period of three decades between 1756 and 1784. The difficulties inherent in the government of a vast dominion like that of the Bengal-Nizamat by the officers and clerks of a mercantile concern are well exemplified in the first paper. The Indian constitution has come into being on the basis of the experience of those days. The defects of the British character are writ

large in the doings of the officials of these times. While on the one hand the British have imbibed a deep love and faith in law, constitution, order, system and the like, the race is patently deficient in visualising the human factors and judging their effects on their superimposed system. Ultimately all the good things have to be carried out through human agencies with all the intricacies of human life. The Court of Directors sitting in London had devised what they thought perfect rules to govern their Indian dominions and provide for contingencies. But men, even Englishmen, are selfish, proud, jealous, power-grasping, independent, bent on following their own way with a strong belief in the wisdom of their opinions as well as patriotic and law-abiding. On the whole, because of these last virtues, the British power in India grew and prospered. The seamy side of history which looms large in these papers due to the presentation of personal squabbles is not a characteristic of the British character only, but would be found if we could investigate into the histories of other people as well. Only they might be lacking in the legal subtleties and verbal niceties to be met with in the British affairs. Unfortunately the Indian intelligentsia has copied and imitated these last only, without the saving good points of the strong character. The result is reflected in the activities of our students of history also. No amount of the presentation of the differences and quarrels of the British officials in India and their misdeeds can hide the fact that all these were made possible by certain defects of Indian character which seem to persist to this day. Just as the skill of a thief is proved in a theft, the guilelessness and unguardedness of the robbed are equally proved thereby. These are the thoughts which occur to a reflective student of detailed studies such as those presented by Dr. DAS GUPTA in the papers.

Dr. DAS GUPTA has dived deep into the intricacies and small niceties of British Indian history. He seems to spare no pains in hunting out the historical papers, even the private letters of the main actors in the history. He thus gets an insight into the inner workings of the minds of these actors which we cannot hope to find in students of only main events and broad problems. In the papers before us the characters of Hastings, Clive, Rumbold, Macpherson and above all Lord Macartney are well exemplified. The Deccan College Research Institute will naturally take pride in finding the Macartney papers in its Paransis Collection extensively used with good effect, the photostat copies of some letters being reproduced in this volume to convince the critic. A certain deficiency in the treatment of these papers arises by the non-visualisation of the background and non-use of the Marathi material which would have better explained a few points and presented a more correct picture of the canvas of Indian history during those crucial years. But this is by the way and it need not take away the credit from these studies even in the form in which they appear.

T. S. S.

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# THE BHULESHVAR TEMPLE NEAR YAVAT (POONA DISTRICT)\*

By

A. V. NAIK.

[Situated on a hill in one of the spurs of the Sahyadris, the Bhuleshvar Temple stands in a *prākāra* and is well decorated with figures of deities, human and animal sculptures and some of the ornamental motifs that are usually found on the mediæval temples of the Deccan. The camel which is very rarely found on the Hindu Temples also occurs on this temple. It exhibits certain unique, iconographic and architectonic peculiarities by reason of which it holds an important place in the array of the monuments of the Deccan, and belongs at the latest to the 13th century A.D.]

The Bhuleshvar Temple stands on the top of a barren hill, about 700 feet above the plain, in one of the spurs that run east from the Sahyadris viz., the *Sinhagad-Bhuleshvar* range.<sup>1</sup> It is situated at a distance of 3 miles to the south-west of Yavat—both on the G. I. P. railway and the Poona-Sholapur road, 26 miles east of Poona. A cart-track from Yavat leads right up to the foot of the hill and to reach the temple one has to ascend by a somewhat difficult foot-path through a distance of half a mile. It is also reached from Malshiras, a small village, 2 miles to its south, said to have derived its name from the stony ground or *māl* on which it stands—about 15 miles north-east of Sasvad.

The *Bombay Gazetteer* does not take notice of this temple, while it refers to the neighbouring temple of Bhuleshvar Mahādev at Malshiras.<sup>2</sup> Though it has been brought under the protection of the Archæological Department it still remains unsurveyed and undescribed. COUSENS, in his *Mediæval Temples of the Dakhan*, altogether leaves out of account the mediæval monuments in the Poona District, though previously some of them were described in the *Bombay Gazetteer*. Not that these are in any way inferior to those described by him, but perhaps either he was not aware of them or had no time to visit them. Be that as it may, our exploration in the Poona District brought to our notice some mediæval monuments, each of which possesses an important individuality from the view-points of architecture and iconography. Of such the Kukadeśvar Temple at Pur, near Nanaghat, has already been described.<sup>3</sup>

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\* While studying this temple I derived considerable help from my teacher Dr. H. D. SANKALIA and my colleague Mr. D. R. PATIL. I owe the photographic illustrations to the former.

<sup>1</sup> *Survey of India*, Map-sheet No. 37 j/3.

<sup>2</sup> 18.3.

<sup>3</sup> *BDCR* 2.218-24.

massive and slender pillars which are built in the dwarf-wall. The pillars inside the *maṇḍapa* are not much different from those of the *prākāra*. The pillars of the latter have, above the capitals, rolled brackets with a cobra-head or *nāgaśīrṣaka* upon the rolls while those of the former have square brackets supported by four-handed little fat *kīcaka* figures. This excepted, all the pillars and pilasters follow a general pattern, which consists of a square base and a shaft which is partly square, octagonal and round. The square part of the shaft is followed by a broad octagonal band which is again followed by circular and octagonal narrow bands alternately. This is surmounted by a series of deeply cut recessed parts alternating with projections and crowned by a square block which has a triangular plate on each face. This may be called a 'false capital', as it is also supported by four *kīcaka* figures. From this again rises the octagonal part which is then converted into a circular band of three rings. All this is crowned by a capital of the shape of an inverted flat bell supporting a square plate which forms a support for the four brackets which bear upon them either a *kīcaka* figure or a cobra-head. The slender pillars are simple octagonal shafts. The pillars, both of the *prākāra* and the *maṇḍapa*, and the pilasters as well, are well decorated with *haṁsa* designs and rows of beads.

The *nandī-maṇḍapa* is a square structure with four main pillars at the corners, and two slender pillars inserted on each side at regular intervals between two corner pillars. The original *nandī* is still intact and faces the shrine.

The three doorways of the *maṇḍapa* are well decorated and bear on the jambs images and sculptures indicative of the sect to which the temple belonged. Each door has a figure of Gaṇeśa in the centre of the lintel and a *kīrti-mukha* on either side of the threshold. Above the lintel is a frieze of five-miniature temples. Each doorway consists of four frames. The innermost frame has a row of human figures, the second has a plain square shaft upto the first half and the second half of it consists of small divisions each filled originally with some figure. The third has a pilaster which is square, octagonal and round with the conventional pot-and-foilage motif on a *cauraṅga* or a four-legged square stool, supporting in its turn, a pair of stools, one square and another octagonal, placed over the former. The last is also a plain square shaft upto the middle and above that has a pile of lions and elephants, alternately arranged. The doorways differ from each other in the respect of jamb-sculptures.

The East or Main Doorway has on the third frame of the proper right or south jamb at the base, an image of a four-handed male deity standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose. The deity holds in the upper right hand a *nāga* and in the lower right hand a *gadā*. The upper left hand holds a *damaru* while the lower left hand is held in *kartarī hasta*, a pose in which the *tarjanī* and the middle fingers point upwards and the tip of the *anāmikā* is joined with the tip of the *aṅguṣṭha* or the thumb, both forming a ring. To the proper right of the deity are two standing female attendants, one of whom holds a *caurī*

or a fly-whisk. To the proper left also are two standing female *cauri*-bearers. Below the image of the principal deity is an image of a four-handed seated *Devī*. The principal image on the proper left or north jamb is also a four-handed standing male deity, holding in the upper right hand a *śaṅkha* while the lower right hand is completely mutilated. In the upper and lower left hands respectively, the deity holds a *nāga* and a *gadā*. The attendants and other details are similar to those on the south or proper right jamb above described.

The east or proper right jamb of the North Doorway<sup>8</sup> has a four-handed standing male deity on the pilastered frame, like the East or Main Doorway. The image is in the *tribhaṅga* pose and holds in the upper and lower right hands, a *triśūla* and a *gadā* respectively, and in the upper left hand a *khaṭvāṅga*. The lower left hand is completely broken away. On either side of this deity are attendants and *cauri*-bearers similar to those described above. Below the main figure, on the basement is an image of a four-handed seated *Devī* on either side of which are figures of dancers and musicians. The west or proper left jamb resembles the one just described in other details except the image of the main deity. This image is of a four-handed standing male deity in the *tribhaṅga* pose. The lower hands of the image are missing and in the upper right and left hands are found a *ḍamaru* and a *nāga* respectively. Instead of the figure of a *Devī* below the main figure, there is an image of Gaṇeśa seated and four-handed, the *āyudhas* in his hands being quite indistinct.

On the west jamb of the South Doorway, the main image is, like those on the other doorways, of a four-handed male deity standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose. The two lower hands of this image are missing and the *āyudha* in the upper left hand is not distinct. In the upper right hand is to be seen a *ḍamaru*. Below this is a four-handed seated *Devī* on the basement with some small figures of attendants on either side. The main figure on the east jamb is also a four-handed male deity standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose and holding a *ḍamaru* in the upper right hand. The other three hands are completely missing. Below, on the basement is a four-handed seated *Devī* with attendant figures on both sides. The attendants of the main images in both cases are similar to those of the other door-jambs.

The *āyudhas* of the images on the door-jambs, thus, consist of the *ḍamaru*, *triśūla*, *khaṭvāṅga*, *nāga*, or *nāgapāśa*, *gadā* and *śaṅkha*. All these, except the last two are Śaiva by character. The *gadā* and the *śaṅkha* are usually associated with Vaiṣṇava deities and hence their occurrence here is rather perplexing. But the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*<sup>9</sup> gives *śaṅkha*, as one of the eighteen *āyudhas* of Svacchanda, a form of Bhairava, which according to it should have eighteen hands with the sixteen *āyudhas* of Tripurāntaka and the *ḍamaru*

<sup>8</sup> Fig. 2.

<sup>9</sup> 3.1.769 (Mysore University, Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series No. 69, Part I, Mysore, 1926.)

and *śaṅkha*. Also the *Śrītattvanidhi*<sup>10</sup> gives *gadā* as one of the *āyudhas* of the eight Bhairavas of the Caṇḍa category. This would show that the *gadā* and the *śaṅkha* were also regarded as Śaiva *āyudhas*, though rarely. It is, however, very difficult to say what particular form of Śiva these images represent. It may appear that some of these might have originally represented Harihara because of the *gadā* and *śaṅkha*, but this is not quite certain as none of these images follow the *lakṣaṇa* of that deity given in various texts. Moreover, evidence offered by other images on this temple does not warrant this identification.

The exterior walls of the temple are well decorated with images and ornamental sculptures. The walls are arranged in alternate projections and recesses which are carried through to the top-most cornice of the walls from which begins the roof.

Each projection has a semblance of a pilaster from the base to the capital at the top. An eave, over the top-most cornice of the walls, runs round the whole temple and is adorned at the edge with a running band of *haṁsas* completely carved in the round. This feature is not found elsewhere on the temples of the Deccan. The usual basement mouldings—the *gajathara*, the *nara-thara* etc. are completely absent here, and the *pīṭha* is adorned with small figures of goddesses on the basement portion of the projections. In the respect of decoration, the exterior of the temple proper falls into two divisions—the *maṇḍapa* forming the first and the *antarāla* and *garbhagṛha* the second.

Each section of the dwarf-wall that runs round the three sides of the *maṇḍapa* is divided into two horizontal sections, the upper being devoted to scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* and the lower bearing animal sculptures—lions and elephants—in lieu of the usual basement *tharas*. On the south-west and north-west corners of the *maṇḍapa* is a deep, pillared niche which originally contained an image of some deity but which now is quite empty. Each of these niches is flanked on either side with a female attendant, bearing flowers. Below the niche on the basement is a seated four-handed *Devī*, representing some form of Pārvatī. The north portion of the west wall bears on the exterior three large figures of females, one in the middle is dancing with a *mṛdaṅga* tied to her waist and the other two are musicians. Just below, on the basement, is a four-handed seated *Devī*. The south portion of the west wall exterior bears an interesting sculpture. It consists of three male figures joined at the hips. Thus the whole figure has three separate upper persons but one hip and two legs only.<sup>11</sup> On either side of this curious sculpture is a group of female dancers. One female in the group on the proper

<sup>10</sup> P. 86 (Venkateshvar Press, Bombay, S. 1823.)

<sup>11</sup> A similar curious triple figure, with four legs and six hands is also found on the temple of Nāgeśvara in Mālgaon in the Bhimthadi Taluka of the Poona District at a distance of some twenty miles from Bhuleshvar. The temple is perhaps of the same age as the Bhuleshvar temple or a little later, see *QBISM* 11.4.2,

left has a big *mṛdaṅga* tied to her waist. Below this triple-figure is a four-handed *Devī* on the basement.

The sculptures on the exterior of the dwarf-wall belong to two divisions. The upper division bears story-sculptures-episodes from the two great epics. The lower division bears friezes of lion and elephant sculptures.

To the proper right of the South Doorway, the dwarf-wall bears two friezes,<sup>12</sup> the upper being a representation of some episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the lower, the lion-elephant sculptures. In the centre of the upper frieze are two large figures of males who face each other and who appear to be warriors of high rank. Each of them holds a bow in his hand and has a quiver full of arrows tied behind his shoulders. They both wear tall *mukūṭa*s and ornaments on ear-lobes, wrists, arms and at the ankles. Their dress is quite fitting to a warrior. From their style of standing, it appears that they are conversing. On either side of these two warriors, the frieze is divided into two horizontal divisions. The upper division to the proper right of the warriors contains, from the left, two human figures, one male seated on a round stool in the *yogic* attitude and the other female also seated on a round stool with her hands placed on her chest in the *añjali* pose. The male figure wears *jaṭā* which are shown as tied on the crown in the fashion of a *mukūṭa*. Behind his head is to be seen a circular disc or aureole—the *prabhāvalaya*—which encircles the head of the sacred. Behind these two figures, who appear to be husband and wife, is to be seen a rude structure— a hut—with two small windows on the proper right side of the entrance of the hut. The couple is shown as sitting at the entrance. Next comes the figure of a man who stands close to the seated woman. He also has his right hand raised over the shoulders and seems to be rendering to the seated woman what service an attendant does. He is followed by two persons who are seated on round stools, that near the attendant figure holds in his right hand a sword. The manner in which they have posed themselves, suggests that those persons have come to interview the sage-like couple. Next come two standing persons, one supporting himself on the weapon which he holds in the right hand, the other paying homage to somebody perhaps the couple with his hands in the *añjali* pose.

The lower division, just below the one described above, consists of seven monkey-faced persons seated each on a round stool. Each of them wears a *mukūṭa*. The first two from left face the proper right end. The second of these has held his hands on the chest in the *añjali* pose. The next also sits in the same attitude but has turned his head to his proper left and appears to have been engaged in conversation with the fourth who has placed the palm of his right hand on the left shoulder of the third. The fifth monkey also sits in an attitude similar to that of his neighbour on the proper right but faces the opposite direction. The sixth and seventh figures face the front

<sup>12</sup> Marked A on the plan, Fig. 1 ; Fig. 3.



and are in the same attitude of a devotee with hands in the *anjali* pose, as that of the second monkey.

The upper division to the proper left of the central figures, has from the left, a pair of camels with huge drums on their backs which are shown as being sounded by the riders who are sitting on the hind part of the camel's back. Next comes a woman who is sitting on a round stool, facing the proper left end of the frieze. In front of her is a small standing figure of a person—male or female—which represents, perhaps, a musician who has accompanied the dancer shown next. The dancer is a woman, and she is shown with her hands taken up sideways on a level with her shoulders, but bent at the elbows. Her legs are broken below the knees. Then follows a round stool, the original figure on which is now completely lost. However, it appears that the lost figure was of some royal personality as the figure which follows the empty stool is shown with an umbrella or *chakra* which it is holding over the (vanished figure on the) stool. This umbrella-bearer is followed by three females who sit on round stools. The third figure is much mutilated.

The division below, contains, from the left, a pair of elephants facing the proper right end of the frieze, with riders on their backs. This is followed by eight women, the last of whom is shown as sitting on a round stool and worshipping a conical, *linga*-like object which is placed in the centre of a square pedestal. The pedestal supports on each of the four corners a pile of five *kalaśas*. These four *kalaśa*-piles, or pillars as it were, support a superstructure which resembles an ornamented *torana*. All the women, except the third, face the same direction, i.e. the proper left end of the frieze, the corner in which the object of worship is shown. They are represented as bringing some offerings to the *linga*-like image. The third woman has turned herself completely about, perhaps to take the *kalaśa*-like object, which the second woman holds forward. Of all the women, the second seems to represent a woman of higher status, as she wears a tall *mukuta* on her head. This finishes the lower division and the whole frieze.

The Rāmāyaṇic character of the whole frieze is based entirely on the occurrence of the seven monkey-faced figures. It is, however, extremely difficult to say what particular episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa* forms the theme of the sculptures in this frieze. The two divisions on the proper left of the central figures are representations of some religious and social festivities, while that in the upper division on the proper right is of plain living. The latter may well agree with some incident of Rāma's exile, the identification of the sage-like couple and the attendant figure with Rāma-Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa respectively appears most tempting. If the upper right division represents the exiles then it must be a representation of Rāma's *āśrama* in the forest of Citrakūṭa. The seated persons and the two standing persons then would be representing Sumantra, Vasiṣṭha, Guha etc. who had accompanied Bharata to the place. The two warrior-like large figures may be those of Bharata and his younger brother Śatrughna. However, it is told in the text that

Bharata at the time of his meeting with Rāma had worn a hermit's dress—the *valkalas*. This identification is doubtful, it is true, but unfortunately it seems to be the only possible one. Even accepting this as a tentative identification our difficulties do not disappear. The seven monkey-faced persons are out of place here as it was long time after Rāma left Citrakūṭa that he met with the monkeys. Moreover it was an event which took place after Rāvaṇa had abducted Sītā. The monkeys and Sītā do not appear simultaneously in any event that took place before Rāma's fight with Rāvaṇa. Therefore the division which represents the monkeys must be taken as depicting quite a different story, unconnected with that depicted in the upper division. Also the sad atmosphere of the Rāma-Bharata meeting is not harmonious with the festivity scenes which therefore must be considered as depicting different events altogether. Thus the relationship of the four divisions between themselves is not clear and the whole frieze baffles identification.

Below this upper frieze is a frieze of lions and elephants.<sup>13</sup> Beginning from the left are two elephants facing each other followed by two fierce lions who are engaged in a serious fight. Then comes a pair of elephants who also stand face to face.

The upper frieze on the dwarf-wall to the proper left of the South Doorway<sup>14</sup> is undivided and begins from the left to right with two elephants facing one another followed by two horsemen who are shown fighting face to face. Between the two horses, in the centre below, is a small representation of an animal perhaps a pig or a buffalo. After this come two lions facing each other and engaged in a fight over an elephant. Next to this are two elephants, also engaged in a fight. A single horseman follows them. This finishes the upper frieze. The lower is a frieze of lions and elephants, similar to the one on the proper right wall.

The dwarf-wall on either side of the East or Main Doorway<sup>15</sup> has a frieze of lion and elephant sculptures fitted below the frieze of story-sculpture. The upper frieze on the south or proper right of the entrance, which originally contained a representation of some Purāṇic episode has now totally disappeared. That in the north or proper left, though still in its original place, has been much mutilated and unfortunately almost all figures are damaged. The frieze appears to have depicted in two sections the terrible fight between the two great warriors of the *Mahābhārata*, Arjuna and Bhīṣma, which took place on the tenth day of the Great Kuru War, and the subsequent fall of the aged Bhīṣma. The first section depicts the furious duel and shows chariots struck and overturned, their occupants leaping on to the sides and continuing the fight from that vantage post. Every chariot is shown with two wheels and a pair of horses. Arjuna can be recognised very easily as his chariot is shown with Kṛṣṇa as his charioteer. On the flagstaff of his

<sup>13</sup> Fig. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Marked B on the plan, Fig. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Marked C and D on the plan, Fig. 1.

chariot is to be seen a monkey. The figure of Arjuna is much damaged and nothing very appreciable remains of his body. The figure of Bhīṣma was perhaps the one in the chariot, which is opposite that of Arjuna, which is now headless and defaced. Three arrows are seen between the chariots of these opponents going towards Arjuna but stopped by Arjuna with one arrow that goes in the opposite direction. This, perhaps, represents the mighty *śakti* which Bhīṣma sent on Arjuna and which the latter with three arrows split into three when all the warriors on the battle-field stood still and watched the result with surprise.

The next section depicts the aged general on the bed of arrows. The fall of Bhīṣma was the signal for the Kurus to stop fighting, and the Pāṇḍavas gave like orders, a temporary armistice being arranged out of respect for the old hero. Round the dying hero chiefs of both armies are seen gathered, Arjuna is seen standing in the second row, with his Gāṇḍīva bow in his hand. Below the lying Bhīṣma's head are shown three arrows which were struck in the ground by Arjuna to provide a support for the loosely hanging head of Bhīṣma. Kṛṣṇa is also easily recognized as he is standing by Arjuna's side and is shown with four hands. Here lying on the bed of arrows, the dying Bhīṣma in the presence of all made his last appeal to Duryodhana to stop the war.

On the east or proper right of the North Doorway<sup>16</sup> the upper frieze depicts a battle scene. The sculptures consist of chariots drawn by horses, elephants, horses, men etc. It represents the ancient *caturāṅga senā*. The charioteers are shown darting arrows on the opponents while their chariots are dashing against one another. The elephant-riders are shown stabbing the opponents with spears and lances while the elephants trample over the dead bodies of the fallen fighters. Horsemen and foot-soldiers are shown involved in a tuff fight, each with his weapon and against his opponent. The foot-soldiers are shown with swords and circular shields. The archers with bows and quivers. The lower frieze has the lion and elephant sculptures.

The upper frieze on the proper left<sup>17</sup> depicts in four horizontal divisions the famous episode of Draupadī-Svayamvara. At the proper right end of the frieze are carved figures of warriors or wrestlers which are now much damaged. Their relation with the story which follows is not quite clear. In the centre of the rest of the frieze is a large figure of Arjuna behind whom is shown the tall pillar set up by Drupada, on the top of which was fixed a golden fish. The whirling wheel beneath the fish, and the fish may be taken to have been originally fixed to the capital-like portion of the pillar seen over the head of Arjuna.<sup>18</sup> The bow which Arjuna had bent is now missing. At

<sup>16</sup> Marked E on the plan, Fig. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Marked F on the plan, Fig. 1, Fig. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Mbh.*, (Crit. Ed.) 1.176.10.

‘ यन्त्रं वैहायसं चापि कारयास कृत्रिमम् ।  
तेन यन्त्रेण सहितं राजा लक्ष्यं च काञ्चनम् ॥ ’

his feet is shown a big basin in which he is shown as looking down. In the upper division to the proper left of Arjuna is to be seen the figure of Draupadī who stands with the garland in her hands. On her left are figures of some five or six persons and lastly of a four-handed deity. Of these, that near Draupadī, seems to be Drupada himself or his son Dhṛṣṭadyumna who declared the conditions of the *Svayamvara* after leading Draupadī to the pendal or the *raṅga*.<sup>19</sup> It is quite in conformity with the text that he is shown by the side of his sister. The next two figures hold swords in their right hands and may represent either the princes who had assembled to witness the event or the attendant guards. It is also told that Brahmins also had assembled and the two following figures who are clad in simple dress may be representations of these. This appears correct if we compare these figures with that of Arjuna, for it is told that Arjuna had gone there in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa. Both these figures are extremely alike. The next four-handed figure represents, very likely, Kṛṣṇa.

The lower division to the proper right of Arjuna, which is diagonally opposite to that described above, contains five figures. The first figure from the left represents Śrī Kṛṣṇa seated and four-handed. In his upper right hand is shown a *padma* or lotus-bud and in the lower right hand he holds a *gadā*. In his upper and lower left hands are to be seen a *śaṅkha* and a *cakra* respectively. Iconographically this image represents the image of Viṣṇu if the *āyudhas* are reckoned in the *dakṣiṇādhaḥ-kara-krama*, or beginning from the lower right hand, and of Keśava if the *dakṣiṇordhava-kara-krama* or reckoning from the upper right hand is followed.<sup>20</sup> Both belong to the class of the twenty-four varieties of Viṣṇu. The next three figures may be taken as representing Sāmba, Cāruḍeṣṇa, and Gada who had, with other Vṛṣṇis, accompanied Vāsudeva to the *Svayamvara* pendal. The last figure is evi-

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Mbh.*, (Crit. Ed.) 1.176.11.

दुपद उवाच

‘इदं सज्यं धनुःकृत्वा सज्येनाननं सायकैः

अतीत्य लक्ष्यं यो वेद्धा स लब्धा मत्सुतामिति ॥’

also 1.176. 34-35.

धृष्टद्युम्न उवाच

‘इदं धनुर्लक्ष्यमिमे च बाणाः

शृण्वन्तु मे पार्थिवाः सर्व एव ।

यन्त्रच्छिद्रेणाभ्यतिक्राम्य लक्ष्यं

समर्पयन् खगमैर्दशार्धैः ॥

एतत्कर्ता कर्म सुदुष्करं यः

कुलेन रूपेण बलेन युक्तः ।

तस्याय भार्या भगिनी ममेयं

कृष्णा भवित्री न मृषा ब्रवीमि ॥’

<sup>20</sup> KHARE, G. H. *Mūrtivijñāna* 27 (Poona, 1939),

dently that of Saṁkarṣaṇa or Balarāma, the elder brother of Vāsudeva. He is shown with a *gadā*, which he holds in his left hand.

The upper division depicts the next stage of the story. But the contents of this division almost baffle identification. There are in all eight figures. The first five from the left form one group and the next three another. Of the five figures of the first group the first and third from left are shown with beards. Except the last all are shown seated. The last figure is boy-like. In front of the first two figures are shown two *kamaṇḍalus*. It seems that they belong to the bearded persons. The second and the fourth figures wear the sacred thread or the *yajñopavīta*. The whole group is arranged in a manner which suggests that the five persons are engaged in a serious discussion. The third person has put his hand on the hips of the fourth just to lift him up as it were. The boy-like figure is supporting the fourth at his shoulders.

The second group which consists of three figures, shows an elderly person seated and majestic in appearance, with a *kamaṇḍalu* by his side, and bestowing his *āśirvāda* upon the couple who are bowing down to him. The man of the couple has a *dhanuṣya* worn on his left shoulder. The elderly person who wears a *yajñopavīta* is perhaps Dharmarāja, the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas and the couple seems to be that of Arjuna and Draupadī whom he had just won. It is told in the text that Dharma had left the *Śvayamvara* pendal with his two younger brothers—the sons of Mādī before Arjuna and Bhīma, and had gone to the potter's house. When Arjuna left the pendal with Bhīma, Draupadī who had garlanded the former, followed them to the potter's house. It is, therefore, quite likely that this group represents Dharma giving his blessings to Arjuna and Draupadī when they both paid respects to him, the first thing on entering the place. If this is correct then the first group would appear to represent the discussion about the pros and cons of the polyandrous marriage, the personalities who participated in the discussion were Drupada, Dharma, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Vyāsa and Kuntī, in the palace of Drupada. But in this group there is no figure of a woman. Of the bearded figures, one may be taken to represent Vyāsa and the other Dharma, though it is not quite clear from the text whether he was present at that time. The figure between these two may be identified with Drupada and the fourth with Dharma. But what about the boy-like figure? Is it Dhṛṣṭadyumna? But all these identifications fall to the ground when we take into account the collective action of the last three figures of this group, which are quite out of place here.

The lower division on the proper left of Arjuna is a scene of marriage and merry-making. The scene begins with a group of four women standing behind a damaged figure of a person seated in front of a *torana* which roofs a square platform on which is to be seen some object of worship. The square platform supports on each corner a pile of *kalaśas*. The person sitting in front of it is worshipping the object placed inside. Of the four women, the

third is being taken to the place of worship by the two women who flank her. The first follows the three with a *kamaṇḍalu* in her right hand. The seated figure appears to represent the bride-groom and the third figure of the woman, the bride. The two women flanking her are shown as sprinkling over her head the *kumkuma*-water with lotus stalks. Beyond the *maṇḍapa* or the *torana* is to be seen a dancer, in vehement dancing pose. Next come some persons, seated in a row and attired richly. They wear *mukūṭas*, large circular ear-rings and bracelets and wristlets, which shows that they represent men of high rank. It would appear from the foregoing discussion, that the division represents a marriage scene, and that too, most probably of the princess Draupadī with the Pāṇḍavas. The woman who is being taken to the object of worship is then Draupadī herself about to be married to the bride-groom--the first Pāṇḍava i.e. Yudhiṣṭhira. The princes shown seated beyond the *maṇḍapa* are probably the four Pāṇḍava brothers who sat in the order of their age and with whom Draupadī was married in turn. The dancer represents the merry-making which took place on the occasion.

Apart from their epic character, the sculptures are also interesting as they throw some light on the social aspect of the contemporary life. The square platforms with the *toranas* represent the *vedikā* or the *vivāha-vedī* which plays a very important part in the Hindu Marriage Ceremony. The *Dharmaśāstra* lays down certain rules as regards its plan, measurements and decoration, which are even now rigidly followed, particularly by Brahmins. Similar marriage scenes to those depicted in our sculptures can be witnessed even in the present days at the marriage functions of orthodox Hindus. The conformity which is found to exist between the marriage scenes--the *vedikā* and the surroundings--and the description of the same in the *Dharmaśāstra* texts, after a comparison of the two, is really striking and instructive.<sup>21</sup>

The exterior wall of the *antarāla* and the *garbhagṛha* are decorated with images of gods, human figures and lozenge-shaped ornament. One interesting thing to be noted here is the complete absence of the usual basement

<sup>21</sup> Cf.

हस्तोच्छ्रितां चतुर्हस्तैश्चतुरङ्गां समेततः  
 स्तम्भैश्चतुर्भिः सुश्रृङ्क्षां वामभागे तु सद्यनि ॥  
 समां तथा चतुर्दिक्षु सोपानैरुपशोभिताम्  
 प्रागुदक् प्रवणां रत्ना-स्तम्भ-हंस शुक्रादिभिः ॥  
 विचित्रामंकितां कुम्भैर्विहितैस्तोरणांकुरैः  
 भृंगारपुष्पनिकरैर्वर्णकैः समलंकृताम् ॥  
 विप्राक्षीर्वचनैः पुण्यै स्त्रीभिर्दीपैर्मनोरमां ।  
 वादित्रतृत्यगीताथैर्हृदयानंदिनीं शुभाम् ॥  
 एवंविधामारुरुक्षेन्मिथुनं साग्निवेदिकाम् ।

from *Nāradasmṛiti* quoted in

ALONI, N. K., *Langnauvāḍhī va Sohale* p. 11 (Bombay, 1904).

mouldings and the rows of sculptures which we meet with on the earlier temples of the Deccan. Instead we meet with a broad moulding at the base of every pilaster-like projection bearing a single small image of a goddess. Then over it comes the deeply cut *kāṇi* or astragal bearing in the centre, over the panelled image of the goddess, an ovoidal rosette. This is surmounted by the shaft of the pilaster which is the most conspicuous feature of the wall exterior. On its lower extremity is a flat cornice with the ornamental drop-projection bearing a band of pendants closely arranged and cut through. On the upper extremity of the shaft is a broad, flat cornice faced with a band of lozenge-shaped ornament inset in vertical, oblong divisions. These two bands run all round the exterior and break the monotony created by its plain surface. The middle portion of the shaft bears a large image, either of a deity or of a human being. The recess between the two projected shafts also bears a figure sculpture.<sup>22</sup>

The principal niches of the temple are three and are on the south, west, and north, that on the west being the back-niche. All the niches are now empty. The ground plan of the temple would show the following ARRANGEMENT OF PROJECTIONS :

1. The *Antarāla*-wall on the South has 2 projections.
2. Between the *Antarāla*-wall and the South Niche is 1 projection.
3. Between the South Niche and the Back Niche are 3 projections.
4. Between the Back Niche and the North Niche are 3 projections.
5. Between the North Niche and the *Antarāla*-wall is 1 projection.
6. The *Antarāla*-wall on the North has 2 projections.

Each of the three niches is flanked by four small projections.

The band of large figures that runs round the *maṇḍovara* has but a few images of deities and a *preponderance of human figures*—male and female dancers and musicians. The arrangement of these figures is as follows :

(a) From the beginning of the *Antarāla* to the North Niche, both inclusive :

1. A Lady standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
2. Cāmuṇḍā—The image is now broken below the waist. She was standing on the carcass or the *prīta* which is lying flat on the ground. All the four hands are mutilated below the elbows and so the *āyudhas* are lost. Her breasts are drooping and are tied together with a *śarpa* or serpent. Her stomach is concave which indicates that she is *kṛśodarī*. Her face is quite fierce (*daṁṣṭro-grā*) and behind her head is shown the *prabhāvalaya*. Her whole body is emaciated, the arms being merely drum-sticks.<sup>23</sup>
3. A Lady standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
- 4 to 8. Ladies standing in various poses.
- 9 and 10. Nartakī and Beauty with Mirror.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Fig. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Fig. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Fig. 8.

11. A Musician (man) with a *mṛdaṅga*.
12. A Musician (woman) with a *mṛdaṅga*.
13. The North Niche.
- (b) From the North Niche to the Back Niche, latter inclusive :
14. A Lady standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
15. A Musician (man) with a *mṛdaṅga*.
16. A *Narttakī*.
17. A Musician (man) with a *mṛdaṅga*.
18. A Lady standing.
- 19 and 20. *Narttakīs*.
21. A Lady standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
- 22 and 23. Disappeared completely.
24. A Musician (man) with a *mṛdaṅga*.
25. A Lady standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
26. Disappeared completely.
- 27 and 28. Ladies standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
29. Mahiṣāsūramardīnī : has four hands and the demon is shown in the animal form which is quite realistic. There is nothing peculiar about the image.
- 30 and 31. Ladies standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
32. Back or West Niche.
- (c) From the Back Niche to the South Niche, latter inclusive :
- 33 to 35. Ladies standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
- 36 to 39. *Narttakīs*.
40. A Lady standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
41. Mother and Child—A standing female figure shown with a child who is dragging her by the skirt of her garment.
42. A Lady standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
43. Beauty and Mirror—A figure of a beautiful lady who is shown looking in a round mirror in her left hand and arranging her hair with her right.
44. A *Narttakī*.
- 45 to 47. Ladies standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
48. A *Narttakī*.
49. A *Narttakī* with a *mṛdaṅga*.
50. South Niche.
- (d) Between the South Niche and the end of the *Antarāla*, inclusive of the latter :
51. A Musician (man) with a *mṛdaṅga*.
52. A Musician (woman) with a *mṛdaṅga*.
- 53 to 55. *Narttakīs* in different poses.
56. A four-handed image broken beyond recognition.
57. A Lady standing.
58. A four-handed image broken beyond recognition.



59. A Lady standing in the *samabhaṅga* pose.
60. A Lady standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose.
61. Bhairava—The image is four-handed and completely nude. All the hands are mutilated and the *āyudhas* are lost. It is interesting to note that Bhairava occupies exactly opposite position to that of Cāmuṇḍā on the North wall of the *antarāla*.
62. A Lady standing.

The paucity of the images of deities in the broad band of sculptures is made good by the image-sculptures on the broad mouldings at the bases of the pilaster-like projections of the exterior. There are in all 27 such projections all round the temple and all of them bear the panelled images on the basement moulding. Here also are six figures of dancers and musicians, and except these all are images of goddesses. Their arrangement is, beginning from the southwest niche of the *mandapa*, as follows :

PROJECTIONS	DESCRIPTION OF IMAGES	NUMBER
1 to 6 (both inclusive)	<i>Devīs</i> , and 7th <i>Devī</i> on the South Niche projection . . . . .	7
8 to 13	<i>Nartakīs</i> and Beauties with mirrors, and 14th <i>Devī</i> on the Back Niche projection . . . . .	7
15 to 20	Between the West and the North Niche— <i>Devīs</i> , and 21st on the North Niche . . . . .	7
22 to 27	Between the North Niche and the North West Niche of the <i>maṇḍapa Devīs</i> . . . . .	6
		Total 27

Many of these images are disfigured so much so that they cannot now be identified. However, some have narrowly escaped the hammer of the vandal and are sufficiently responsive to scientific enquiry.

Thus, the image on the basement of the fourth pilaster-projection on the north side, can be readily recognised as that of Brāhmī, for below on the *pīṭha*, is shown the *hamsa*, which is her *vāhana*. Here Brāhmī is shown with three (visible) faces and having four hands. She holds the *triśūla* in her upper right hand and the lower right is in the *varada* pose. A book or *pustaka* and a *kamaṇḍalu* are shown in the upper and lower left hands respectively. The goddess is shown in the *lalitāsana*. The image on the next or fifth projection is also intact and shows a *Devī*, seated in *lalitāsana* and having four hands. In her upper and lower right hands are shown a *padma* and a *śaṅkha* respectively while in the lower and upper left hands she holds a *cakra* and a

*gadā* respectively. According to the *Agripūrāṇa*,<sup>25</sup> this image represents the goddess Lakṣmī. The third projection to the proper left of the North Niche bears an image of Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, which, though mutilated, is easily identifiable on account of the demon still intact in the animal form.

The large panels of image sculpture<sup>26</sup> over the cornice of the open part of the colonnade, that faces the *antarāla* and *garbhagṛha* exterior, are arranged symmetrically on both sides viz., on the south and the north. Beginning from the twin pillars of each of the south and the north wings of the *prākāra* are four elongated panels, each occupying the same space as between two pillars. The west wing has only two such panels, one at either extremity. Each panel contains three figures in the semi-circular space that has been left out on the panel by the surrounding *toraṇa* decoration.

In the centre of the upper side of every panel is a *kīrtimukha* from which emanates on either side a creeper which after taking three circular convolutions merges in the open jaws of a conventional *makura*. Each convolution is inset with a figure of a *yogī*. The space between two convolutions is filled with a bird above and a lotus-bud-pendent below. The upper corners of the panels are decorated with multipetalled lotuses. This whole constitutes in general the *torāṇa* which adorns every panel.

The central image in every panel is larger than those on the sides. The *vāhanas* of the deities are, in most cases, carved on the dado of the *pīṭha*. It has, therefore, become very easy to identify those images. The following table shows the arrangement of these images and gives a concise description of each of them. For the sake of convenience the panels are numbered serially, beginning from the twin pillars on the south side and ending with the twin pillars on the north.

In the following analysis, the order observed while describing every image is this : *Āsana*, *Pīṭha*, *Mukūṭa*, *Hastas* and *Āyudhas*, *Vāhana* and lastly Orientation.

#### PANEL No. 1.<sup>27</sup>

##### (a) CENTRAL IMAGE—Aindrī

*Paryāṅka*, *Bhadrapīṭha*, *Kirīṭa*.

*Śakti*

*Danḍa*<sup>28</sup>

*Akṣamālā & Varada*

*Ghaṇṭā*

*Airāvata*, North.

<sup>25</sup> 50.20 (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 41, Poona 1900).

<sup>26</sup> Marked serially from 1 to 10 on the plan, Fig. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Fig. 9.

<sup>28</sup> The vertical divisions of the cross indicate the upper and lower right hands and the upper and lower left hands respectively.

(b) IMAGE TO THE PROPER LEFT OF (a)—*Vārāhī*

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kiriṭa.*

<i>Śakti</i>	<i>Daṇḍa</i>
<i>Akṣamālā &amp; Abhaya</i>	<i>Ghaṇṭā</i>
<i>Mahiṣa, North.</i>	

(c) IMAGE TO THE PROPER RIGHT OF (a)—*Cāmuṇḍā*

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kiriṭa.*

<i>Ḍamaru</i>	X
X	X
<i>Prēta, North.</i>	

The *Devī*'s breasts drop down and are tied together with a serpent or *sarpa*. Her stomach is emaciated.

PANEL NO. 2.<sup>30</sup>

(a) CENTRAL IMAGE—?

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.*

<i>Sara or Bāṇa</i>	<i>Dhanuṣya</i>
<i>Vajra &amp; Varada</i>	<i>Gadā</i>
nil, North.	

(b) IMAGE TO THE PROPER LEFT OF (a)—?

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kiriṭa.*

X	X
<i>Akṣamālā &amp; Varada</i>	X
nil, North.	

(c) IMAGE TO THE PROPER RIGHT OF (a)—?

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kiriṭa.*

X	<i>Daṇḍa? Viṇā?</i>
X	X

nil (but there is a small seated human figure below on the proper right side of the *pīṭha*), North.

PANEL NO. 3.<sup>30</sup>

## (a) CENTRAL IMAGE—?

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kiriṭa.**Pāśa**Pāśa**Sruk**Kamaṇḍalu*

nil (but there is a *Garuda*-like human figure on the proper right side of the *pīṭha*), North.

## (b) IMAGE TO THE PROPER LEFT OF (a)—?

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kiriṭa.**Daṇḍa**Dhanuṣya**Musala**Ītra*

nil, North.

## (c) IMAGE TO THE PROPER RIGHT OF (a)—Cāmuṇḍā

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.**Gadā*

X

*Ghaṇṭā*

Indistinct.

*Prēta*, North.

## (d) IMAGE TO THE RIGHT OF (a)—Cāmuṇḍā

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.**Gadā*

X

*Ghaṇṭā*

Indistinct.

*Prēta*, North.PANEL NO. 4.<sup>31</sup>

## (a) CENTRAL IMAGE—Vaiṣṇavī.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kiriṭa.*

X

X

*Gadā**Varada**Garuḍa* in human form, North.

(b) IMAGE TO THE PROPER LEFT OF (a)—Kaumāri.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kirīṭa.*

Indistinct	<i>Vīṇā</i>
<i>Akṣamālā &amp; Varada</i>	Indistinct.
<i>Mayūra, North.</i>	

(c) IMAGE TO THE PROPER RIGHT OF (a)—Gaṇeśa or Vaināyaki.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kirīṭa.*

<i>Paraśu</i>	<i>Aṅkuśa</i>
<i>Danta</i>	X
<i>Mūṣaka, North.</i>	

PANEL NO. 5.<sup>32</sup>

(a) CENTRAL IMAGE—Māheśvari.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kirīṭa.*

X	X
<i>Akṣamālā &amp; Varada</i>	<i>Ācamana Mudrā</i>
<i>Vṛṣabha, East.</i>	

(b) IMAGE TO THE PROPER LEFT OF (a)—Brāhmī.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.*

<i>Dāṇḍa</i>	<i>Pāśa</i>
<i>Abhaya &amp; Akṣamālā</i>	<i>Pustaka</i>
<i>Haṁsa, East.</i>	

(c) IMAGE TO THE PROPER RIGHT OF (a)—Gaṇeśi or Vaināyaki.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.*

<i>Paraśu</i>	<i>Aṅkuśa</i>
<i>Modaka</i>	<i>Śrīphala</i>
<i>Mūṣaka, East.</i>	

PANEL NO. 6.<sup>33</sup>

## (a) CENTRAL IMAGE—Māheśvarī.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.**Cakra**Śūla**Daṇḍa ?**Nāga.**Vṛṣabha, East.*

## (b) IMAGE TO THE PROPER LEFT OF (a) —Kaumārī.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.**Pāśa ?**Tarjanī**Akṣamālā & Varada**Kamaṇḍalu**Mayūra, East.*

## (c) IMAGE TO THE PROPER RIGHT OF (a)—Māheśvarī

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.**Ḍamaru**X**Varada, with a round  
plaque**Paripātā ?  
Kapāla ?**Vṛṣabha, East.*

## PANEL NO. 7.

## (a) CENTRAL IMAGE—Māheśvarī.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.**Trisūla**Khaṭvāṅga**Akṣamālā**Mahālūṅga-phala**Vṛṣabha, South.*

## (b) IMAGE TO THE PROPER LEFT OF (a)—?

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.**Indistinct**Indistinct.**Akṣamālā**Kamaṇḍalu**nil, South.*

(c) IMAGE TO THE PROPER RIGHT OF (a)--?

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.*

Indistinct	Indistinct.
X	X

nil, South.

PANEL NO. 8.<sup>34</sup>

(a) CENTRAL IMAGE--Brāhmī.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.*

*Triśūla* X

*Karaṇḍalu* : *Akṣamālā & Varada*

*Haṁsa*, South.

(b) IMAGE TO THE PROPER LEFT OF (a) -- Cāmuṇḍā.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kiriṭa.*

*Khaṭvāṅga* *Ḍamaru*

X

Perhaps a dagger.

*Prēta*, South.

The *Devī*'s breasts are shown as before.

(c) IMAGE TO THE PROPER RIGHT OF (a)--Māheśvarī.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Kiriṭa.*

*Triśūla* *Ḍamaru*

X

X

*Vṛṣabha*, South.

PANEL NO. 9.<sup>35</sup>

(a) CENTRAL IMAGE--Kaumārī.

*Paryāṅka, Bhadrāpīṭha, Karaṇḍa.*

*Triśūla* *Pāśa*

*Akṣamālā & Varada* X

*Mayūra*, South.

(b) IMAGE TO THE PROPER LEFT OF (a)—Vaiṣṇavī.

*Paryāṅka, Bhādrapāṭha, Kīrīṭa,*

*Padma?*

*Saṅkha*

*Gadā*

*Cakra & Varada*

Human *Garuḍa*, South.

(c) IMAGE TO THE PROPER RIGHT OF (a)—Gaṇeś or Vaināyaki.

*Paryāṅka, Bhādrapāṭha, Karaṇḍa,*

*Paraṇu*

*Padma*

*Danta*

*Modaka*

*Māsaka*, South.

PANEL NO. 10.<sup>36</sup>

(a) CENTRAL IMAGE—Male Deity—?

*Paryāṅka, Bhādrapāṭha, Kīrīṭa,*

*Damaru*

*Daṇḍa?*

*Ṭaṅka*

Indistinct.

nil, South.

Perhaps the image has three eyes.

(b) IMAGE TO THE PROPER LEFT OF (a)—Bhairava.

*Paryāṅka, Bhādrapāṭha, Kīrīṭa,*

*Khaḍga*

*Kapāla*

*Dagger*

*Muṇḍa*

nil, South.

(c) IMAGE TO THE PROPER RIGHT OF (a)—Male Deity—?

*Paryāṅka, Bhādrapāṭha, Kīrīṭa,*

*Damaru*

*Trīśūla*

X

*Kuṇḍikā*

nil, South.



The ten panels in all contain THIRTY images of which TWENTY are easily recognizable on account of the *vāhanas* shown below on the dado of the *Pīṭhas*. It will be seen from the above account that these images represent the *mātrkās*, Brāhmī is shown twice and occurs in two panels—Nos. 5 and 8, Māheśvarī five times and is found in four panels—Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8, Kaumārī thrice and in three panels—Nos. 4, 6 and 9, Aindrī only once in panel No. 1, Vārāhī also only once in panel No. 1 and Cāmuṇḍā thrice and in three panels—Nos. 1, 3 and 8.

The *mātrkās*<sup>37</sup> are generally reckoned as seven but there are some texts which give a different number. Also there is difference of opinion as regards the names of the *mātrkās* and as regards the seventh in those texts which give their number as seven. The *mātrkās* common to all the texts seem to be Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī and Aindrī. The seventh *mātrkā* is generally Cāmuṇḍā but the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* give Nārasimhī as the seventh. Some texts give the number as eight and among those the *Nirṇayasīmḍhu* gives Vaināyakī as the eighth *mātrkā*. Generally on one side of the *mātrkā-paṭṭa* is shown Gaṇeśa and the other has Virabhadra. The *Rūpāvatāra* states that Bhairava also should be included in the list.

Besides the usual seven *mātrkās*, our panels contain also Gaṇeśī or Vaināyakī, in Nos. 4, 5 and 9.

So far, as my knowledge goes, we have not met with a method of showing the *mātrkās*—seven, eight or nine as the case may be—other than the one which shows them in one single row on one frieze. Here we meet with quite a *unique phenomenon*. THE *mātrkās* ARE SHOWN SEVERALLY BUT THEY COLLECTIVELY REPRESENT THE SEVEN OR EIGHT *mātrkās*.

The images of Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra are absent in our sculptures. The image of Gaṇeśī or Vaināyakī may be included in the *mātrkās*. Thus our sculptures would seem to represent eight *mātrkās*. It is not known whether the image of Gaṇeśa is necessary if the *mātrkās* include Vaināyakī. I am inclined to think that the panels in question represent only the seven

<sup>37</sup> The following texts describe the *Mātrkās* :

*Agni-Purāṇa* 50.17 52.14 (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series No. 41, Poona, 1900).

*Devī-Purāṇa*, see RAO, G. EHI 1. 143.

*Pūrvakatanāgama*, see *ibid*.

*matsya-Purāṇa* 261.24 (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series No. 54, Poona, 1907).

*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 88.12.

*Rūpāvatāra* 47 a

*Rūpamaṇḍana* 18 a } (Calcutta Sanskrit Series No. 12.)

*Viśvakarmaśāstra* in *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (Bibliotheca Indica Series 2.82.

*Śilparatna* 24.76 (Trivendrum Sanskrit Series, No. 98, Vol. II, Trivendrum, 1929).

*Śrītattvanidhi* 4 and 12 (Venkaṭeśvar Press, Bombay S. 1823).

*mātṛkās* viz. Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, Aindrī, and Cāmuṇḍā. The image of Gaṇeśī does not occur here as Vaināyakī— who is one of the *eight mātṛkās* or the eighth *mātṛkā* according to some texts— but as THE FEMALE FORM OF GAṆEŚA. In these panels Māheśvarī is shown five times, and it would seem an undue prominence given to her image. If what is said above of Gaṇeśī is correct then we would also be justified in expecting a FEMALE FORM OF VIRABHADRA ALSO. It is well-known, and also given in the texts that Virabhadra has also a bull for his *vāhana*. Can any of the five images which we have ascribed to Māheśvarī be that of the female form of Virabhadra? Very likely, because the *āyudhas* given in the texts of both these deities are much the same. However, the fierce expression which the image of Virabhadra generally wears and should wear is absent in all the five images.

The image to the proper left of the central one in panel No. 10 can be easily recognised as that of Bhairava.

It is interesting to see how far these images deviate from their descriptions in the different texts. Thus of the *āyudhas* of Brāhmī as found in our panels, the *pāśa* and the *triśūla* do not occur in the texts as her *āyudhas*, while the *śruka* and the *śruva* which are given by almost all the texts as the *āyudhas* of Brāhmī are absent in our images. *Cakra* as an *āyudha* of Māheśvarī is found only in the *Agni Purāṇa*. The image of Māheśvarī in panel No. 6 holds a *cakra* in the right upper hand. The *kapāla*, which is found in the lower left hand of the Māheśvarī in panel No. 6 is given only by *Silparatna* as an *āyudha* of that goddess. The *ācamana mudrā* or *hasta*, the *daṇḍa* and the *mātuliṅgaphala* or the fruit of the tree of citron are given by none as the *āyudhas* of Māheśvarī. The *āyudhas* of Māheśvarī which are found here in common with those in the texts are the *akṣamālā*, *śūla*, *ḍamaru*, *triśūla*, *khaḍgā*, *nāga* and the *varada* pose of hand. All the *āyudhas* of Vaiṣṇavī as found here are also found in the texts in her descriptions. The image of Vaiṣṇavī found in panel No. 9 is perfectly in accordance with her description given in the *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*, and the *Devī Purāṇa*. The *āyudhas* of Aindrī as found in our panels consist of the *śakti*, *daṇḍa*, *akṣamālā* and the *ghaṇṭā*. Of these the *daṇḍa* and the *ghaṇṭā* are absent in her descriptions in the texts while the *śakti* is found in her description in the *Amṣumadbhedāgama* and the *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*, and the *Viśvakarmaśāstra* gives *akṣasūtra* among her *āyudhas*. The *varada* pose of hand which is seen favoured by Aindrī of panel No. 1 is the prescribed pose of her hand according to the *Amṣumadbhedāgama*, *Pūrvakāraṇāgama* and the *Viśvakarmaśāstra*. As regards Vārāhī, all the *āyudhas* found in our panels are also found in her descriptions in the different texts, except the *ghaṇṭā* which has no place in any of these. The *abhaya hasta* also is in common with the texts. All the *āyudhas* of Kaumārī and Cāmuṇḍā, curiously enough, do not find place in their descriptions in the different texts. Only the *varada* pose of hand is found here in common with the texts.

The plans of the temples of the Deccan are either rectangular in their general outline or star-shaped and that of Bhuleshvar temple is no exception to this phenomenon. Compared with the earlier Deccan temples such as the temple of Ambarnāth in the Thana District,<sup>38</sup> the temples at Balesane in the Khandesh District<sup>39</sup> and the Mahādeva Temple at Jhodga in the Nasik District,<sup>40</sup> the exteriors of which exhibit a great multiplicity of angles with the numerous horizontal mouldings crossing them, the exterior of the Bhuleshvar Temple appears rather simple, its arrangement of projections and recesses being not so very complex. On the other hand the so-called *Hemādṣanti* temples which comprise the majority of the Deccan temples are characterised with severely plain exteriors and so do not stand comparison with the Bhuleshvar Temple. The temple of Cāṅgadeva, at the village of the same name,<sup>41</sup> is perhaps analogous to the Bhuleshvar Temple in respect of the arrangement of the wall-exterior and image-sculpture. The open maṇḍapa, with the dwarf-wall and the benches in the interior is a feature common to many temples of the Deccan e.g. the Maheśvara Temple at Paṭṭan in Khandesh,<sup>42</sup> the temple at Devalānā in Nasik,<sup>43</sup> the Siddheśvara Temple at Akola<sup>44</sup> and the temples at Karjat in Ahmednagar,<sup>45</sup> the temples at Khaṭava and Gursala in Satara<sup>46</sup> the temples at Lonar and Satgaon ii. Berar<sup>47</sup> etc. The sunken shrine is a feature of this temple which is in common with those of the Ambarnāth Temple,<sup>48</sup> the Kukaḍeśvara Temple at Pur,<sup>49</sup> the Nārāyan Temple at the foot of the Purandar Fort near Saswad in the Poona District<sup>50</sup> and the temples at Parner in the Ahmednagar District.<sup>51</sup> The only feature which is peculiar to this temple is the *prākāra* with its numerous *devakulikās* or cells, which has no parallel in the Deccan. The *prākāra* is essentially a Jain arrangement and forms a conspicuous feature of the Jain temples in Gujarat<sup>52</sup> and Rajputana.<sup>53</sup> A somewhat similar arrangement is to be seen in the plans of the Chausaṭh Jogini Temples at Khajraho<sup>54</sup> and elsewhere. In the South, the Keśava Temple at Somnathpur,<sup>55</sup> which illustrates the Hoysala style in its maturity, occupies the middle of a rectangular courtyard surrounded by sixty-four cells, each with pillars in front. The *prākāra* is a foreign

<sup>38</sup> COUSENS, H. *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan*, Plates III, IV, V, VII and IX (Archæological Survey of India, Imperial Series XLVIII).

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* Plates XVI, XVII, XVIII and XXII.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* Plates LIII and LIV.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* Plate XXXVIII.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 28 and Plates XXVI and XXVII.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 17, and Plate LXII.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 53 and Plate LXX.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* Plate LXXXV.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 60-61 and Plates LXXXVIII and XC.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* Plates CV, CVI and CVII.

<sup>48</sup> *BDCRI* 1.170.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 2.223.

<sup>50</sup> and <sup>51</sup> I personally noted this fact when I visited the temple.

<sup>52</sup> FERGUSSON, J. and BURGESS J., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* 2.36 and Woodcuts Nos. 283 and 285.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 2.32 and Woodcut No. 280.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 2.51 and Woodcut No. 291.

<sup>55</sup> *ASM, AR.* 1932, 18 and Plate VI.

feature so far as the Deccan temples are concerned and seems to have been adopted in the case of the Bhuleshvar Temple only as A MEANS OF PROTECTION for the decorated surface of the temple proper against the evil eye of the iconoclast.

One thing that strikes the careful observer after examining the outside figure sculpture is the PREDOMINANCE OF HUMAN SCULPTURE and THE COMPARATIVE PAUCITY OF DEITIES. In this respect, the temple resembles that of Gonḍeśvara at Sinnar, in the Nasik District.<sup>56</sup> But the latter has not only less of divine representation but also complete absence of figure-sculpture on the walls, most of the panels being filled with lozenge-shaped ornament, little pilasters or arabesque.<sup>57</sup> Also the few images that occur upon the main walls of this temple are very poorly carved and savour much of later work than that at Jhodga and other earlier examples, while the image sculpture on the Bhuleshvar Temple on the whole is better executed and shows to great advantage beside that on the temple at Jhodga. The FIGURES OF DEITIES on the Bhuleshvar Temple are mostly CONFINED TO THE SMALL PANELS on the broad cornices AT THE BASE, an arrangement which certainly seems to have been necessitated by the earnest wish of the founder TO PROTECT THE SANCTITY OF THE IMAGES. The larger images generally would be the first to attract the attention of the iconoclast.

Representations of epic scenes on the walls and other parts are found on temples all over India though they predominate on the southern temples, especially the Hoysala Temples.<sup>58</sup> On the temples in Gujarat they are very rarely found.<sup>59</sup> In the Deccan, besides the Bhuleshvar Temple, scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are found on many temples<sup>60</sup> and the Kailas Temple at Ellora<sup>61</sup> and also on some Cālukyan Temples.<sup>62</sup> The *Mahābhārata* scenes on the Bhuleshvar Temple are better executed than those found on the Cālukyan temples and other temples of the Deccan. But the representations on the Hoysala temples are more detailed and more artistic than those found on any temples belonging to the Deccan and the Cālukyan styles. However, among those on the Deccan temples, the Bhuleshvar ones are decidedly superior.

As regards ornamental detail, the earlier temples of the Deccan have too much of it crowded over the surfaces of the walls. The Bhuleshvar

<sup>56</sup> COUSENS, op. cit. 37.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* Plate XLIV.

<sup>58</sup> ASM, AR. 1937 32-33, 1940 22, 1933 4-10, 1930 35, 43-44, 1934 36-41, 1935 4-5 etc. KRISHNA, M. H. *A Guide to Belur* 11, 14 (Bangalore, 1937) and *A Guide to Talkad* 15 (Bangalore, 1938).

<sup>59</sup> BURGESS, *Antiquities of the Town of Dabhoi, in Gujarat* 9 and Plate XV, SANKALIA, H. D. *Archæology of Gujarat* 91 (Bombay, 1941).

<sup>60</sup> e.g. COUSENS, op. cit., 37, 40.

<sup>61</sup> BURGESS, *The Ellora Cave Temples* Plate XXV.

<sup>62</sup> COUSENS, H. *The Chalukyan Architecture of the Canarese Districts* 64-65, and Plates XLIII, XLIV and XLVI also 62 and Plate XLVII.

Temple in this respect is quite free from overloading and the plain surface left on its walls acts as a pleasing foil to the ornament and image-sculpture. The lozenge-shaped ornament is pretty common on the later temples of the Deccan.<sup>63</sup> The *hanṣa* also is seen frequently used to decorate the shafts of the pillars, pilasters, basement mouldings and the lower cornices of the *śikhara*.<sup>64</sup> But the RUNNING BAND OF *hanṣas*, on the upper edge of the eave and completely cut in the round is a *unique feature* ONLY PECULIAR TO THIS TEMPLE. The *makara* and the *kīrtimukha* are of common occurrence all over India. But the *makara* and *kīrtimukha* combination in a *toraṇa* is not so very frequent in the Deccan temples as it is in the Hoysala temples. Also the circular convolutions inset with figures of *yogis* and others is not a feature of the ornamentation of the Deccan temples. The other, and the earliest example of a *makara-toraṇa* in the Deccan is found in the Aśvar Temple at Sinnar.<sup>65</sup> The Aśvar Temple does not belong to the class of work usually found in the Deccan, but it belongs to the Cālukyan style. The *makara-toraṇa* here is confined to the piece of carving which overarches the entrance of the *antarāla*. The *torāṇa* proper consists of a semicircular arch of three bands which rise from the jaws of two *makaras*, one on either side. The tails of the *makaras* are of flowing arabesque, which turn up over their backs and forward on to the arched bands. In the centre is a *kīrtimukha* now worn out beyond distinction. The *makaras* here have FISH-LIKE FLOATING BODIES. The Bhuleshvar *makaras* are QUADRUPEDS and resemble more a rhinoceros. Their tails are less ornamental than those of the former. Analogous to the Bhuleshvar *makara-toraṇas* are those from the Navalīṅga Temple at Kukkanura<sup>66</sup> and the Kappe-Chennigaraya Temple at Belur.<sup>67</sup> The former is found on an architrave above the antechamber to one of the shrines. The architrave is perfect and well carved with the *makaras*, one on either side, with florid tails. In this instance, and it is very unusual, the *makaras* are carved with circular scales. The latter is found on the slab which bears the image of Kappe-Chennigaraya, in the west cell in the hall. The *makaras* and the convoluting creepers here, which rise from a central *kīrtimukha* and disappear in the jaws of the *makara*, are very much like the Bhuleshvar ones. There are also figures of *yogis* inset in some convolutions.

The OCCURRENCE OF THE FIGURES OF CAMEL on the walls of the Bhuleshvar Temple is NOTEWORTHY as so far the camel was found only on one temple of the Deccan, the temple of Siddheśvar at Akola in the Ahmednagar Dis-

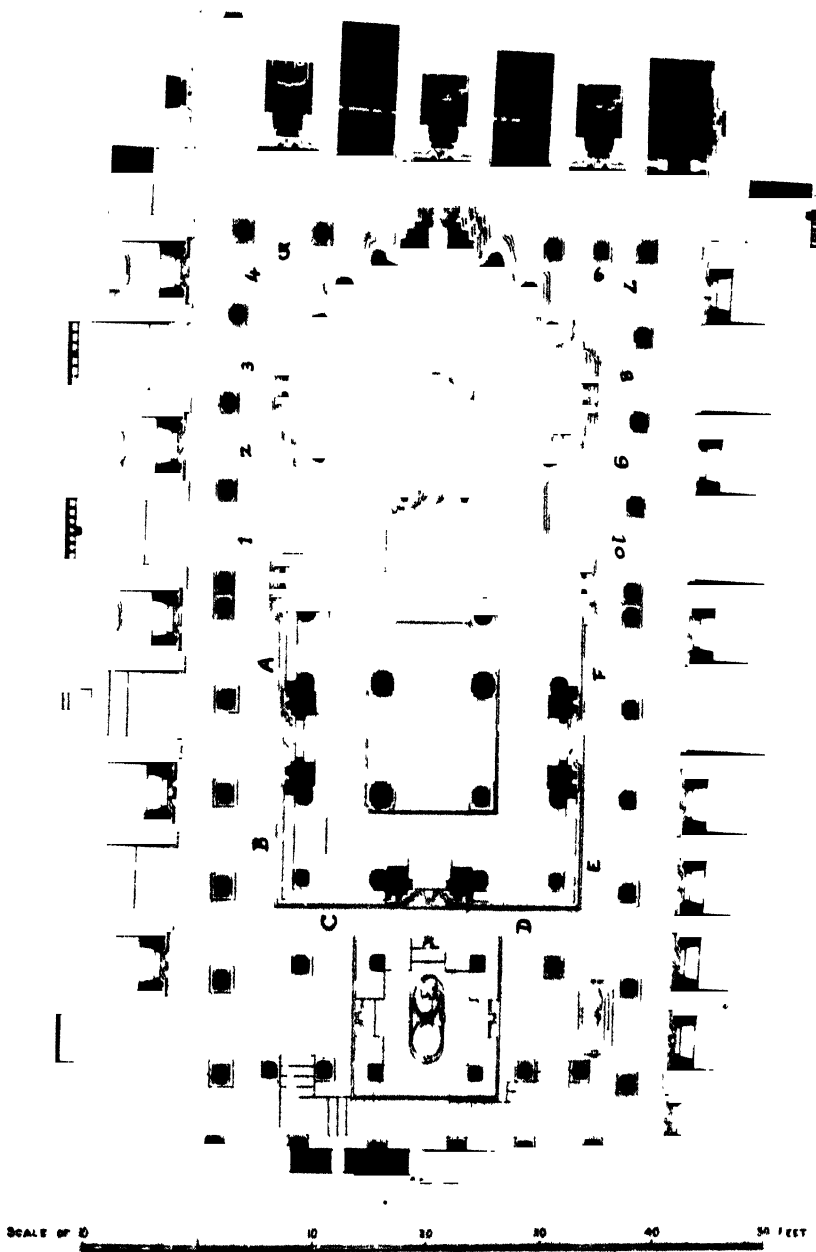
<sup>63</sup> COUSENS, *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan* 54 and Plates XXXVI XXXVII, XLIV, LVII, LIX, LXII, LXX, LXXIII, LXXVI, LXXVIII, LXXXI, LXXXV, LXXXVIII, XC, XCI, XCII, XCV, XCIX.

<sup>64</sup> COUSEN'S, *Ibid*, Plates LVI, LXXIII, LXXXIII, CVII; *BDCRI* 2.224 and Figs. 6, a, b and c.

<sup>65</sup> COUSENS, *Ibid*, Plate XLVI.

<sup>66</sup> COUSENS, *The Chalukyan Architecture etc.* 74 and fig. 23.

<sup>67</sup> KRISHNA, M. H., *A Guide to Belur*, Plate VIII.



YAVAT — Plan of Temple of Bhuleshvara.

FIG. 1 Plan of the Bhuleshwar Temple  
(Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India)



FIG. 2. East jamb of the North Doorway  
of the Mandapa, Bhuleshwar Temple

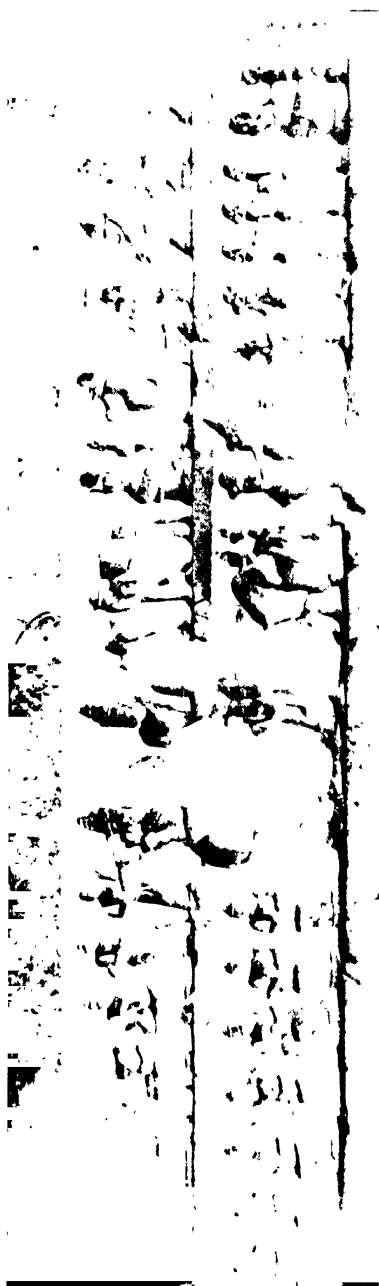


FIG. 3. The frieze of sculptures on the dwarf wall to the proper right  
of the South Doorway of the Mandapa, Bhuleshwar Temple.

(Courtesy—Archaeological Survey of India.)



FIG. 4. Frieze of Lions and Elephants on the dwarf wall to the proper right of the South Doorway of the Mandapa, Bhuleshvar Temple

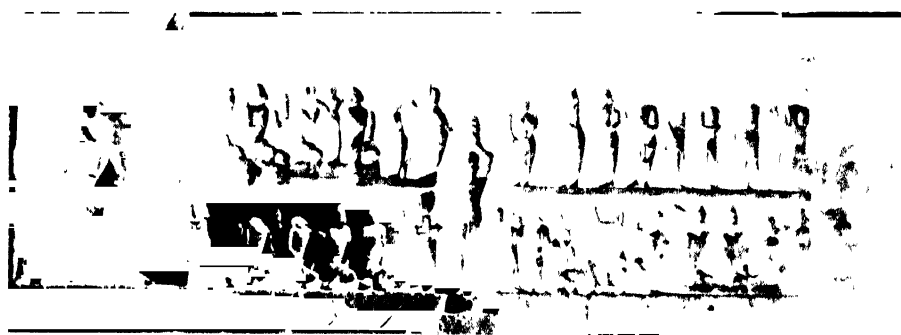


FIG. 5. The frieze of sculptures to the proper left of the North Doorway of the Mandapa, Bhuleshvar Temple.

(Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India)





FIG. 6. The exterior of the south wall, Bhuleshwar Temple.

(Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India.)



FIG. 7. Showing the image of Cāmundā and other figures on the exterior of the Antarāla wall, north side Bhuleshvar Temple.

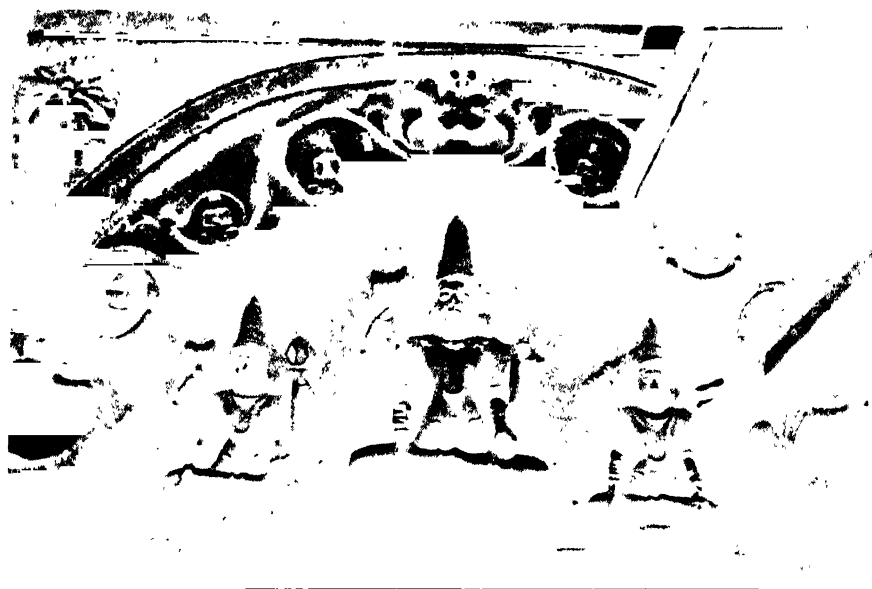


FIG. 17. Panel No. 10 showing Bhairava and other male deities, Bhuleshvar Temple.



FIG. 8. Beauty with Mirror  
(Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India)

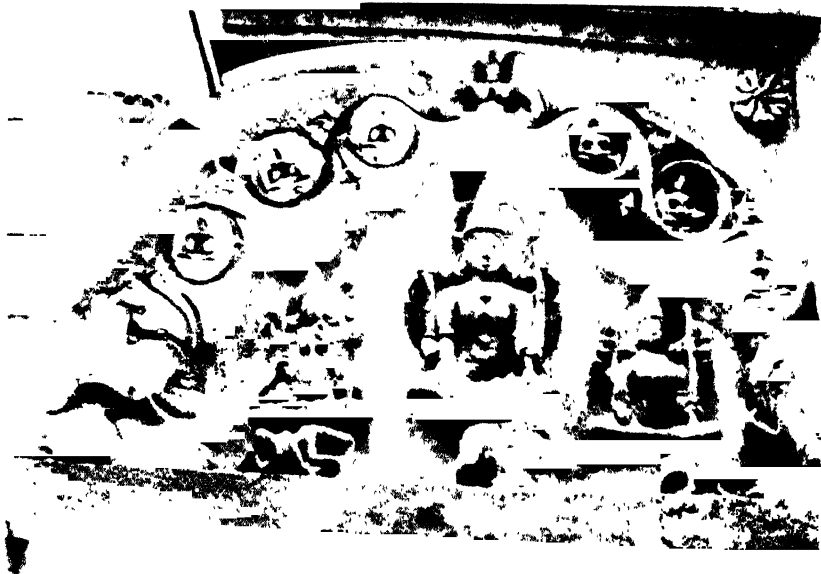


FIG. 9 Panel No. 1 showing Cāmunda, Andrī and Vārāhī, Bhuleshvar Temple



FIG. 10. Panel No. 2, Bhuleshvar Temple.



FIG. 11. Panel No. 3 showing Cāmundā and other deities, Bhuleshvar Temple



FIG. 12. Panel No. 4 showing Gaṇeśī, Vaiṣṇavī, and Kaumārī, Bhuleshvar Temple.



FIG. 13 Panel No. 5 showing Ganesi, Maheshvari and Brahmi, Bhuleshvar Temple.



FIG. 14. Panel No. 6 showing Maheshvari, Maheshvari and Kaumari, Bhuleshvar Temple.



FIG. 15. Panel No. 6 showing Māheśvarī, Brāhmī and Cāmuṇḍā,  
Bhuleshvar Temple.



FIG. 16. Panel No. 9 showing Gaṇeśī, Kaumārī and Vaiṣṇavī,  
Bhuleshvar Temple.

trict.<sup>68</sup> Elsewhere, in early works, also, THE CAMEL IS VERY RARE. In the second frieze of the basement of the Keśava Temple at Somnathpur, are shown camels with drums on their backs.<sup>69</sup> The camel also occurs on the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century work in Gujarat<sup>70</sup> and Rajputana.<sup>71</sup> The treatment of the Bhuleśvar camels shows that the sculptors were familiar with the usual features of the bodily structures of the species.

The *mātṛkā* panels form the iconographic peculiarity of the Bhuleshvar Temple. The several representation of the *mātṛkas* and THE HIGH PLACE ASSIGNED TO THE PANELS speak of the desire of the temple-builder TO PROVIDE PROTECTION TO THE DEITIES. The panels are placed at a height which is beyond the reach of human hand and the several representation, with the repetition of some *mātṛkās*, seems to have been adopted TO PRESERVE AT LEAST SOME OF THE IMAGES.

Thus, the *prākāra*, which forms an appropriate cloistered setting to the temple proper, the confinement of deities to the small panels at the base, the place assigned to the *mātṛkā* panels and perhaps the sunken shrine, all appear more to be protective measures than anything else. When the temple-builders in the Deccan and the South became conscious of the advance of the iconoclast, they had either to suspend temporarily the building of many temples or had to adopt some measures to protect the sanctity of the temple and the icons. The absence of outside figure-sculptures becomes marked more and more on the later temples of the Deccan. Though not so profuse in exterior decoration as the earlier temples of the Deccan, the Bhuleshvar Temple is not to be classed with the group of temples headed by the Gondeshvar Temple of Sinnar, which are characterized by less decoration so far as image sculpture is concerned. In this respect it stands between the Mahādeva Temple at Jhodga and the Gondeshvar Temple. THE ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE CAMEL NEED NOT AFFECT ITS CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION,<sup>72</sup> as even the Hoysala artists of the far south are found to have been quite familiar with that animal. It would thus seem that the Bhuleshvar Temple falls at the latest in the *first half of the 13th century A.D.*<sup>73</sup>

<sup>68</sup> COUSENS, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan* 54.

<sup>69</sup> ASM, AR, 1932 20 and Plate X, 3.

<sup>70</sup> and <sup>71</sup> COUSENS, *Ibid*, 11 and 54.

<sup>72</sup> The Keshava Temple at Somnathpur was constructed sometime earlier than 1268 A.D. and its execution was completed except for a few sculptural details by 1268 A.D. This seems to be the only temple in Mysore whereupon the camel appears. The Siddheshvar temple at Akola is, on stylistic grounds, to be placed in the latter half of the 12th century, a little earlier than the Bhuleshvar Temple; See ASM, AR, 1933 18.

<sup>73</sup> I found afterwards, that the Bhuleshvar Temple was surveyed in 1892 A.D. and its plan prepared. However, the survey results have not yet been published in the Report of the Archaeological survey of India. I have to thank the authorities of the Archaeological Survey of India for the plan and photographs which are printed here.



# ON THE $\alpha$ -PHONEME

By

C. R. SANKARAN

[Abstract :—In this paper it is pointed out that the investigations in experimental phonetics lead to the conclusion that the phonemes in any speech-form are *continuous* entities. It is also shown that any member of the consonant-class is greater than any member of the vowel-class on ROUSSELOT'S theory of accent which assigns the cause to the organs of breath. Thus the relevance of the application of Dedekind's postulate in the matter of the definition of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme is indicated. The wider question of the *classes of phonemes* is also touched.]

It has been already observed<sup>1</sup> that *Phonematics* has apparently to use only one background viz. *time* and that it deals with *continuous* entities. The latter assumption is quite valid as investigations in experimental phonetics<sup>2</sup> clearly show that the stretch of speech between two pauses is *continuous* with no breaks of any kind. Any speech sound passes gradually into the character of the following speech sound. Speech does not consist of blocks of constant sounds but of a *continuous* sound that changes more or less gradually from beginning to end. All the *three basic physical assumptions*<sup>3</sup> on which the problem of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme have yet to be worked out experimentally, especially the third assumption that if the *duration* of the consonant extends beyond the refractory period, there is a chance for the *audibility* of the consonant in case the preceding vowel has an influence on the following consonant, are in strict consonance with the conclusions that investigations in experimental phonetics point out.<sup>4</sup>

Now there are two main theories of *expiratory accent*, on purely physiological grounds. One is FORCHHAMMER'S theory of *glottal accent*.<sup>5</sup> The other is that of ROUSSELOT.<sup>6</sup> FORCHHAMMER'S theory is that a closer ap-

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<sup>1</sup> BDCRI 4. 55 fn. 8.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. SCRIPTURE, 'The nature of speech'. *Proceedings 2nd International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, 214.

<sup>3</sup> BDCRI 4. 55-56.

<sup>4</sup> See E. W. SCRIPTURE'S demonstration of the phenomenon of overlapping (*op.cit.* 217-9). He observes that since the speech sounds constituting a word occur more or less simultaneously, a word must occur not only in a stretch of time but also with an extension in the *dimension of simultaneity*.

<sup>5</sup> E. PROKOSCH, Forchhammers Akzent theorie und germanische Lautverschiebung. *JEG.Ph.* 11. 2 : O. JESPERSEN *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* Section 7, 3.

<sup>6</sup> See LOTSPEICH, Accent mixture and sound changes. *JEG.Ph.* 17.159.60. I am inclined to think that the view that 'when an accented vowel precedes a consonant the air output on that consonant is small relatively', (cf. J. H. MUYSKENS,

proximation of the vocal cords utilizes the breath in a more efficient manner, and that the result is a tone of greater strength. This theory clearly assigns the cause to the organs of phonation. ROUSSELOT's theory is that accent is the result of *greater pressure* by the organs of breathing. This theory undoubtedly assigns the cause to the organs of breath. Now FORCHHAMMER's theory can be true for vowels while ROUSSELOT's theory can be true for consonants.<sup>7</sup> This view has in common with both theories the consideration of the relationship between the size of the physiological occurrence on the one side and the resulting phenomenon on the other. Both assume a direct proportionality between muscle-energy and accent.<sup>8</sup>

Here of course a fundamental question crops up in *Phonematics*. Both the quantitative and qualitative aspects are inextricably blended and it looks as if that pure theory alone can conceive of them as being apart for, it is obvious that one cannot extricate quantity from stress or tone (and therefore quantity cannot be considered apart from stress) and quality must necessarily vary with stress. It therefore looks that quantity and quality must affect each other and should be always studied, as far as possible, together. It looks as though that serious limitations are imposed by viewing the two categories *apart*.<sup>9</sup>

ROSENGREN's assumption that the primary accent is identical with quantity is very definitely denied by JESPERSEN, GUTZMANN and PANCONCELLI-CALZIA. However, it cannot be denied that the possible relationship between quantity and accent of intensity remains a question which deserves not only empirical but quantitative treatment and that an examination of the relation between the subjective impression of the accent i.e. primary, secondary and unaccented vowels, and the physical intensity (molecular oscillation) is necessary.

Now on ROUSSELOT's theory which assigns the cause of accent to the organs of breath and which is true for consonants, it can be easily seen that any member of the consonant-class is *greater* than any member of the vowel-class. Thus we not only find that all the terms in each one of the various *classes of phonemes already defined*<sup>10</sup> are *continuous* but also that the third term (viz. the consonant) in each class is *greater* than the first term (the vowel)<sup>11</sup> and therefore the relevance of the application of Dedekind's postu-

*An Analysis of Accent in English from Kymograph Record*, Vol. 17.64) does not materially affect the argument here.

<sup>7</sup> See VAN GINNEKEN, *Principes de linguistique psychologique*, 292 : O. JESPERSEN, *op.cit.* 116 ff.

<sup>8</sup> C. B. MILLER, Accent : classes and variations. *Proceedings 2nd International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, Cambridge, 235 ff.

<sup>9</sup> O. JESPERSEN, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, 178 ff., 211 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *BDCRI* 2. 344 : 3. 392 : 4. 54.

<sup>11</sup> This is perhaps why it is found that the consonants are more significant than the vowels for the sense. E. M. VON HORNBOSTEL, *Laut und Sinn, Festschrift Meinhof* 329-348.

late<sup>12</sup> in the matter of the definition of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme is quite apparent.

The definition of the 'given linearly ordered class of phonemes'<sup>13</sup> is not in consonance with the extreme view that speech-sounds are at best only 'arbitrarily isolated segments of an integral continuum'.<sup>14</sup> The number of classes cannot be infinite,<sup>15</sup> since a 'system of signalling with infinitely variable never recurring signals is an impossibility and the principle of sound-change demonstrates a class-unity among a number of sounds'.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to the advantages got by the definition of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme which have been already enumerated<sup>17</sup> it may be pointed out here that the definition of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme may throw an entirely new light on what are supposed to be *certain glide* sounds in some Kashmiri dialects<sup>18</sup> occurring in great frequency in common speech about which one cannot be sure whether to designate them as vowels or semi-vowels or even consonants.

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<sup>12</sup> DEDEKIND, *continuity and irrational numbers*, translated by W. W. BEMAN, Chicago, 1901.

<sup>13</sup> *BDCRI* 2.344, 3.392; 4.54.

<sup>14</sup> This extreme view draws a line between two separate planes of *langue* [form = *geschichtliche lautklassen normen*, (W. F. TWADDELL, *On defining the Phoneme*, Language Monograph No. 16, 40; VACHEK, one aspect of the Phoneme theory, *Proceedings 2nd International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, 35)] and *parole* [Utterance — *Konkrete Lautmanifestierungen* (E. ZWIRNER and K. ZWIRNER, *Grundfragen der Phonetik*, W. F. TWADDELL, *JEG.Ph.* 38, 278)].

<sup>15</sup> *BDCRI* 4, 54.

<sup>16</sup> It must be admitted however, that there is no absolute criterion which can determine whether two specific sounds belong to the same class. Cf. W. F. TWADDELL, *JEG.Ph.* 38, 279.

<sup>17</sup> *BDCRI* 3, 394; 4, 56.

I wish once again to emphasize that the allophones of the sub-class of  $\alpha$ -phoneme are enjoying the same status as the allophones of visarga which in turn is interpreted, (as shown by A. H. FRY, in *A Phonemic Interpretation of Visarga Language*, 17, 194-200) as a sub-class of the  $\alpha$ -phoneme.

<sup>18</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Siddheshwar VARMA's private communication to me dated 1st October, 1942, for this information.

# A MANUSCRIPT OF THE *MIRAT-i-SIKANDAR*<sup>1</sup>

By

M. A. CHAGHATAI.

The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* is generally regarded as a complete and authentic history of the Gujarat Sultanate (806-980 A.H./1403-1572 A.D.), which, according to the *Mirat-i-Anmadi* (completed in 1174 A.H.), was composed forty years after the fall<sup>1</sup> of the Sultanate in 980 A.H. i.e. A.H. 1020 (1611 A.D.). It records events up to the A.H. 1001, including those of the Mughal history when the dethroned Sultan Mazaffar III ended his chequered career by committing suicide in Kathiawar.<sup>2</sup>

The author Sikandar b. Muhammad *alir* Manjhu b. Akbar mentions about himself that his father Manjhu was one of the attendants of Sultan Humayun and that he was the officer in charge of his library.<sup>3</sup> He was one of the sons of the Shaikhs of Sayyid Mubarak Bukhari (d. 965 A.H.), one of Sultān Bahādur's nobles. Manjhu used to serve Sayyid Mubarak as his agent in secular matters and as one of his chief followers in spiritual matters. His son Sikandar, the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, had participated in political affairs when Khan-i-A'zam was appointed governor of Gujarat in place of Khān Khānān. He was born in A.H. 961 in the year of death of Sultan Mahmūd III. The Emperor Jahangir mentions in his *Memoirs*<sup>4</sup> in the course of the account of his 12th regnal year 1026 A.H. (1617 A.D.) when he paid a visit to Gujarat :—

"I went to the little garden of the *haweli* (mansion) of Shaikh Sikandar, which is situated in the neighbourhood of this garden (in Ahmedabad) and which has exceedingly good figs—Shaikh Sikandar is by origin a Gujarati, and is not wanting in reasonableness and has compiled information about the Sultans of Gujarat. It is now eight or nine years since he has been employed among the servants of the state." On the Ms. of the same in the British Museum, London, the author is described in the subscription as

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<sup>1</sup> *Mirat-i-Ahmadī*, Baroda Edition, Vol. I. p. 41. But the Ms. of the same *Mirat-i-Sikandari* at the Bodleian Oxford, is described thus by ETHE :—"At the end of this copy, which was finished the 27th of Dhu'l-Hajja A.H. 1056/A.D. 1647, 3rd of February, as date of this work's completion is given the 9th of Rabi-al-Awwal A.H. 1022/A.D. 1613, 29th of April. The first page is missing; it begins abruptly after some cancelled lines in the enumeration of the sources, corresponding to 1-9 in the first of the lithographed edition. Item 273, *Cat. of Persian Turkish, Hindustani Mss. in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. II. pp. 143-144.

<sup>2</sup> *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, printed edition, Bombay, 1308 A.H. pp. 348-49.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 312.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir* (Eng. Translation) by ROGERS and BEVERIDGE London, 1909, Vol. I. p. 427.

Maulana Sikandar b. Manjhu favourite companion (*nadīm*) of Jahangir.<sup>6</sup> It is sufficient to conclude that before Shaikh Sikandar had entered the service of the Mughal Emperor he was already busy at this important work which he completed while in his service.

Shaikh Sikandar Manjhu had also composed one small treatise on mysticism named the *Nukātu'l-ʿArifin*, comprising of five chapters and specially the last one of them deals with the maxims of good characters supported by quotations from various saints among whom he has specially referred to Muzaffar II of Gujarat.<sup>4</sup>

So far two published editions of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* are available. The first was made at Bombay in A.H. 1246/1831 A.D. under the patronage of General John Malcolam by Captain George Jarvis, and it was transcribed by Mirza Ahmad Shirazi. Later on the exact copy of the same was lithographed at Bombay in 1307 A.H./1890 A.D. on very inferior paper. At present both the editions are out of print and not procurable.<sup>7</sup> In this paper the latter Bombay edition is referred to.

It was by mere chance that I came across one Ms. of the work in the Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona (No. 65 in their list<sup>8</sup>). Owing to its binding having deteriorated it is now only in loose leaves tied up with string between two pieces of card-board. The Ms. is incomplete because about fifteen folios are missing. It contains 256 folios and each measures 7 × 10 inches. Each page has seventeen lines written in ordinary legible *nasta'liq* style. On its frontispiece (reproduced here Fig. 1) it bears the following autograph from the pen of Mirza Ghiāthu'd-Dīn I'timadu'd-Dawla, father of Nurjahan and father-in-law of the Emperor Jahangir and also one of the chief ministers of the Emperor :—

الله اکبر  
شیخ سکندر کہ مصنف  
و مولف ابن تاریخست روز چهار شنبه  
بنجم شهر شعبان سنه ۱۰۲۳ هـ [بر آمد]  
حرره الفقیر الحقیر  
فیات الدین محمد الملقب  
به اعتماد الدوله

'Allah is the Great. Shaikh Sikandar, who is the author and compiler of this

<sup>6</sup> RIEU, *Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, British Museum, London, Add. 26.277.

<sup>8</sup> The writer had the opportunity to consult this rare Ms. of the *Nukātu'l-ʿArifin* in the library of Qazi Sayyid Nuru'd-Dīn at his residence in Bharoach for which he deserves sincere thanks.

<sup>7</sup> It was completely translated by Fazlullah Lutfullah FARIDI, in the nineties of the last century. Sir Edward Clive BAYLEY translated it in 1886 dealing only upto 1533 A.D., i.e. reign of Mahmud III.

<sup>8</sup> We are much indebted to the authorities of the Mandal for kindly lending this important Ms. from their valuable collection for our use.

history came to this *faqir* (humble person) on Wednesday, the 5th of the month of Sha'ban, year 1023 A.H. (10th Sept. 1614 A.D.). Written by the most humble Ghiathu'd-Din Muhammad entitled I'timad-u'd-Dowla.<sup>9</sup>

Its last page (reproduced here (Fig. 2)) has this colophon :—

کتبه هذا الكتاب فقير حقیق  
مرتضی بن شیخ طاهر بن میان خان  
تمام شد روز جمعہ تاریخ ۳  
جمادی الاخر سنہ ۱۰۲۳

'The most humble Murtaza, son of Shaikh Tahir, son of Mian Khan, wrote this book and completed it on Friday the 3rd of Jumada II. year 1023 A.H./ (11th July 1614 A.D.<sup>10</sup>).'

Just on the right side of the name of the scribe there is an elliptical seal in perfect *nasta'liq* style of writing which is read thus :

اغثنی یا غیاث المصنفین

'Help me O Succour of the plaintiffs.'

The same seal is also repeated on the penultimate page and is obviously of Mirza Ghiathu'd-Din I'timadu'd-Dawla

The above noted evidence leads us to believe that this Ms. of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* was transcribed just about three years after its compilation in 1020 A.H., and the calligraphist had carefully compared it with the Ms. from which he had copied, as many corrections occur in the text in his own hand. I'timadu'd-Dowla seems to have written the above noted autograph in the presence of the author about two months after the Ms. was transcribed.

Even a casual comparison of the two printed editions of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* with this Ms. forces us to conclude that almost every page varies in a good many places. To verify this fact, therefore, a few instances of

<sup>9</sup> *Ma'athiru'l-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 128, gives detailed account of I'timadu'd-Dowla.

<sup>10</sup> To show that this Ms. of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* is so far the earliest known Ms., some other Mss. of the same found in other collections are arranged below in their chronological order :—

1038 A.H. No. 195. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss., Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

1042 A.H. British Museum, Add. 26,277.

1043 A.H. Nawab Salār Jang Library, Hyderabad (No. 4254).

1046 A.H. Indian Office Library, London, (Item No. 273).

1056 A.H. Bodleian Library, Oxford, (Item 273).

c1056 A.H. India Office, London (Item 348).

1072 A.H. India Office, London, (Item 440).

c1100 A.H. Nawab Salār Jang Library, Hyderabad, No. 4044.

1120 A.H. Nawab Salār Jang Library, Hyderabad, No. 4043.

1162 A.H. British Museum, Add. 27,253.

1190 A.H. India Office, London, (Item 441).

1196 A.H. British Museum, Egerton, 697.

variant readings found in the text of the printed editions and that of this Ms. are cited below side by side with their brief description wherever necessary.

(Printed Edition, 1890)	(This manuscript)
pg. 2 line 16	folio 1 (b) (reproduced here Fig. 3)
عزیزی تاریخ مظفر شاہی رقم نمود	×
pg. 2 line 17 مختصری در	منحصر به
pg. 2 line 18 احوال مظفر شاہ و احمد شاہ	احوال احمد شاہ
pg. 2 line 18 منتخب	مختص
pg. 2 line 19 بعد ازان ملالی تاریخ مظفر	×
pg. 3 line 1 شاہی بنام مظفر شاہ بن محمود	×
مذکور املا فرمودہ	×
pg. 3 line 2 مکر	folio 2 (a) (reproduced here) دیگر
pg. 3 line 14-15 ہرچہ از تواریخ	ہرچہ از تبع تواریخ
pg. 3 line 15	
ہمہ را در قید تحریر آورده	ہمہ را در قید تحریر آورده
pg. 3 line 16 چہ قدر امور ملکی	چہ قدر ..... امور جماعتگیری
4 (heading) ذکر سلسلہ انساب عالی الخ	×
5 L. 1-2	
سہارن بودہ المخاطب بوجہ الملک	سہارن بود المخاطب وجہ الملک

In this extract of the Ms. Sadhāran is mentioned as the founder of the Gujarat Muslim dynasty whereas Sahāran is found in the printed edition. The latter has also been adopted by the modern historians.<sup>11</sup> But Sir E. C. BAYLEY has entered Sadharan the former as found in this Ms. in his translation of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*<sup>12</sup> after consulting other Mss. of the same then available to him at the time of his translation.

pg 5. line 2.	از قوم تانک	از قوم تاک
(of the Tānk race)		(of the Tākk race)

According to the printed text Sadhāran entitled Wajihu'l-Mulk is regarded of the Tank race but here the Ms. says that he belonged to the Tākk race. According to Colonel TOD, 'Tāk or Tākshak appears to be the generic term of the race from which the various Scythic tribes, the early invaders of India, branched off.'<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> COMMISSARIAT, M. S., *History of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1938, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> BAYLEY, Sir Edward Clive, *Translation of the Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 67.

<sup>13</sup> *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 85-86; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. IX, p. 497.

p. 5. l. 3	از قوم خود	folio 3a.	از قوم خویش
p. 5. l. 4.	از زبان بندولی نازک گویند		بازبان هندوی تا کیا گویند
p. 5. l. 5.	دین تانک امتیاز یافت		دین کهری از تانک امتیاز یافت
p. 5. l. 8.	برامچندر که هندوان اورا بخدائی میرسنند		منتهی درام چندر میشود که هندوان بخدائی میرسنند
p. 5. l. 16.			
p. 132 l. 17.		folio 75a.	
	خداوند خان علیم است که علیم یور الخ (Khudāwand Khān 'Alim)		خداوند خان علیم که علیم یور الخ (Khudāwand Khān 'Aylam)

This Khudāwand Khān was known as Amit Khudāwand Khān, son of Yusuf, styled Malik 'Aylam which name is found in the Ms. He founded a suburb to the south of Ahmedabad, known after his name as 'Aylampur. This name is also found in this Ms., where he built a superb mosque in stone. In the course of the account of this Malik 'Aylam it is clearly noted in both the printed text (p. 133, L. 1) and the Ms. (folio 75a) that he was a man of literary attainments. The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* has quoted the following seven verses depicting the theme of 'Solitary Life' in the Ms. (folio 75b), which have been omitted in the printed edition. I am inclined to think that these beautiful verses were most probably composed by Malik 'Aylam because he had spent his subsequent days of life in retirement.

- (a) کل من کان بوثر العزله — حصل العزله بلا مهله  
(b) چون بود عزالت ز صحبت به — یا ز صحبت بکنج عزالت به  
(c) عزالت آمد کلید کنج شهود — عزالت آمد علاج رنج وجود  
(d) اندر و عزالت که متصل است — آن لذت نفس و عزجان و دلست  
(e) عیش از علم و ری ز زهد شناس — یعنی او راست علم و زهد اساس  
(f) نیست بی عین علم جز زات — نیست بی رای زهد جز علت  
(g) یافت عز زین دو حرف عزالت تو — نیست بی این دو حرف عزالت تو

#### Translation.

- (a) Arabic --Every one who chooses (prefers) solitude, obtains glory without any delay.

Persian (There is a pun upon the word عزالت of which ع signifies علم (knowledge) and ز stands for زهد (piety). It is composed of عز (glory) and الت (kick).

- (b) Since solitude is better than company for you, leaving company aside set your foot in the corner of solitude.  
(c) Solitude is the key to the treasure of mystic knowledge, it is a remedy for the ills of existence.



- (d) 'Izz (glory, power) and Lat (kick) which are linked with each other in عزت; the former is the glory of the heart and soul and the latter is a kick for the self.

Its علم represent (knowledge) and its ز stands for زهد (piety) that is, it is based upon knowledge and piety.

- (f) Without the ع of علم it is nothing but زلت (slip, blunder); without the را of زهد it is nothing but علت (defect, disease).

- (g) Your solitude obtains honour from these two letters (را and عین); and without these two letters it is nothing but لت (kick) for you.

p. 133 L. 2.

folio 75a.

تخم خوربزه کوته و نهال انجرونی نهال انجرونی ستره از  
نیز بیجا نکر دکن در کجرات او طاییده بیجا نکر و ملک دکن در کجرات او طاییده

p. 133 L. 5.

folio 75b.

الف خان بهوکالی

الف خان بهوکاهی

(Alaf Khān Bhokālī)

(Ulugh Khān Bhokāhī)

p. 133 L. 9.

folio 76a.

عماد الملک عیسی آنکه عیسی یور ما بین عماد الملک عیسی است که عیسی  
رسولا با دو بنوه واقع است اباد آن یوره ما بین بتوه و رسول اباد  
کرده است واقع است اباد کرده اوست

The printed text asserts, "Imādu'l-Mulk 'Asas is he who populated the suburb 'Asaspur which lies between Batwa and Rasūlabād". But this Ms. corrects this information that he was called 'Imadu'l-Mulk'Isan after whose name the suburb between Batwa and Rasulabad is named 'Isanpūr. The name of this Malik as Malik Isan also occurs in the inscription of the mosque which he had built at Batwa.<sup>14</sup> But in the inscription and in the *Arabic History* of Gujarat of Ilājjīu'd-Dabī,<sup>15</sup> it has been transcribed as (إسمان) Isan instead of (عسین) 'Isan as in the Ms. The former two versions are in Arabic while the latter is in Persian.

p. 134 L. 2.

تاج خان تریانی

folio 75a

تاجخان نریالی

(Tāj Khān Tārīānī)

(Tāj Khān Narpālī)

The important appellation *Narpālī* of Taj Khan, who was a great general of Mahmud Begadah, as found in the Ms. is not only wrongly put in the printed text but also BAYLEY and Lutfulla FARIDI have respectively entered it as *Turpālī* and *Tariānī* in their translations of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*.<sup>16</sup> He is

<sup>14</sup> CHAGHATAI, M. A. "Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad through their Inscriptions," "Bulletin DCRI," Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 57-8.

<sup>15</sup> Hajjiu'd-Dabir, *Arabic History of Gujarat*, Ed. by Sir E. Denison ROSS, London, 1928, pp. 17-25.

<sup>16</sup> BAYLEY, *op. cit.* p. 238 and Lutfullah FARIDI, p. 145.

the same Tāj Khān Narpālī who had built the mausoleum of Shah 'Alam at Ahmedabad. His name also occurs in the inscription as the builder of the mausoleum.<sup>17</sup>

- p. 135 L. 9. رانی سیرائی - مقبرہ رانی folio 77a رانی سرانی و مقبرہ رانی  
 قریب دروازہ اسرولہ واقع است قریب دروازہ سورہ واقع است  
 (trans. Rāni *Sarāni* and the mausoleum of the Rāni is near the Surya Gate). (trans. Rāni *Sabrāi*. The mausoleum of the Rāni is near the Asrolya Gate).

The inscription of the mosque of the same Rāni Sabrāi which is situated in the precincts of her mausoleum bears the same name Rāni *Sabrāi*,<sup>18</sup> as noted in the Ms. The mausoleum and mosque of the Rāni Sabrāi are just near the Asrolya gate (modern name Astodyla gate).

- P. 387 L. 5. folio 256a

موضع دھمر کہ یا نژدہ کروہی موضع دھمر یا نژدہ کر دھمی  
 اینطرف ہجہ بجانب سورہی واقع است اینطرف ہجہ کہ مہکن بہارہ است رسید

This above noted extract concerns the actual place name where Muzaffar III, the last Sultān of Gujarat had committed suicide. The printed text says it is Dhamr (دھمر) which has been put as Dharol by Lutfullah FARIDI in his translation of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*.<sup>19</sup> But our manuscript's extract says, "—at a place named Dhamarka which is at a distance of fifteen *kurvah* (about thirty miles) from Bhuj towards Morvi." Many scholars seeing this confusion of the printed text did not care to trace the location of this very important place because Dhamr found in the printed text could not be identified. However, Dhamarka (دھمرکہ), which is clearly noted in the Ms. and which is about thirty miles from Bhuj towards Morvi enables us to trace it somewhere in the Cutch and Morvi states of Kathiawar. Fortunately the supplement of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* has one division Dhamraka in the Sarkar of Cutch near Bhuj.<sup>20</sup> And further the Survey Map of India also bears the location of one place named Dhamadka about thirty miles from Bhuj towards Morvi.<sup>21</sup> Philologically we do not find any difference between Dhamarka and Dhamadka, because Gujaratis generally pronounce Kathiawad while others call it Kathiawar.

After discussing above a few variant readings to establish the importance of this manuscript of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* we may say that a critical edition of the text with the help of this manuscript, will, in addition to other obvious advantages, help a great deal in correcting the personal and geographical names which are one of the ways of recording the true history of a dynasty.

<sup>17</sup> CHAGHATAI, *op. cit.* p. 65.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>19</sup> FARIDI, *op. cit.* p. 327.

<sup>20</sup> *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Supplement. (Baroda Ed.) p. 227.

<sup>21</sup> *Survey Map of India*, 41.1/3 and 7,c-2 of Cutch and Morvi states, 1883-84

Apart from the above noted statement of variant readings the introductory remarks of this Ms. (reproduced here (Fig. 3) tell us that the following three books of Gujarat history were already existing :

1. *Tārīkh-i-Ahmad Shāhi*, in verse by Hulvi Shirāzī dealing with the period of Ahmad Shah I.
2. *Tārīkh-i-Mahmud Shāhi* by a certain scholar containing the account from Muzaffar Shah I to Mahmud Begadah.
3. *Tārīkh-i-Bahadur Shahi*, dealing with the Sultanate of Gujarat up to the period of Sultan Bahādur Shah.<sup>22</sup>

The author Shaikh Sikandar also adds, "It is clear that they all treat of events in a spirit of partiality towards the kings of whom they speak, and are not worthy, therefore, of implicit reliance."

In addition to the above three histories the introduction of its printed editions contain two more names :

1. *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi* by one of the worthies dealing with the period of Sultān Muzaffar I.
2. *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi* by one Mullā about the period of Sultān Muzaffar Shah II, son of Mahmūd Begadah.

The *Mīrat-i-Ahmadi* on Gujarat Sultanate, although a much later compilation, also mentions the first four of these but leaves out the last named *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi*. But the MA., in the course of the account of the campaign by Muzaffar II, in 924 A.H. against Medni Rao of Malwa does quote from a *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi*.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> There are three Mss. of the *Mīrat-i-Sikandari* in the Library of Nawāb Sālār Jung Bahādur, Hyderabad, Deccan, who deserves sincere thanks for kindly permitting us to study them on the spot. They are entered in the list as Nos. 4043, 4044 and 4254. Only the last one's first two leaves are missing. The introduction of others bear the mention of only three books on Gujarat as that of the Ms. described here.

<sup>23</sup> *Mīrat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, pp. 41, 64.

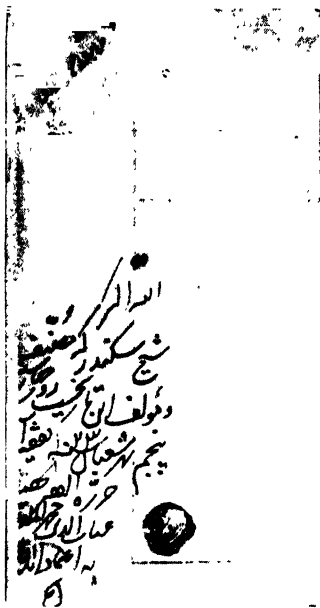


FIG. 1.—Frontispiece bearing the autograph of 'I'timad'u'd-Dowla.

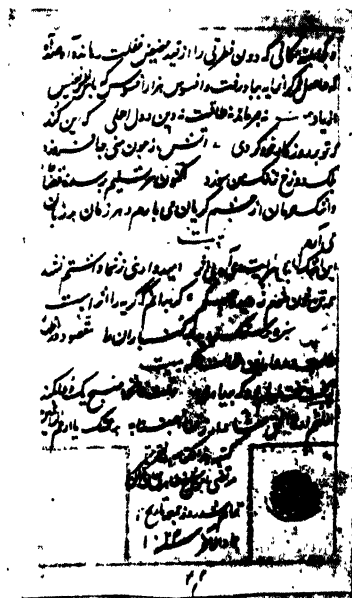


FIG. 2.—Last page of the Ms. bearing colophon.

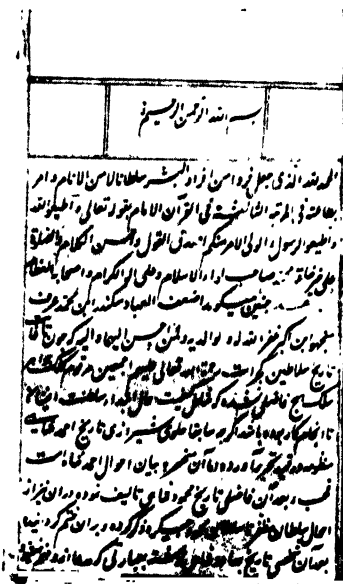
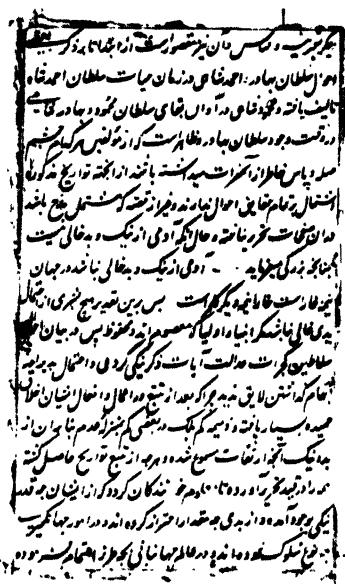


FIG. 3.—First two pages of the text bearing introduction.



# ŚIVĀJĪ'S RAID ON BASRUR

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR

'I have not seen a more beautiful country than this, and an old fort, situated a little higher up than the town commands one of the finest prospects that I ever beheld.' So wrote Dr. F. BUCHANAN<sup>1</sup> in his diary on the 15th February, 1801, when he visited Kundapur in his journey on the Malabar and Canara Coast. We had an opportunity to behold the same panorama from the same fort on the 27th March, 1942 and formed the same opinion about the beauty of the land and the haunting vision of the incomparable prospect. A more famous and historic person had also paid a visit to the place much earlier than Dr. BUCHANAN, in the second week of February, 1665. But he does not seem to have bothered about the fine view. He came, he gathered, and he sailed away in hurry, before he could find time to take a stroll to the commanding height of the old fort and admire the scene like us idle mortals. Need we say that the famous person was none other than Śivājī, the daring Marāṭhā hero, who for once, and once only—had carried his daring to the waves. No other Marāṭhā sovereign is recorded to have dared the sea again.

Verily Śivājī was 'the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced.'<sup>2</sup> His genius illumined everything on which it cast its rays. Even the great Mughals, who aspired to rule the whole of India, never thought of creating a navy of their own, though they appointed the already established Sidi as their admiral royal. Śivājī, on the other hand, began his political career by almost simultaneously establishing the two arms of war, the army and the navy. By the time his first great reverberating success over Afzalkhān was resounding in 1659, his naval construction at Kalyan had also begun to cause anxiety to the Portuguese,<sup>3</sup> the most firmly established naval power on the Western seaboard of India. They tried to stultify the effort by blocking its exit to the sea, and this they were effectively able to do, as they held the sea-coast lands from Daman to Chaul in the north Konkan. Southward the Sidi of Janjirā blocked Śivājī's path with his impregnable sea-girt fort, to take which Śivājī opened talks with the new still unestablished English merchants.<sup>4</sup> Next year (1660) he took Dabhol port and raided Rajapur,<sup>5</sup> the chief port in south Konkan. In 1661 he conquered the whole region by defeating the local Hindu chiefs<sup>6</sup> feudatory to Bijapur.

<sup>1</sup> BUCHANAN, *A Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, (1807) Vol. III, P. 105.

<sup>2</sup> SARKAR, *Shivaji*, (1929) p. 405.

<sup>3</sup> *Shiva-Charita-Pradeep*, p. 178    <sup>4</sup> *Shiva-kālin-patrasāra-Sangraha*, No. 791.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* 800.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* 848.

Side by side he had to defend his northern possessions in Poona and Kolābā districts against the able Mughal Viceroy Shaista Khān and his daring generals. In 1663 Śivājī cut off that general's fingers and made him run for life.<sup>7</sup> The same year saw him pushing himself southward still and grappling with Khem Sāvāt at Kudal<sup>8</sup> and Vengurla port. Feeling intensely the want of a safe cover for his nascent navy, he began to build the later famous island fort of Suvarṇadurg near the village of Harnai with its twin fort on the land opposite. The new naval fort was already completed<sup>9</sup> by 1664, as the Dutch records testify, and acted as a check to the southward moves of the Sidi at Janjira. The Portuguese were unable to check this southward drive of Śivājī in dangerous proximity to their capital city of Goa, because they were at this time engaged in deadly combat with the rising power of the Dutch, to whom they lost all their southern possessions in Malabar from Cannanore to Quilon.<sup>10</sup>

For carrying out his ambitious project of establishing an independent Hindu Kingdom in face of the strongly established Muslim powers, Śivājī urgently needed money, the first sinew of war. After gaining ports and building ships he tried to secure money by engaging himself in trade, by sending ships laden with Indian produce to Arabia and Persia.<sup>11</sup> But income from this source was precarious on account of the rivalry of European merchants trading in the East. He therefore had recourse to non-economic sources of collecting wealth by plundering raids on the wealthy cities of the enemy powers. Thus he attacked Surat<sup>12</sup> in January 1664 and carried away immense booty to finance the schemes of expansion and consolidation of his tiny kingdom. It appears that he had used his ships<sup>13</sup> to carry away a part of the booty of Surat. Śivājī invested this money in building new naval forts<sup>14</sup> on the Ratnagiri coast and building new ships.<sup>15</sup> The report of the building of sixty new ships and keeping in readiness a flotilla of 40 fast-sailing ships gave rise to various rumours about Śivājī's next target<sup>16</sup> and created terror in the minds of all the potentates on the western coast. Dame Rumour circulated the news that he had secretly recruited 50 thousand foot-soldiers and 10 thousand horsemen<sup>17</sup> in the rainy season of 1664 (June to September). The Dutch thought his intention was to attack some port near Vengurla. The Mughal governor of Surat<sup>18</sup> feared an invasion of his territories. But Śivājī kept his objective a close secret throughout the monsoon months. But in November his objective became clearer when he sent four of his ships towards the port of Bhatkal<sup>19</sup> in Canara. He already advanced to the borders of Goa after burning Vengurla<sup>20</sup> to ashes. Interested people, naturally thought his

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* 930.<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* 933, 959.<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* 1023.<sup>10</sup> *ibid.* 926, 928, 933.<sup>11</sup> *ibid.* 917-18, 1002, 1043.<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* 966, 968, 970, 973, 975.<sup>13</sup> *ibid.* 972, 977.<sup>14</sup> *ibid.* 1023 and *Sane-Patren-Yādi-Vaḡaire*, No. 421.<sup>15</sup> *Shiva-Kālīn-Patra-Sāra-Sangraha*, Nos. 1011, 1023.<sup>16</sup> *ibid.* No. 1023.<sup>17</sup> *ibid.* No. 1010.<sup>18</sup> *ibid.* No. 1019.<sup>19</sup> *ibid.* No. 1015, 1020.

objective to be Canara, either on his own account, or as a counter-move to the ambitions of Bijapur and the Portuguese. But his southward progress was checked by the Bijāpur general Khavāskhan<sup>19</sup> and Śivājī had to retrace his steps back to Phonda fort.<sup>20</sup> As a counter-move to this, Śivājī suddenly attacked Hubli<sup>21</sup> and some other towns up the ghats and gained immense loot at the beginning of December. He next came back to Konkan and watched for an opportunity to swoop down on some rich virgin prize. The longed for opportunity soon presented itself to this lucky hero. He led a naval expedition to Basrur, the chief port of the Bednur Nayak in South Canara and returned with good booty.

Śivājī's success was due to his choosing a good time and a proper place. The port of Basrur was the port royal of the newly consolidated state of Bednur situated in the uplands of Canara, in the north-west corner of the present Mysore State. The Nāyaks of Bednur were at first the Chiefs of Keladi under the Vijayanagar Empire and were always styled as such. They



THE FORT OF BASRUR

From Faria Y. Sausa's *Asia Portuguesa* (1674) Vol. II.

(Copied from the Rev. H. HERAS' article in *Indian Antiquary*)

were also known as the Ikkeri Nayaks from their capital town, the Ikkeri (gold coins) being commonly current in the accounts of the south for two centuries. Śivappa Nāyak was the most valiant as well as the most sagacious of the rulers of this line. First as a general under Virabhaḍra

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.* No. 1021.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.* No. 1024, 1029, 1043.



Nāyak and later on (1645-60) as a Nāyak himself, he carried on the conquest of the surrounding territories till his conquests stretched from the Tudri river south of the Gokarna shrine in the north, to Nileswar<sup>22</sup> on the borders of Malabar and Coorg in the south, with their corresponding uplands on the western border of Mysore. He had taken full advantage of the presence of the last titular but fugitive Emperor of Vijayanagar at his capital to legalise his conquests under his name. To this Emperor he assigned a small portion of the conquests to the north of Mysore and fought for his restoration as a loyal baron.<sup>23</sup> But Mustapha Khan the Bijapur general, and Mir Jumla<sup>24</sup> the Golconda general, combined in ousting Śrī Ranga Rāyulu, the Emperor, from the eastern coast, and his co-barons of Jinji, Tanjore, Madura and Mysore selfishly declared themselves independent. Śivappa then concentrated on the conquest of the Canara lowlands on the western sea-board. This land was ruled by a number of local chieftains, sometimes acknowledging the suzerainty of powerful neighbours. The maritime supremacy for the whole coast was claimed by the Portuguese from the sixteenth century. But their supremacy was now challenged by the Dutch. The various potentates in South India were instigated and helped by the Dutch to throw off and disacknowledge the maritime supremacy of the Portuguese. The Golconda State on the east coast first challenged the Portuguese pretensions. Śivappa Nāyak had already conquered most of Canara, and now provoked even the Portuguese by laying siege to their naval forts. He took Barcelor (Basrur) by June, 1652, and Cambolim (Gangoli) in the October following. Mangalore was taken next year, and Honawar,<sup>25</sup> after a siege lasting more than two years, in 1654. The Portuguese were unable to defend because they were engaged in the defence of Ceylon, which was finally taken by the Dutch in 1656. Adil Shah of Bijapur also seized the opportunity by invading Goa in 1654, after an interval of eighty-five years, when he heard of the destruction of the Portuguese ships by the Dutch off Aohra (between Devgad and Mālvan) and their blockade of Goa<sup>26</sup> itself in May, 1654. The Portuguese had come down from their high estate in the sixteenth century and now sued for peace on humble terms with Bijāpur. They asked Adil Shah to intercede for them in their quarrels with Śivappa and order the restoration of Barcelore, Cambolim and Mangalore to the Portuguese<sup>27</sup> again. Adil Shah was treating all the Nāyaks of the defunct Vijayanagar as his vassals and was chafing against the semi-independent attitude of Śivappa. He readily entered into an agreement with the Portuguese and threatened the Nāyak of Bednur, evidently with no effect.

The English people were always on good terms with the Portuguese. As a new power, they had to make common cause with the weak Portuguese against the aggressive Dutch. Thus they had themselves to thank for inviting the Dutch over England during Cromwell's rule. Having driven the

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.* No. 990.

<sup>23</sup> Lewis RICE, *Mysore* (1897), 2.432-35.

<sup>24</sup> *Śhiva-Kārm-Patra-Sāra-Sangraha*, No. 663.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.* No. 668,

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.* Nos. 675, 681,

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.* No. 668,

Portuguese from the south of India, the Dutch proceeded to conquer Malabar also. They captured Quilon, Cranganore, Cochin and Cannanore<sup>28</sup> between 1661-63 and thus broke the backbone of the Portuguese power in India. They were going to occupy the Canara ports of the Portuguese also, but were held over by the signing of peace in Europe, which was published in India on 14th March, 1663, for the death of Śivappa in 1660 (and not in October, 1662 as Sir J. Sarkar has taken it) had let loose the flood of cupidity among various claimants to the Nayakship of Bednur by taking away a strong hand from the help of the State. The kingdom was usurped by Venkatappa,<sup>29</sup> brother of Śivappa, setting aside the son Bhadrappa. Adil Shah sent his general Sidi Johar (Salābat Khān) to secure a heavy succession fee<sup>30</sup> from the claimant to the State, at the beginning of 1661. Venkatappa was driven away later on and Bhadrappa<sup>31</sup> succeeded as the true successor. He was a raw youth in his teens and the real ruler was his old minister Mallappa Malo. The chief of Sonda whose possessions had been usurped by Śivappa now appealed to Bijapur for redress. Adil Shah invaded<sup>32</sup> Bednur in January, 1663, with Bahlolkhan and Sahājī the father of Śivājī, as chief generals. Mallappa<sup>33</sup> sought help from the Dutch in the form of 2,000 trained troops or 48 thousand pounds of gun powder and 3 cannons of 36 lbs. calibre. But the hands of the Dutch were tied by the new peace and they could not interfere in the Portuguese spheres of influence. Bhadrappa was obliged to restore Sonda to its chief and pay a tribute of seven lakhs gold hons<sup>34</sup> to Bijapur.

After the return of Adil Shah to Bijapur, Mallappa sought the alliance<sup>35</sup> of the Portuguese to ward off the attacks on the Bednur territories. He agreed to return to them all their former posts except Honawar.<sup>36</sup> He personally proceeded to Goa at the beginning of 1664 with a present of 6,000 fardles (loads)<sup>37</sup> of rice. The negotiations dragged on for some time, but an untoward event took place at Bednur during Mallappa's absence. Bhadrappa seems to have died suddenly (poisoned?) and even his infant son done to death by the Brahmins<sup>38</sup> of the place (probably on account of certain alleged atrocities against their order indulged in by the youthful king). The Portuguese at once prepared to take full advantage of Mallappa's offer and to send ships<sup>39</sup> to occupy the various ports. Adil Shah ordered Bahlolkhan of Bankapur and Said Iliyas Sarza Khan<sup>40</sup> to invade and occupy Bednur territories up and down the ghats. Meanwhile Mallappa also died of malignant fever at Goa on 3rd July, 1664. Taking advantage of these troubles, the Nayar chiefs of Malabar also tried to seize the territories to the south of Mangalore.<sup>41</sup> The Portuguese took possession of Barcelore and Mangalore against the interested protests of the Dutch, who contended that the posts should not be

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.* Nos. 926, 928, 933.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.* No. 845.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.* No. 940.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.* No. 915.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.* No. 940.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.* No. 937.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* No. 980.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.* No. 988.

<sup>36</sup> *English Records on Shivaji*, 1, 82, note.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.* No. 82.

<sup>38</sup> *Shiv-Kāhān-Patra-Sāra-Sangraha*, No. 1013.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.* No. 988.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.* No. 999.

alienated to the Portuguese during the minority of the new boy king,<sup>41</sup> Soma Śekhhar Nāyak, younger brother of Bhadrappa. Just when these troubles were coming to a head Śivājī razed Vengurla to the ground (October, 1664) and threatened both the Dutch and the Portuguese with an invasion of Goa.<sup>42</sup> He sent four scout ships to the port of Bhatkal<sup>43</sup> to acquaint himself first-hand with the geography and politics of the Canara coast (November, 1664), as already related above.

Though the Portuguese had nominally succeeded in planting their flags on their old dilapidated forts<sup>44</sup> along the Canara coast, they were not in a position to repair the fortifications or to provide them with guns and ammunition for proper defence, because their treasury was empty by loss of trade and customs, and their attention had for the moment been directed to the north in the affair of Bombay. The island of Bombay had been given to Charles II of England as part of the dowry of Catherine in 1661.<sup>45</sup> But the Portuguese officers in India who were deadly against this transfer had managed to delay the legal transfer up to 1665 by raising all sorts of objections.<sup>46</sup> They tried their utmost to make the Portuguese king change his mind and take back the gift. The Portuguese Viceroy, when obliged by the peremptory order of his king to sign the order of transfer, still persisted in recording his adverse opinion<sup>47</sup> and warned the king of the disastrous consequences that would follow. By an order signed by the Viceroy at Goa on 14th January, 1665, Bombay was at last handed<sup>48</sup> over to the English on 8th February, 1665, and on the same day Śivājī took the opportunity to sail out from Māland to Basrur, passing along the Goa coast without any molestation from the Portuguese.

The place from which Śivājī started on his expedition is generally taken as Mālvan even by scholars like Sir J. SARKAR, SARDESAI and others, and if we take into account only the broad locality as opposed to the actual place of start, there is no cause for disagreement with these scholars. But they are wrong in taking Mawlunda,<sup>49</sup> the place named in the Factory Records' despatch from Karwar, as Mālvan, a small hamlet without any port facilities at that time. Mawlunda is to be identified with the tidal inner port of Māland, which properly agrees with it in pronunciation, and is situated in the Kālāvali creek which opens to the sea just to the north of the present town of Mālvan, a creation of later days. For one thing Mālvan was never a good safe port in the real sense. The creation of a safe retreat for ships under the cover of guns from the island fort of Sindhudurga and its adjunct on the mainland, was a laborious as well as precarious device for sheltering ships at best, piloting through the meandering rocky channels as they had to be taken in. The Kālāvali estuary on which Māland stands fifteen miles inland is very peculiarly shaped. The river at first runs east to west like most

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.* No. 1015.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.* No. 1019.

<sup>43</sup> DANVERS, *Portuguese in India*, 2.304.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.* 2. 331.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.* 2. 335-43.

<sup>46</sup> *Shiva-Kālin-Patra-Sāra-Sangraha*, No. 1027.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.* No. 1036.

<sup>48</sup> *English Records on Shivaji*, No. 107.

streams in Konkan. But when just approaching sea, it makes a right angle to its original course, runs north to south, then opening into the sea to the north of Sarjekot, a fortalice built later on at the north jutting end of Mālvan town, to guard both the mouth of the estuary as well as the anchoring port of Mālvan on the open sea. The long tongue of narrow land which guards the mouth of the Kālāvali estuary from north to south seems originally to have been a sandy bar which later on silted into land, a phenomenon commonly to be seen on sea-coasts. The new ships which Śivājī built and equipped in the Rājāpur and Khārepātan rivers in the monsoon of 1664 he seems to have collected in the sheltering Kālāvali creek, away from the gaze of foreign merchants to guard their secrets. Perhaps he must have transported troops and provisions to Māland before he began his southern drive from Kudal to the Canara border. Māland was already a port of considerable trade and in the eighteenth century it was a fortified den of Mālvan pirates. This proves its suitability as a guarded shelter for ships. All things considered, there seems no cause to doubt the reference of Karwar factors that Śivājī started from Mawlunda i.e. Māland. Not only in the seventeenth, but even in the eighteenth century, the whole coast from Devgad to Mālvan was called the 'country of Mollondi' by the European geographers (Vide *A Geographical Illustration of the Map of India* by William HERBERT, London, 1759, p. 41).

It is however true that Śivājī selected the rocky site of his fort Sindhudurg and began its building while he was sojourning in this locality in the very same year. In his movements along the coast, he chanced to see the barren island called Kurten and took a fancy for the site. On the 25th of November, 1664 the foundation stone<sup>49</sup> was ceremonially laid down and the fort named Sindhudurga. The work was carried out under the supervision of one Govind Vishwanath Prabhu who is found styled Bandarnivis an l Jahaj nivis (i.e. port-clerk and ship-clerk) in an original document<sup>50</sup> of 1705. He seems to have been a resident of Kumbharjuven<sup>51</sup> in Goa and probably utilised the services of some Portuguese engineers and masons.<sup>52</sup> It took three years to build the fort, and its political life began from 1668 only, when young Rāmchandrapant Amātya was appointed its first Sabnivis.<sup>53</sup>

Śivājī 'boarded the ship'<sup>54</sup> on the 8th February, 1665 at Māland and started on the expedition to Basrur. He had with him three big ships and eighty-five small frigates.<sup>55</sup> This fleet passed along the Goa coast without any molestation from the Portuguese, who had their attention centred on Bombay at that time. Passing along the north Canara coast and leaving Karwār, Honavar and Bhatkal behind, the fleet approached its destination in the Kundapur creek of the South Canara district of the Madras Presidency, covering a distance of some two hundred miles in four or five days.

<sup>49</sup> SANE, — *Patren-Yādi Vagaire*, No. 421.

<sup>50</sup> RAJWADE, 8.53.

<sup>51</sup> Chitragupta-Shivaji Bakhar, p. 133.

<sup>52</sup> SABNIS, *Bārdā Daftar*, 1.6.

<sup>53</sup> Shiva-Charitra-Pradcep, p. 51.

<sup>54</sup> *English Records on Shivaji*, 1.107.

The raid on Basrur thus seems to have taken place on 13th or 14th February, 1665.

Śivājī's earlier survey expedition sent in November, 1664 with four ships seems to have fully acquainted itself with the whole coast line of Canara, with its numerous creeks and estuaries with sandy bars at their mouths opening into the sea. The open sea was also dotted here and there with low sunken rocks. The continual silting process going on from time immemorial has created the fertile alluvial coastal strips along these coasts. They have now practically choked the rivers and made them unserviceable for ship traffic. Some three hundred years ago, all the famous ports along the western sea-board of India were situated inland in the shelter of the creeks, at points up to which high tides would carry the ships. This aspect changed with the coming of the Portuguese. They tried to blockade the ports for controlling them and for that purpose selected points of vantage along the sea-coast at the mouths of the estuaries. They built forts at these entrances and under the cover of their guns regulated the trade as they liked. Basrur town is situated five miles inland on the southern bank of the Kundāpur creek. The present town of Kundāpur is situated two miles inland on the same bank of the river and not twelve miles north of Basrur as Sir JADUNATH has wrongly understood in his 'Śivājī'.<sup>55</sup> On the north bank of the estuary Gangoli is situated along the sea-coast at the entrance, and being less silted, is the chief port of the creek at present, from which goods are carried across to the south at Kundāpur in shallow bottoms.

No description of the raid on Basrur is available. It seems from the few lines in the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (2nd Ed., p. 55) that Śivājī reached Basrur early in the morning and began his attack before the population knew what had happened. There is no mention of any hindrance from anybody, showing that the whole area was more or less unguarded. The small Portuguese fort<sup>56</sup> at Kundāpur guarding the entrance to Basrur port also seems

<sup>55</sup> SARKAR, *Shivaji*, 3rd Ed., p. 238, note.

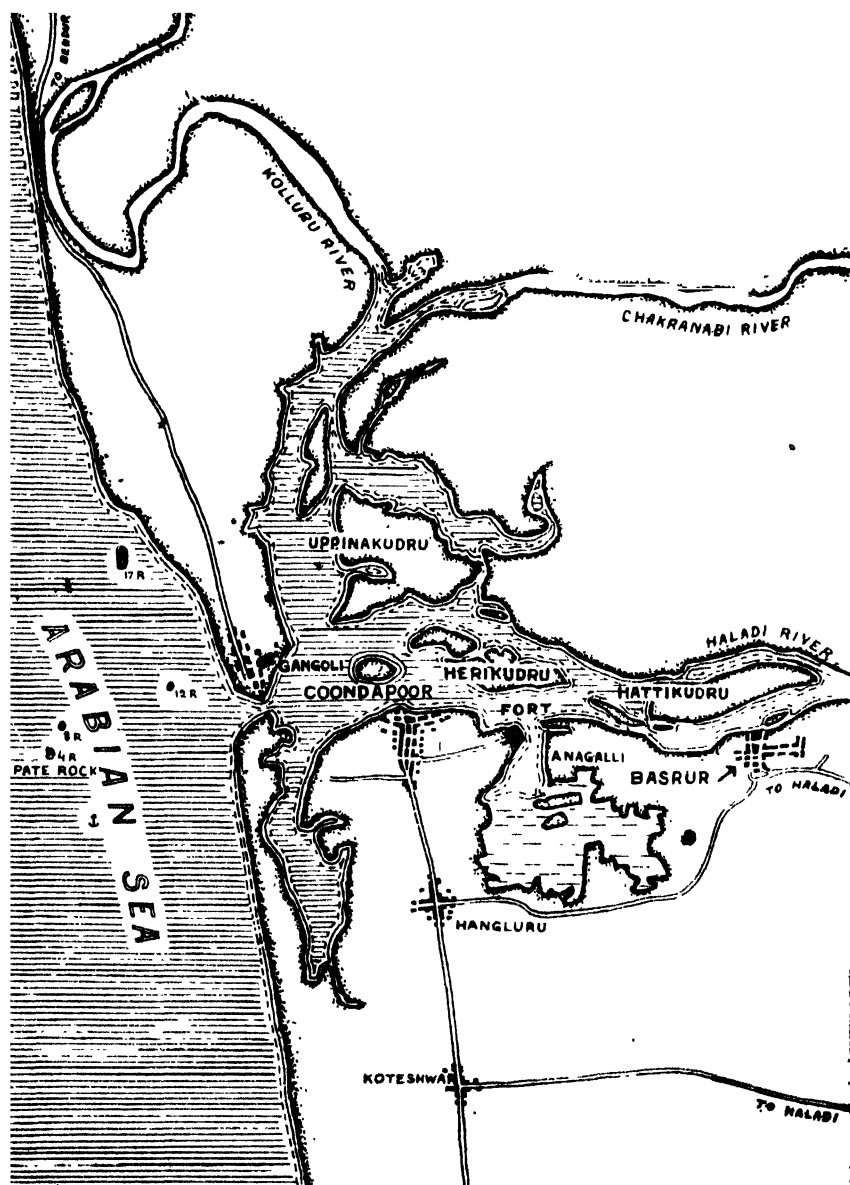
<sup>56</sup> It is curious to note here that a scholar of the eminence of Rev. H. HERAS has, after visiting Kundapur and Basrur personally, confused the site of the old Hindu (and Muslim under Tipu) mud-fort of Basrur with the Portuguese *Fortaliza De Barcelor*, which he rightly decides to have been situated in modern Kundapur on the strength of the map he reproduces from Faria Y. Soussa's *Asia Portuguesa*, Vol. 2. The ancient town of Basrur was no doubt walled and hence perhaps wrongly called a fort. But there seems to have been a separate fort outside the town also, to judge from the descriptions copied in DANVER's *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. 1, pp. 545-47. In 1569, when the Portuguese first attacked it, the King of Tulava's Captain of Barcelor betrayed the fort to the Portuguese, as previously arranged. After taking possession of the fort, at night, the Portuguese rushed on the town. Next day the kings of Tulava and Gangoli attacked the fort in strength, with the result that the Portuguese had to leave it with honours of war. To retrieve this defeat, the Portuguese Viceroy personally came to Barcelor, took it back and imposed a heavy tribute on the two kings who had again attacked it. Later on this Hindu fort seems to have been left by the Portuguese, who then spent "more than a month in building a new fortress in a more convenient place, between the

ungarrisoned at this time. Had the enemy wished to stop the entrance of the Maratha fleet, it would have offered resistance at Gangolji point. After the entrance, it could have been attacked from the fort just mentioned. The ramparts of the old Hindu mud-fort were the only high points along the southern bank and guns firing from them would have effectively stopped the ships from proceeding to the Basrur quay. It is not known how many of Śivāji's eighty-five frigates had proceeded upstream and how many had been left behind to guard the entrance to the creek or at high sea. Nor is it known where they actually anchored before landing troops to lead the attack. For besides the north side of Basrur where the chief quay is situated, ships could have anchored also on the west side of Basrur, where an arm of the estuary went two miles deep from north to the south. The old Basrur town was situated along the water front for more than a mile. To the south-east side of the town is a hill of sharp ascent on which probably stood a fort in early Hindu times; for, the remains and the ruins on the hill point to such a fact. The ruins of an ancient temple or rather monastery called Guppi Sadānanda are still visible and the local people say it belonged to an esoteric order like the Gorakhpānṭh of Yogins. The richest part of the town, however, was still at the foot of the hill around the ancient shrines of Mahālingeśvara built by Vasuchakravarti (Vasupur = Basrur), after whom the town is named and Venkataramana with its big tank. Even the present town with its ruined houses and ancient looking lanes impresses the visitor as an old place. Certain sociological features of the town like an ancient colony of courtezans and the various engravings and paintings on the temple-walls prove it to have been a place of rich merchants and prosperous citizens. As far as the situation of the town is concerned, there could be few such charming places with beautiful surroundings. Islands and islets<sup>57</sup> have grown out of the water in the front creek. The original width of the river was a mile or so, but a big island two miles long and a quarter mile broad now lies mid-stream in front of the whole length of Basrur. It is named Hattikuḍru (cotton isle) while the river is named the Hālādi river. Then down the stream two miles, just opposite

city (Basrur) and the mouth of the river (i.e. somewhere in Kundapur)". This fortress was taken by Sivappa Nāyak in 1652, reoccupied by the Portuguese in October 1664 according to the promise of Mallappa the minister, and finally dismantled in 1712 by Vasco Fernandes (DANVERS 2.376). The old Hindu fort was perhaps never revived but Tipu seems to have built on the same site, as it was a very good point of vantage from the military point of view, situated at the angle corner of the main river and its southward arm as it is. It was from the favourable height of this old fort that BUCHANAN beheld the finest prospect, quoted at the beginning of this article. It is shown on the maps with an asterisk mark. The land of this mud-fort was in the possession of the Muslim descendant of Tipu's keeper of the fort, from whom the Christian gentleman now in possession has bought it. The description given by Father Heras on p. 183, *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 59 (1930), can only apply to the site of Tipu's fort which cannot be the same as the Portuguese fort lower down the river at a considerable distance from the arm of the creek. (Refer to Faria Y. Sousa's map, 1674.)

<sup>57</sup> Please see the accompanying map for clear understanding.

modern Kundāpur, is situated Herikudru (great isle), another island grown out of the river. Opposite to Herikudru on the western side is Gangoli, between



BASRUR AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

which two rivers the Kolluru and the Chakranadi jointly discharge their waters from the north and form to a great distance upstream what looks like an inner lake. In the bay formed at their mouth is situated a curiously shaped

sandy island called Uppinakudru (salt isle). Besides these three big islands named there are half a dozen small islets with an equal number of high sand banks which have still not attained to a colonizing stage, because the waters of the three rivers meet in this one creek with only one narrow outlet to the sea. Even this narrow opening to the sea is obstructed by a long bar of sand on the south side and these bars have a tendency to change their places from year to year according to the greatness or otherwise of the river floods from the inside and sea-tides on the other side. That Śivāji was able to make an entrance without foundering in the middle, means that he had secured local pilots and guides. Otherwise it seems well-nigh impossible for a stranger to suddenly enter, raid the town in a short time and return back to the sea with all the loot, made up of not only cash and bullion, but of cloth and grains and spices, and probably some horses too brought there for sale by the Arab ships. The time of this raid as far as can be calculated was in the first week after new moon, and therefore it was possible for the ships to go up at high tide early in the morning, so as to reach Basrur before daybreak and thus surprise the inhabitants in their beds.

Śivāji had perhaps selected this time just after the Mahāśivarātri fast, because pilgrims had probably gathered around the shrine of Mahāliṅgeśvar and merchants had collected good cash by selling their wares to them. The loot at Basrur is variously valued, but even the lowest figure of one crore hons looks preposterous, though it is very difficult to name the figure with any chance of near accuracy. One thing is certain that Śivāji never led any expeditions unless he was sure of collecting good booty in a short time without much loss. He showed still greater care in safely carrying his booty back to his strong forts. He had to arrange for a safe convoy for his loot and besides to fight his way back in his retreat. His intelligence department seems to be highly efficient, his precalculations highly accurate and pre-arrangements minutely settled to a point. After his raid on Basrur<sup>58</sup> he seems to have made short-notice raids on other coastal towns also, notably Bhatkal and Honavar, though there is no mention of the fact in any original authority. Clear it is that he dispatched the main part of his fleet back to his dominions with a safe convoy of armed ships and himself broke journey at Gokarna (on 18th February?) with only twelve frigates (out of a total of eighty-eight sail) and four thousand foot-soldiers. At Gokarna he performed the pilgrim's rites and proceeded to Ankola by land, his twelve frigates helping to transport his troops across the rivers and creeks. He reached Karwar on 22nd February<sup>59</sup> after the Holi festival, and thus had taken just a fortnight to go through the whole business from his start.

<sup>58</sup> Basrur had become the chief port of the coast only after the capital had been shifted from Ikkeri to the north of the Shravati river, to Bidrur or Bednur on the south side of it, in 1638. Honavar and Bhatkal were the ports of Ikkeri, but Basrur the only port for Bednur, connected by the nearest pass of Hos Angady (new mart) opening between the sources of two rivers.

<sup>59</sup> *English Records on Shivaji*, 1.107.



Śivājī had been expected to come down to Gokarna, so as to be in time there for the great Śivarātri festival (3rd February) by the English in January. But he seems to have avoided that time both for Basrur and Gokarna, both great places of Śiva worship. This means he had no intention of coming in the way of devout Hindu pilgrims, though he would not leave the merchants profiting from the pilgrimage scot-free. At Karwar he threatened both the English merchants and the Muslim governor Sher Khan, who unwillingly offered him some gifts. He was not satisfied with this response and charged Sher Khan<sup>60</sup> with having spoiled his Holi festival (which had fallen on 19th February), during which orthodox Marāṭhās indulged in petty thieving, cutting costly jokes and great bonfires. Śivājī had already sent back his main fleet. The Mughal general Jaysingh had already arrived in the Deccan and Śivājī was naturally apprehensive of his designs. Under these circumstances he was not in a position to spend time in these trifling matters and so he left Karwar the very next day, on 23rd February, for home. He seems to have taken the direct north route via the present Goa territories to reach his destination, for he was reported to have been at Bhimgad<sup>61</sup> (Bingur) on the crest of the Sahyādri range, due east of old Goa.

Never again Śivājī seems to have boarded a ship. It is not known whether this one sea-voyage convinced him of the attendant risks of such voyages and so dissuaded him from entering the waters again; or no occasion arose for such a unique adventure. But this one expedition certainly gave him an inside view of seamanship and later on he seems to have utilized it to the full. He seems to have spent almost half his fortune in building and strengthening his navy and naval forts. The one desire of his which remained unfulfilled to his last days (and ever after during the whole Maratha period) was the taking of the island rock-fort of Janjira by rooting out the Sidi. This became impossible by the presence of the English in Bombay, to which haven they came on the very same day that Śivājī started on his only naval expedition, on the 8th February, 1665. Astrologically-minded people may see in the event something specially deciding the future of India, as Śivājī's newly started Maratha ship never reached the desired haven, while that of the foreign English adventurers did. Verily, unscrutable are the stars!

The poet Paramānanda in his Homeric poem on the early exploits of Śivājī (styled *Anu-purāṇa* by the poet but popularly known as *Śivā-Bhārata*) says

गृहीताः संचयाः सर्वे निगृहीताश्च नागराः ।

तथा क्रियत सामर्थ्यात् करदः सरितां वरः ॥ २९ ॥ अध्याय ३० ॥

Trans.—'He got possession of all the hoards of wealth, brought under his rule all the citizens, and laid under tribute the Lord of the rivers (i.e. the sea) also, by his prowess.'

Śivājī had justified his claim to the encomium of his poet by his naval raid on Basrur.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.* 1.107.

# GURJARA-PRATIĪHĀRA MONUMENTS: A STUDY IN REGIONAL AND DYNASTIC DISTRIBUTION OF NORTH INDIAN MONUMENTS

By

H. D. SANKALIA

Ancient monuments of the north and south India have, as the writer has pointed out before,<sup>1</sup> been studied to a great extent by a number of scholars. But not so the early mediæval. A search for and study of the various post-Harṣa monuments of Northern India will throw light not only on the evolution of distinctive mediæval architectural styles, but also on various cultural aspects, sculpture, cults, iconography and religion. With this end in view the writer first dealt with the dynasties and monuments of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār.<sup>2</sup> He would now propose to devote his attention to all those early mediæval dynasties—Gurjara-Pratihāras, Candrātreyas, Paramāras, Haihayas and others—which ruled over parts of Rājputāna, Central India, the Central Provinces and United Provinces.

Of these dynasties, the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty was not only the oldest or earliest but the most powerful. Beginning to wield some influence in Rājputāna by the 7th century, it came into prominence under Nāgabhaṭṭa I and Vatsarāja before the close of the 8th century. With the acquisition of extensive dominions the capital was shifted from Bhinnamāla to Jābālipur (Jalor), thence to Avanti and finally to Kānyakubja, the heart of Madhyadeśa. Bhoja I and Mahendrapāla ruled over practically the whole of Northern India—from Bihar and parts of Bengal in the east to Kāthiāwār in the west; from Kurukṣetra in the north to Malwa in the south. Trying to keep control over these far-flung dominions, the dynasty came into conflict with the Pālas in the east, the Rāṣtrakūṭas in the south and the Arabs on the west, whom for a couple of centuries they checked from penetrating into India. Repeatedly attacked and often defeated by the Rāṣtrakūṭas, it succumbed at last to the new forces that grew up in the Madhyadeśa. After Rājyapāla, who capitulated to Mahmud of Ghazna in 1018 A.D. and who was subsequently killed in a battle with the Candella forces, the dynasty ceased to be a major power, though his successors continued to rule parts of the United Provinces.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXI, 1941, pp. 213-18.

<sup>2</sup> *The Archaeology of Gujarāt*, Bombay 1941.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Kuvalayamālā*, see Jinavijayaji MUNI, *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, II, ii. p. 217.

So far only political and partly cultural study has been made of this dynasty<sup>4</sup>, but none archæological. This is long overdue and its importance cannot be overemphasized. As the immediate successors of Harṣa, the Gurjara-Pratihāras must have been directly influenced by the then prevailing architectural styles in different parts of Northern India, which must have been the followers, to a great extent, of the Gupta. How far they adopted these local Gupta styles, and how far they departed from them, whether this change was regional or due to new ideas can be ascertained if we compare the monuments of the Gurjara-Pratihāra period with those of the earlier period. But before we attempt this comparison it is necessary to get definite specimens of the Gurjara-Pratihāra monuments. So far none has been known as such because though a number of monuments have been reported from the places once ruled by this dynasty, their exact chronological and dynastic significance is not known because no correlation has been made between the epigraphical and the archæological evidence.

Up to now about 40 inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratihāras themselves and of their feudatories have been found. It is perhaps remarkable that a number of these inscriptions refer to the existing temples or to the construction of new temples, and at times to other monuments. The writer has collected and analysed all these references and shown them in the appendix.

The appendix gives (1) the nature of the temple, (2) the place where it was situated (according to the information given in inscriptions), (3) the names of the persons who built or patronized the temple and when, (4) indications of the existence of monuments which survive till to-day, according to the archæological survey reports made by CUNNINGHAM, Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR, BANERJI and others.

While at present the information in the appendix testifies to a wide distribution of the monuments, almost coterminous with the dominion governed by some of the powerful members of the dynasty, and to the general eclecticism in religious matters, with a special leaning towards Viṣṇu, (there are references to 8 temples of Viṣṇu, 1 temple of Viṣṇu and other gods, 2 temples of Viṣṇu and goddesses, 1 temple of Śiva, 1 temple of a goddess, 2 temples of Sūrya, 2 temples of Jina), we are not in a position to ascertain the special features of the Viṣṇu or other cults. The reference to a large number of Viṣṇu temples might suggest that during the Gurjara-Pratihāra period Viṣṇu worship was popular as it was during the Gupta. If archæological evidence confirms this inference, it would be yet another cultural trait besides that in administration which was derived from the Guptas and carried over to the early mediæval period as far as northern India is concerned.

It now remains to visit the sites, wherever the monuments are said to be

<sup>4</sup> See TRIPATHI, R. S., *The History of Kanauj to the Muslim Conquest*, 1937.

built,—and study those monuments which are referrable to the Gurjara-Pratihāra Kings themselves. Only then it will be possible to search for similar other monuments and ascertain the nature and distribution of Gurjara-Pratihāra monuments.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> This paper was read at the Indian History Congress, held at Hyderabad, in December 1941.

## APPENDIX

1 Monument and its nature.	2 Location, according to the inscriptions.	3 King who built or patronized ; Date	4 Indications of the Survival of the monument ; references.	5 Source of the information.
1. Temple (of Yajñavarāha).	as Prthudaka, near Prāciśa 12svatī.	Built by Bhuvaka : A.D. 882-83.	Bhoja I. CUNNINGHAM, <i>ASL.</i> II, p. <i>EL.</i> I, p. 187. 224 :- Pehoa, 14 w. of Thaneswar, Karnal Dist.	
2. Temple (of Garudāsana).	as Bhojapura, near Kanauj, the Ganges.	on Built etc. by Bhuvaka son of Nāgarabhaṭṭa Prabhākara, under Bhoja I.	search to be <i>EL.</i> I, pp. 184-90.	
3. Temple (of Narakadvīṣaḥ).	as Details not given.	Built by Bhoja himself.	Find spot of the inscription : <i>EL.</i> XVIII, p. 110. Sāgartal, $\frac{1}{2}$ w. of Gwalior Town, search to be made.	
4. Temple (of Trailokyamohana).	as Perhaps Daśapura Ghṛṇṭavārśika.	and Mahendrapāla II. 946 A.D.	Ghoṭārsi, 7 E. of Partabgarh, 8 N.E. of Kharat.	<i>EL.</i> XIV, pp. 178-188.
5. Temple (of Yogasvāmin).	as Details not given.	Mahipāladeva, A.D. 917.	Find spot of the inscription <i>Progress Reports</i> , Asni, a square pillar. Now Arch. Survey, in Town Hall, Fatehpur, U. North. Circle, P.	1905-06, p. 14.
6. Temple (of Murāri).	Sivadoṇi.	Dāmodara, son of built the temple.	Vasiṣṭha, Ruined shrine at Satagatto, N. E. of Siron (5 images of Viṣṇu now in the Lucknow Museum).	<i>EL.</i> I, p. 172.

1 This stands for the distance : here  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile.

7. Temple (of Viṣṇu known "On the descent of the Bhojadeva I : A.D. 875. as Vāṇlabhattasvāmin). road" i.e. on the road to Gwalior Fort. Monolithic temple on the way *El. I*, p. 154. leading up to the Gwalior Fort, Gwalior. CUNNINGHAM. *ASI.*, II, pp. 335 and 355.
8. Temple (of Śiva as La-Nearby a temple of Gaṇeśa. Mathanadeva of Gurjara-Pratihāra family, A.D. 959. Ruins of Nilakanṭha Mahādeva, *El. III*, pp. 263-67. near Parasnagar, S. of Rajor, Raygarh Dist., Alwar State, 28 S.-W. of Alwar.
9. Temple of Siyadoṇī.  
i. Nāmasvāmi (?)  
ii. Tribhuvanawami (Viṣṇu).  
iii. Uma-mahēśvara (Śiva).  
iv. Bhāṇasvami (Sūrya ?).  
v. Cakrasvāmi (Viṣṇu).  
Siron Khurd. 10 N.-W. of La-*El. I*, p. 173. litpur, E. of the village on the bank of the Kheta stream in the precincts of a Jaina temple of Śāntinātha.
10. Temple of (Sūrya as Ghoṭṭavārsika near Daśa-Built by Indrarāja (under) Ghotarī. Indrāditya, attached to pura. Mahendrapāla II. A.D. 946. *El. XIV*, pp. 176-88. Śrī Nityapramuditadeva).
11. Temple (of the Sun, On the Kanvikṣitā river Built by Avanivarman and Ba-Perhaps near Una. Kāthiawār. *El. IX*, pp. 6-10. known as Taruṇāditya). in Saurāṣṭra. lavarman, feudatories of Mahendrapāla I, A.D. 899.
12. Temple (of a goddess Daśapura (?)) Mahendrapāla II, A.D. 946. Mandasor. known as Vatavalakṣmidevī of Hanikeṣi Kṣvara). *El. XIV*, pp. 176-88.

1 Monument and its nature.	2 Location, according to the inscriptions.	3 King who built or patronized; Date	4 Indications of the Survival of the monument; references.	5 Source of the information.
13. Temple of Paramésvara.	Buchkala.	By Queen Jayāvatī under Nā-Buchkala, Bilār, Bilādā Dist. IX, gabhaṭa II, A.D. 815.	Jodhpur State.	pp. 198-200.
14. Temple (of Nava Durgā). Situated beyond the Vr̥śchikāla river.		Built by Alla, during Ehoja I's To be located. Perhaps on the Subanrikh at Gwalior, CUN. rule A.D. 875.	ASI., II, p. 332.	EI. I, p. 159.
15. Agrahāra.	Śiva (Sewa).	Bhojadeva I. A.D. 806(?).	Ruins of an Agrahāra, Śiva. E.N.-E. of Didwana (on the Jodhpur Rly.)	7 EI. V, p. 208.
16. Temple (of Jina).	Chantiyālā.	Feudatory Pratihāra family of Jodhpur.	of Chantiyālā 22 W.N.-W. of Jodhpur.	Progress Report Arch. Survey Western Circle, 1907, p. 34.
17. Pillar in a Jaina Temple, Luchchagira (Deogarh ?)		By Deva, a pupil of Ācārya Kamaladeva, A.D. 862.	Detached portico Jaina temple No. 12, Deogarh, C. I., CUN-NINGHAM. ASI., X, p. 101.	EI. IV, p. 309.
18. Pillar of Victory (Kīrti-Chantiyālā, stambha).		Kakku, a king of the branch line of Gurjara Pratihāra, dynasty.	Chantiyālā. 22 W.N.-W. of Jodhpur in a quadruple temple of Gaṇeśa.	Progress Report, ASI. W. C., 1907, pp. 34-35. Photos 2800-2801.
19. Pillar to Buddha.	Paharpur, Rajshahi Dist. N. Bengal.			Annual Report ASI. 1925-26, p. 141.

20. Image (of Buddha). During Mahendrapāla's reign, Guneriya, E.-S., Bihar. *Annual Report ASI*, p. 124.  
not dated. I.A. 1908, p. 110.
21. Image (of Bhagavati on a seal?). Dighwa Dubauli. Saran Dist., I.A. XV, p. 112.  
Bihar.
22. Image (?). Find-spot : Nālandā. Mahendrapāla. Nālandā. *Annual Report ASI*, 1920-21, p. 35.  
? *Annual Report ASI*, 1924-25, p. 168.
23. Waterworks. Rakhtera, near Chanderi. Mahipāladeva, A.D. 942. *El. I*, p. 247.
24. Temple (of Viṣṇu). Prithudaka. Built by Gokū, Pūrṇarāja and Pehoa. Devarāja, during the reign of Mahendrapāla. undated. *El. I*, p. 247.
25. Temples (i) of Goddesses Āhār. Bulandshahr Dist., Kanakadevī, Nanda Bha- U. P. *El. XIX*, p. 52.  
gavati, Gandhadevī, Sarva- Perhaps Āhār, Bulandshahr, *El. XIX*, p. 52.  
māṅgalādevī, (ii) of Viṣ- Dist., U.P., where there are  
ṇu's Dasāvātāra and hou- mounds.  
ses, bazars, etc.



## REVIEW

*A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions* : A. N. NARASIMHIA. Studies in Dravidian Philology—No. 1, University of Mysore, xxi, 375, Mysore, University of Mysore, 1941, Price Rs. 2-12-0.

NARASIMHIA in this book makes an attempt to deal with the grammar of the old Kanarese inscriptions of the 6th and 7th cent. A.D. The author rightly contends (p. xii) that 'a study of the old Kannaḍa inscriptions will give reliable information about the grammar of Old Kannaḍa from the earliest times upto the present.'

The demonstration that in Kannaḍa the change of *h* < *p* seems to have first occurred in the language of the 10th century as attested by the inscriptional evidence (p. 2) is quite convincing. NARASIMHIA further shows that *h* < *p* had established itself in almost all the words of the inscriptions by the 16th century (p. 3). In the 14th century, *h*- and *-h*- are fully established in place of *p*, initial or intervocalic, *h* < *p* had already begun to disappear in the 13th century (pp. 4 and 10) and has now entirely disappeared in the uneducated vernaculars (p. 5). It is yet to be investigated whether this is the case in all the local dialects. In the Baḍaga language this *h*- still remains, but in the absence of a dialect atlas for Kannaḍa, this survival of *h*- is of no use in dating the advent of the Baḍagas in the Nilgiris.<sup>1</sup> The lists on pp. 8-9 of

- (1) many words still used in colloquial speech (not to speak of literary composition) with an initial *p*-
- (2) of both *p* and *h* forms found in use, meaning and usage differentiating them
  - (a) from the same root and
  - (b) from different roots,

suggest that further investigations in greater detail are necessary in this matter.

As against the view that the change of *h* < *p* in Kannaḍa is probably due to the influence of Marāṭhi,<sup>2</sup> I am inclined to adopt the view with NARASIMHIA (pp. 11-12) that the *p*- in Old Kannaḍa was first changed into *f* and then into *h*.<sup>3</sup> In support of this contention, I wish to cite a few instances here from unrelated languages where also we meet with this change of *h* < *p*. Armenian *hing*, 'five' as compared with Sk. *pañca*, Gk. *pente*; Rottinese *hitu* 'seven' < original Indonesian *pitu*.<sup>4</sup>

The difference in meaning in the words with *-ɽ*- and those with *-r*- in Old Kannaḍa as attested by a large number of instances whose list NARASIMHIA gives (pp. 23-24) goes to show that *-ɽ*- and *-r*- were two distinct phonemes (and not phonemic variants) in old Kannaḍa, even as the alveolar *ɽ* and the dental *r* are distinct phonemes in Tamil.<sup>5</sup> Further in view of the fact that we have in Tamil and Old Kannaḍa the following instances, *uṛi* 'a coarse network made of rope or rattan, in which pots and other vessels are suspended from the beams of the house' *ūṛu* 'to settle' (O.K.), 'to soak' (Tamil), but *ūru* 'a village, a small town', *ore* 'a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. B. EMENEAU, *The Vowels of the Badaga Language*, *Lang.* 15.43.

<sup>2</sup> K. V. SUBBIAI, *IA* 38.145.

<sup>3</sup> TUTTLE, *AJP* 50.155.

<sup>4</sup> R. BRANDSETTER, *An Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics*, tr. by C. O. BLADEN, London, 274. Cf. also Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI, *JRASB* 8.144.

<sup>5</sup> L. V. Ramaswami AIYAR, *JOR* 10.253. fn. 2, however observes that in colloquial Middle Tamil, in literary Telugu and in old Kannaḍa the phoneme *ɽ* appears to have been regarded as the variant of the *r* phoneme with a 'backward' point of articulation on the mouth-roof.

sheath' but *ore* 'to speak' *paṛe* 'a drum', we can easily conclude that in the primitive Dravidian, there were two distinct phonemes  $\tau$  and  $r$  (very probably *alveolar* and *dental* in character respectively). This assumption is tenable for we have in Malayālam and Telugu too the phoneme  $\tau$  (p. 29). No doubt, initial  $\tau$  is not found in Tamil or Malayālam. In modern Telugu as in Modern Kannaḍa, initial or intervocalic  $\tau$  is not met with. So also in Tuḷu we do not find it now. Except in the extreme South, no doubt the distinction between  $\tau$  and  $r$  is disappearing in all parts of the Madras Presidency (p. 30). The symbol for  $\tau$  being used in Old Kannaḍa inscriptions for representing the *upadhmaniya* breathing before *-p-* (p. 34) may have been perhaps due also to this phoneme being a partial *Āyām* correspondent.<sup>6</sup>

The equations NARASIMHIA posits between certain Pr Dravidian, phonemes and the old Kannaḍa  $\tau$  under different conditions (pp. 35-41) from a comparison of Tamil-Malayālam-Telugu-Tuḷu correspondences deserve much consideration.

*v->b-* in old Kannaḍa, not *p>b* as *g-* and *d->k-* and *t-* respectively is proved by the inscriptional evidence (pp. 52-55). So also *-p->-v-* or *-v->-v-* or *-v-<-m-* (pp. 55, 58, 60).

The theory of *Sithiladvitva* that in cases where *-l-* preceded by a short vowel was preserved, a vowel-bit was pronounced between *-l-* and the following consonant (see also p. 98) and that the assimilated consonant group was shortened in pronunciation (p. 62) is very interesting (see also p. 94). It must be seen whether further evidences are forthcoming in support of this and it must also be seen whether it is possible to determine the exact nature of the vowel between the 'fleeting double consonant'.

Consonant clusters are usually assimilated to the following consonant in the Kannaḍa of the 12th century. e.g. *pollu > portu > pottu*. New Kannaḍa *hottu*. *gaḷde > gaḍde > gaḍḍe* (p. 63 and also p. 91).

The assumption that the long consonants in Kannaḍa have the general characteristics of single consonants rather than of consonant clusters because the latter seem to have always an unstable equilibrium as they get assimilated transforming themselves to long consonants in all phases of the Kannaḍa language requires a very careful examination (pp. 96-105). NARASIMHIA shows (p. 65) that KĒŚIRĪJA'S views are also in agreement with his theory regarding the use of *l* in the 12th and the first half of the 13th century.

An interesting phonetic problem is posed by the following equations *nōḍ(u) + pam > nōḷpam*; *māḍ(u) + ka > mālke*; *eraḍ(u) + kudure > 'eraḷkudure* (cf. also *bēṭṭiparan < bēḷṭiparan < (bēḷ) bēḷ(u)* 'to ask for' found in the 10th century.) These suggest as NARASIMHIA (p. 66) points out that the *-ḍ-* of these words was like *ḷ* in pronunciation and the words like *nōḷpam* were archaic forms.

The suggestion (p. 68) that the pronunciation of  $\tau$  was very near that of *ḷ* is quite plausible. This interesting phoneme *ḷ* is found no doubt even in modern Tamil and Malayālam as well as in Baḍaga and Toda dialects. This phoneme in the last mentioned dialect is met with today as a development of other phonemes.<sup>7</sup>

NARASIMHIA'S observation (p. 68, 70) that in Madura and suburbs *ḷ* is pronounced as *ḷ* but in Madras and the north, it is pronounced as *-y-* points out the dire need for the preparation of the dialect atlases for the Dravidian tongues. So does the problem of the disappearance of the distinction between  $\tau$  and  $r$  in all parts of the Madras Presidency (p. 30) except in the extreme South. I doubt very much whether any generalisation can be made to the effect (in the absence of extensive investigations on the lines suggested by JULES BLOCH<sup>8</sup>) that Madras pronunciation

<sup>6</sup> C. R. SANKARAN. On the Sub-class of  $\alpha$ -Phoneme. *BDCRI* 4.56.

<sup>7</sup> L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, Tamil I, *JOR* 9.140.

<sup>8</sup> Jules BLOCH, Castes et dialectes en Tamoul, *MSL* 16.1-30.

of *-k-* is universally *-y-* from the scanty evidence of *paḷam*, *payam* (and *paḷam*). L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR<sup>9</sup> points out that the actual phonation of this phoneme is recognised everywhere. Incidentally a problem is posed (p. 69) why a voiced stop came in Telugu *eddu* or *erdu* (cf. Tamil *erutu*. Kan. *eḷtu*, Tuḷu *eru* 'a bull').

It is an error to say that Kan. *cēlu* 'scorpion' corresponds to Tam. *tēl* (p. 68), for we have in Tamil only *tēl* and not *tēḷ*. There is no meaning in maintaining that *tēḷ* is perhaps the reconstructed form in prehistoric Tamil. NARASIMHIA in this context definitely deals with facts and not with reconstructions.

A glance at the useful appendix (pp. 71-85) gives us an insight into the history of *l* in Kannaḍa. The discussion of the consonant groups (pp. 86-90) is illuminating. The comparisons between Old Kannaḍa and New Kannaḍa forms are instructive (pp. 87-90).

NARASIMHIA proceeds to give a few examples from the later inscriptions to show the assimilation of *r* and *l* to the following consonant (pp. 91-92). He clearly points out how KĒŚIRĀJA corroborates the inference that the *r* and *l* had been completely assimilated to the following consonant in colloquial speech by the 13th century (p. 93).

The *-u-* stems in the masculine singular and in the neuter singular take *-an-* and *-ad-* respectively, as suffixes between the stem and the case-ending. But the *-i-* *-u-* and *-e-* stems have no such suffixes. Pronouns *adu*, *idu* (neuter) take *-ar-* as suffix, but only the glides *-y-* in *-i-* and *-e-* stems and *-v-* in *-u-* stems (see also p. 158). It is a problem yet to be investigated why this differentiation is made (pp. 113-114).

The assumption is made that the plural suffix *-ār* (pp. 115; 133, 210) and the negative suffix *-āde* (p. 208) are older than *ar* and *ade* respectively. Likewise it is assumed that the accusative case termination *-ān* and *ā* in the forms of the oldest Kannaḍa inscriptions are older than *-an* and *-a* respectively (p. 135). So also is the genitive case termination *-ā* assumed to be older than *-a* (p. 147). NARASIMHIA also assumes that *pēr* is probably the Primitive Kannaḍa form and *per* the later development (p. 155). If these assumptions are *tenable* it is possible to generalise that primitive Kannaḍa too was not of a simple isolating structure and there must have been a continuous movement from complex to simple structure in the history of the Kannaḍa language. No doubt, this hypothesis has yet to be tested by more detailed investigations in Kannaḍa linguistics. But such an hypothesis is *tenable a priori* in view of the fact that there are many primitive languages whose complexity of psychological or logical forms far surpasses even the grammatical categories of Latin and therefore Franz BOAS assumes that Language begins with complex and ends with simple forms, although he does not deny the existence of the opposite tendency altogether.<sup>10</sup> But the assumptions made by NARASIMHIA can be questioned:—if there were a phase in the oldest Kannaḍa when there were *only*.

- (1) the plural suffix *-ār*,
- (2) the negative suffix *-āde*,
- (3) the accusative case-termination *-ān* and *ā*,
- and (4) the genitive case-termination *-ā*
- when (1) *ar*,
- (2) *ade*
- (3) *an* and *a*
- and (4) *a* respectively.

did not at all exist—*only then* are the assumptions made by NARASIMHIA *tenable*. [It may be remarked here incidentally that the thesis is (otherwise) purely descrip-

<sup>9</sup> JOR 9.140.

<sup>10</sup> Franz BOAS, Handbook of American Indian Languages. *Bulletin*, 1911, *Bull.*  
40. BOAS, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, 172.

tive with factual data, and therefore is refreshingly objective in all other respects.<sup>11]</sup>

I am inclined to agree with NARASIMHIA that it is not likely that *-am*, a simple suffix of the neuter used in the singular and the plural of neuter *-a* stems was borrowed by Tamil and Kannaḍa from Sanskrit (120).

The use of *av̄u* (< *am-u*) as the termination resolves itself ultimately into *-am-u*. This in New Kannaḍa is generalised as the nominative singular case-termination. This *-u* may have been a nom. sg. suffix (p. 121). NARASIMHIA'S theory regarding the origin of this *-u* is certainly most attractive and I am inclined to accept it (pp. 122-131). The rarity of this *-u* in the earliest inscriptions can be easily explained by the fact that poetry was rarely written in popular speech in ancient times (p. 132).

It is worth while investigating why the final nasal was dropped in the accusative case terminations *-ān* and *an* (p. 135). It is reasonable to conclude that the accusative ending is later in origin for in the accusative the suffix *-um* comes after the stem, but before the case ending. NARASIMHIA has omitted to point out that in modern Tamil colloquial speech also, the accusative suffix is rarely added to the stem in the case of inanimate objects

e.g. *Viḍu kaṭṭiṇān* 'house he built'  
*tiṇḍi tiṇṇān* 'catables he ate'  
*puṣṭakam tū* 'gave the book' (pp. 135, 158, 191).

It is plausible that Primitive Dravidian had long consonants; they were shortened in the absolute final position, but preserved before vowels (p. 137).<sup>12</sup> *-im* (or *-in*) is an adverb of time in Kannaḍa meaning 'from that time, afterwards'. Perhaps this adverb is used as a post-position to mean 'from or by' [instrumental case (p. 141)].

It is indeed possible that *-an-i-ge* (in the form *kālan-i-ge*) represents an earlier *-an-in-ge* with an additional suffix, which appears also in the termination of the instrumental and genitive and locative of *-u* stems.<sup>13</sup> This preconsonantal nasal of Old Kannaḍa quite naturally disappears in Middle Kannaḍa and New Kannaḍa (p. 142). NARASIMHIA gives telling examples (pp. 142-143) to show the process of change from the Old Kannaḍa to New Kannaḍa through Middle Kannaḍa in regard to this matter.

The instance *kiḷḡānadēvake* where we have *-ke* affixed to an *-a* stem in place of *-ak-ke*, indeed shows the general tendency of Kannaḍa to shorten long consonants unlike Tamil and Malayālam, when circumstances favoured it in the last syllable of a word when preceded by a long vowel and in the terminational element (p. 144). NARASIMHIA through telling examples from Tamil and Kannaḍa (pp. 144-145) demonstrates this tendency.

It is indeed probable (p. 154) that *-e*, the particle of emphasis was added to the locative ending *-i*. It is quite possible that the *-i* and *-e* forms may be dialectical variations being used in place of *i* in *āge*, *nīlise*, *taṁge*, *aḍegam*.

Functional syncretism, some examples of which are the dative being used for the accusative, the accusative used as the nominative (p. 159), the nominative used as the accusative and also the genitive, the locative used in the sense of the instru-

<sup>11</sup> See for instance, NARASIMHIA'S admirable treatment of the questions of the instrumental ending *-in*, the suffix *-in* before the case-ending in the dative, the genitive and the locative of stems ending in consonants, *-u* and sometimes in *-a* (only after the masculine or feminine gender suffix in the *-a* stems) pp. 150 and 160.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also R. L. TURNER, *JRAS* 79.227.

<sup>13</sup> It is equally possible that the *-a* between the 1st and the 2nd person pronominal base and the dative singular ending *ige* may have been originally *-an*. p. 178.



observes that the phenomenon of the sporadic use of the optative form in place of the past tense occurs in many languages. A systematic inquiry after such turns of expression in every language will indeed produce surprising results. Here therefore is a rich field for the students of general linguistics also. In such an enquiry one would naturally be led to include the study of the ethical dative and the dative of kinship also.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I deals with Phonology and Morphology. The Verb-Morphology section (pp. 193-215) is easily the best in the book. Word-order (pp. 227-245) is also included in the Morphology section (which NARASIMHIA chooses to call the Grammar Section). Part II contains the text of the inscriptions while Part III contains the index and five appendices and bibliography. The book contains few mistakes. It certainly brings credit to the author and the Mysore University. It is the hope of the author of this review that this excellent book will stimulate other earnest students of Dravidian linguistics to undertake such patient systematic studies of the descriptive *diachronic linguistics* of all the Dravidian languages from the earliest times in like painstaking manner, so that a solid foundation can be laid for a *new Comparative Grammar* of the Dravidian languages on modern scientific lines, as a result of the detailed comparisons of the *synchronic* elements of the cognate members of this great family of human languages, epoch by epoch.

C. R. SANKARAN.



## A BALLAD ON BHĀU AND THE PANIPAT IN HINDUSTANI

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR.

Students of Maratha history already know that in the vicinity of Panipat the wandering minstrels sing certain ballads about the third battle fought at that place, though none has still published a complete edition thereof. The circumstances of the case explain why it has been found difficult to procure and publish a complete version of the ballad. The minstrels singing the same are spread over a fairly large tract of land in three or four districts of the Panjab and U. P. on both sides of the river Jamna. The public taste for this type of minstrelsy is rapidly vanishing, with its inevitable effect in reducing the numbers of such singers. In fact the minstrels as a tribe are breaking and their members both Hindu and Muslim are taking to other professions. Few of the younger generation know the ballad completely and the old who know it are prone to lapses of memory. Nor does there seem to have been an authorised complete version of the ballad as a whole theme ever in existence. It was a collection of stanzas with additions and omissions from time to time and place to place. The hero round whom these stanzas centred was certainly Sadaśivarao Bhau Peśwa, but others had also their share. Bhau has become a legendary name by now, and few people know correctly anything about him. While most—almost all—people in the locality know the name Bhau, having sometime heard of him in a song, widely divergent views and notions about him prevail. When I questioned an old Gaud Brahmin of Gangēru on the opposite side of the Jamna, he thought Bhau was a robber (*dāku thā*). On the other hand another septuagenarian Gaud Brahmin whom I accidentally met in a bus between Pānipat and Samālkha was found overwhelmed with deep feeling at the mention of the name of Pārvatibai, wife of Bhāu who had accompanied him to Panipat. The old man shaking with feeling pressed hard my hand into his with tears in his eyes and thought he had met in me a compatriot of him after a long long time. This was quite unexpected with the general feeling about the Marathas. Still there is no difficulty anywhere in the Panipat locality to get an idea of the great tussle for power between the Afghans and the Marathas, where it has permeated in the local folklore.

In order to avoid the pit-falls into which even scholars fall, I followed a novel plan for getting a complete version of the story as known to at least one sound singer. The ballads are composed in Western Hindi or Hindustani, as it is commonly spoken by the populace composed of Jāṭs



and Gujars in the main. The ballad-singers belong to the Jogi<sup>1</sup> caste and are both Hindu and Muslim. There might be a few Maratha minstrels amongst them too, for it is otherwise difficult to account for the mention of local names like the Nāgzari stream at Poona in the ballad. However that may be, I pinned down a Muslim Jogi of middle age to dictate his story and get it written by himself. Thus I ensured against failure of memory due to old age and bad hearing and still worse copying of a foreign dialect. Fortunately for me, the man I selected had a boy of eighteen who had just passed his vernacular final in Urdu and was a good scribe. The father dictated and the son copied in Urdu script in pencil. As the boy could easily follow his father's pronunciation due to familiarity with it, there was little possibility of incorrectness in his copy. My precaution seems to have given me good results, as I find after comparing my copy with the fragment published by Dr. K. R. QANUNGO in the *Sardesai Commemoration Volume* of 1938, though I had taken it down in 1935.

The story I publish here is made up of prose and poetry, both supplementing (and repeating) each other. It is fairly, but not quite, complete, as I find from certain omissions with other published fragments, as well as from the internal evidence of my copy. The stanzas in the versified portion of the story are not at all of the same number of lines, as these should normally be. They vary in length from three lines to eleven lines each. There is no doubt that some amount of latitude is possible in such compositions, but I suspect that certain stanzas are not completely remembered (thus lessening their lines), while in others lines from one stanza are tacked on to others. Some verses are of course clean forgotten or not current in a particular locality. To make up for this deficiency in the story, prose seems to have been inserted or increased in certain places. Otherwise one would expect a complete story in verse only, in such a type of ballad. My Jogi singer is a clever man of the world and he seemed to know the Panipat campaign from modern history books also, as is exemplified by his putting in English dates at the beginning and at the end, the last date being evidently of the composition of the ballad-story. He also uses English words like officer, committee, in their modern Hindi form, in relating the story in prose. To that extent certain portions of the prose narrative might be taken as modern interpolations. But that cannot be said of the verses, which belong to the end of the eighteenth century. Similarly certain portions of the prose are also definitely traditional, particularly those containing geographical information and bringing in the names of local Chieftains unknown to history in the larger sense.

My interest in the Ballad is only Historical and not Linguistic. I was

<sup>1</sup> I have a shrewd suspicion from the physiognomy of the Jogis I saw that there might be a diffusion of Maratha blood in their veins. Such a possibility is not to be ruled out, as thousands of Marathas remained at Panipat after the great disaster and were possibly absorbed in the local populace.

more interested in getting local news, traditional accounts and beliefs and detailed information about the locality as it might have affected the campaign in general and the last battle in particular. I am glad to say that the Ballad and story I publish here does add to our scanty information derived from standard histories. My wanderings on foot in the locality have also added to our information and corrected the wrong impressions formed from the outside. That is the main achievement I claim for myself. I am no Hindi-Urdu scholar and as such had to take the help of two scholars<sup>2</sup> in transcribing, properly reading and arranging it so as to make it available to the Marathas in general and history scholars in particular. As such I have followed the Marathi mode of writing in transcribing the original Hindustani, doing away with the special marks which go with the Hindi mode of writing and pronouncing, though the language remains as in the original. For a satisfactory and complete version of the Ballad the would-be editor must be a competent Hindi-Urdu scholar with a knowledge of the dialects, acquaintance with the 18th century mode of expression being an essential qualification. He will have to go over a large tract, collect local versions of the song, collate all the available versions and then bring out a scholarly, grammatically correct and historically true edition. But this is a work for a local scholar and not for a Maratha student of history. I present the Ballad here mainly to students of history and not to scholars of Hindustani, to glean therefrom the new historical information for what it is worth. As I am making use of the information in my forthcoming narrative of the Panipat Campaign, I am in duty bound to place my authority before the general public, which I hereby do.

There is much that is fable in this narrative, as can be easily expected. The figures giving the numbers of troops, horses, elephants, guns, bulls, servants and treasure are given in round sonoric standardized sums which have no necessary connection with the actuals. The poet has no correct idea of the general poverty of the historic Marathas nor of the particular monetary difficulties in which Bhau was completely engulfed throughout the Panipat campaign. His manner of describing fights is traditional, as he narrates what seem to be single combats between the chief heroes only, which was scarcely a fact. Certain episodes in the campaign are more vividly described than the last big effort, which has been cramped in space. There does not seem to be a conscious or even an unconscious partiality anywhere in the narrative. There are no comments on the behaviour of the chief actors. This is really wonderful as well as inexplicable. The language is simple, direct, with comparatively little embellishment except a happy simile here and a poetic phrase there. Certain grammatical peculiarities will be marked by the reader. One which is constantly repeated

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr. G. H. KHARE of the Bhārat Itihāsa Samśodhak Maṇḍal and my colleague Prof. C. H. SHAIKH for helping me in transcribing this Ballad.

and seems to be a local dialectal usage is of using the dative suffix 'ko' in place of the instrumental 'ne.' As this is found in verses too, it seems to be a fairly old innovation, as well as a local peculiarity of the current dialect. At first the reader is baffled by the peculiarity, but as he proceeds he comes to know that it is a local usage.

The narrative is in certain important matters of fact patently wrong. Bhau had lost his mother in childhood and his step-mother was also long since dead. So the invention of a mother by the poet to dissuade him from going on a hazardous expedition is pure fancy. The poet has also brought in Bhau's wife for the same cause of dissuasion but she is not found accompanying her husband as Parvatibai actually did. This is in marked divergence from the local traditions about Parvatibai. While it is known to the ballad writer that BHAU was called to Hindustan by Janakoji Sindia's complete defeat, he has no information of Malharrao Holkar being in the north in his company. The Peśwa is found holding his Darbār in Poona, while actually he was at Ahmednagar when he heard of SINDIA'S discomfiture. Nāro Śankar is present at Panipat in the ballad, while he was actually guarding Delhi for five months. The Nawab of Lucknow is styled *Nasir-uddaula* in the Ballad, while it ought to be Shuja ud-daula as all know. The descriptive part is naturally exaggerated and as such historically unreliable, but still there are certain facts mentioned which cannot be invented and hence must be taken as traditionally coming down. When they don't go against known historical facts or are not improbable, we can take these as naturally correct. It is for these that we have taken the trouble to copy the Ballad-story and we now proceed to narrate these few facts.

1. The first and the foremost fact known for the first time from the Ballad is the actual place where Ahmed Shah Abdali crossed the river Jamna near Baghpat. The place is named Gauripur-Panwādā in the Ballad and the name of the person who showed the way to Ahmed Shah is also given as Gulab Singh Gūjar, who is styled as a favourite of the king in two places. The story of the Ballad is more natural here though given in a religious garb as in standard histories. The Muslim chronicles tell us that Ahmed Shah became exasperated at not being able to cross the river which was then full after the rains. As none would tell him of a safe place for crossing under such conditions, he fasted, performed religious ceremonies for two days and wrote magic squares on a silver plate which he threw into the water. The river then subsided and became fordable. The story in the Ballad is similar in spirit in that it also makes Abdali offer betel leaves and copper coins to the river Jamna and the *dargāh* of a certain local Khwājāh as a result of which the river water divided and allowed a passage to the troops. As a local man is proposing this way to Ahmed Shah, we may take it that he knew the particular spot where the Jamna-bottom was firm and shallow. Gulab SINGH seems to be a local Gujar-chief of Gauripur

or its vicinity and thus naturally knew the river-bed better than outsiders. Gauripur is four miles to the north of the Baghpat town and in selecting it for crossing, Ahmed Shah secured another advantage of avoiding the strong Maratha guard kept for watching the important ghat of Baghpat on the other side of the Jamna. Crossing the Jamna at Gauripur is easier because the river spreads itself there into several channels over a wider area and it is directly opposite the important town and Maratha outpost of Sonapat. As a matter of fact known to history, the Maratha guard at Sonapat fled at the unexpected crossing of Ahmed Shah ABDALI.

2. Names of three local-chiefs have been made known for the first time and they go to explain the local factors which, for whatever reasons, went against the Marathas. They are Gulab Singh Gujar of the Meerut District, Himmat Singh Jāt of the Sonapat-Panipat locality and Bole Khan Toowar a Rājput-Mohamedan of Panipat. The Gujar of the Doab and the Panjab were a turbulent tribe of cattle-lifters and robbers like the Rāmōsis in Mahārāstra. Their help or antagonism meant much in those regions. So also the Jāts who are the chief land-tillers in the region. Bole Khan Toowar seems to have promised support to the Marathas, but being in the position of a proud fighting minority with interests against the rest, could not be very useful. This information is new and throws an unexpected light on the local conditions. As the information comes from local sources, there is every likelihood of its being correct.

3. The third gain from the Ballad is the knowledge of the actual place of combats fought for two months between the two armies confronting each other. The place named is the plain of the Chhājpur village where a tall wooden war-pillar had been erected as the centre of the battle field. The Marathi Kaifiyat of Bhausahib also mentions such a war-pillar but there was no corroboration of the fact. Ahmed Shah Abdali's camp shifted its ground more than once but its various locations were unknown. We now know three places. They are Chhājpur, Bāpauli and Psnia. Traditionally Bhau's tent was under a black-mango tree, while that of Ahmed Shah was, at least in the first fortnight of January 1761, under a banyan tree at Psnia, as we know from local tradition now. Bhau's camp was spread over the plain to the southeast and west of the Panipat town, and the north side only was free for access. In the initial stages of beleaguering, the Marathas had possibly kept a hold over the Rāmdā and the Āndherā ghats on the Jamna, but later on the local Jāts and Gujarars seem to have been won over by Abdali. Kunjpura seems to have been taken back by a son of Najābat Khan, thus closing the Panjab side also.

4. The troubles of the Maratha camp find a mention in the Ballad. The stink of the decomposed corpses of unburied fallen soldiers and animals troubled the Maratha Camp more because the wind blew over their camp. The Marathas suffered not only from want of food, but, as the Ballad mentions for the first time, from scarcity of water. At first they had possibly

access to the surrounding area, especially to the imperial canal (*Shāh-Nahar*) on the west side of Panipat. I believe that the canal was functioning at that time. But later on when Kunjpura was taken back by the Afghans, they possibly cut off the canal at its head to the north of Kunjpura ; or the Marathas were surrounded on all sides and driven in to Panipat, thus closing their access to the canal.

5. That the relations between Najābat-khan, the Ruhela Keeper of Kunjpura, and Abdus Samad Khan and Kutbjung were not smooth nor cordial, is clear from the Ballad. The Ruhela Nawab was unwilling to admit Samad Khan to his fort ; Kutbjung is found cursing Najābat Khan before his death. These are historically important points.

Altogether, the Ballad adds materially to our knowledge of the Panipat campaign of 1761 and so we present it here to the world of scholars.

## APPENDIX

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT BETWEEN AHMEDSHAH ABDALI AND THE MARATHAS

#### वाकअ जंग पानिपतकी तीसरी लडाईका जोके मरहटों और अहमदशाह के दरमियान हुवी है.

बालू जोगी मौजे सिवाह तहसील पानिपत जिल्हा कर्नालका रहनेवाला हूं. मुझे जंग मरेठों और पादशाह काबुल अहमदशाह दुरांनोके दरमियान जो मुकाम पानिपतमे वाके हुवा उसको भिन्दरजह झेल लिख देता हूं. भाऊ मरेठे के दरम्यान हुवा व किस्सा दर्ज कर देता हूं. जोके जंग सना १७६१ ईसवीमें जुहूर पिजीर हुई. गोजदीखान वझीरकी और नजीबखान नजीबाबादका रहनेवाला था उन दोनोंकी मुहब्बत थी. गोजदीखान वझीरको जो देहलीका रहनेवाला था कौमका मुघल था नजीबखान पठानको तो अहमदशाह दुरांनी जो काबुलका बादशाह था उसको बुलवाया. और गोजदीखान वझीरको दखनको मरेठा भाऊ वगैरेको बुलवाया. देहलीको तख्तको हसिल करनेके लिये दोनो तरफ बमुक्काम देहलीसे बुलवाये. उस वक्त अलीगौहरकी बादशाहियत तख्त देहलीपर थी. तो वो बादशाह अंधे हो गये थे, व उस वक्त पटना रहते थे.

पहले शुरूमें दखनसे जनका मरेठा जो अप्पारायका नेता था वो चढकर आया. अस्ती हजार फौज लेकर आया और साडेतीनसो तोपखाना और साडेतीनसो हाथी वगैरा सामान लेकर आया. जनका मरेठा बहादरका और अहमदशाह बादशाह काबुलका बमुकाम देहली जंग हुवा. तो उस जंगके अंदर काबूलका बादशाह जनकाबहादर हार गये. सूरजमल जो के भरतपूरके राजा थे उनके पास जनकाबहादर भाग कर चले गये. तो जनकाबहादरका जखम वगैरे हो रहे थे तो राजा भरतपूर सूरजमलने अछे किये और बढी इमदाद की. जनकाबहादरने पूनाकी तरफ कागल लिखा :—

सतरा दिनमें सिंभ्याको किया भक्षण ।  
 नंदसूतकी पूजा करी झुमर छे भगवान ।  
 ओर दुशाला महाराज होके सुधान ।  
 कागझ कलम मंगवाकर लिखता परवान ।  
 नाना लेते रामराम और लिखता तान् ।  
 तेरे भेजे हम भाये चढ हिंदुस्तान ।  
 काबुल और कंधारके बडे फील जबान ।  
 दकनका दर्या केहर हे सच करके जान ।  
 जे दिन उतरे नर्बदा बतरकरे परान ।  
 अकलहोश मनमें करो मत बनो नादान ॥ १ ॥

अस्सी हजार फौज जो के मैं लेकर गया था, मेरे पास उनमेंसे एक आदमी नहीं रहा. साडे-तीनसो तोपखाना लेकर गया था, मेरे पास उनमेंमें एक तोप नहीं रही. साडेतीनसो हाती लेकर गया था मेरे पास एक पैसा नहीं. मैं भरतपूर राजा सूरजमलके हां गुजर बसर करताहूं. मेरा बैर हिंदुस्तानने लेले. यह कलिमात कागझमें लिखकर नानारावकी तरफ जो पूनामें थे भेज दिये.

जनकाजीके सांडियेने झुतर सिनगारी ।  
 पाखर झालर जरीकी धुंगट झनकारी ।  
 रातदिनकी करी दौड जा झुतर बिचारी ।  
 पूनामें नानारावसे जा करे जोहारी ।  
 जो कुछ लिखा जनका कुंवरको पदी बातें सारी ।  
 खबर गई रनवासमें जानोको तुज पुकारी ।  
 पिया पिया कर करती दकनकी नारी ॥ २ ॥

ये बात सुनकर नानारावका बडा रंज किया और अगले रोज नानारावको अपना दरबार लगाया. साडे छे सूबे दखनके बुलवाये, जनकाजीका कागझ साडे छे सूबेके सामने पेश किया गया. यह जनकाबहादुरको बजंग बसुकाम देहली हार दिया और तुम हिंदुस्तानपर चढो, उन साडे छे सूबे दकनको कहा के तुम भाऊको बुलवाओ अगर हिंदुस्तानपर भाऊ जायेगा तो हम जायेंगे. तो नानारावने साडे छे सूबे दखनके कहनेसे भाऊको बुलवाया. तो भाऊ के सामने नानारावने यह अर्ज पेशकी.

पूनेमें नानारावको लाया दरबार ।  
 रागोरा बलवंतरा आये मल्हार ।  
 समशेर बहादुर सूरमा भरता इंकार ।  
 तुम बुलवाये भाऊरावको जिसका एअनबार ।  
 हुजरे नानारावके चले चोपदार ।  
 तुम याद करे हो पेशवा चलो राजकुमार ।  
 भाऊजें नाना सेती करे जोहार ।  
 पास बिछ लिया पेशवा दिया बहोता प्यार ।  
 तुम बेटे चेहते राव जाते संसार ।  
 हिंदमें झनकाको जंग दिया हार ।  
 करो तयारी हिंदकी मतलाओ बार ॥ ३ ॥

के बेटा तुम हिंदुस्तानपर जाओगे और झनकाका बैर तुम लोगे और देहलीका तख्त तुमही लोगे. तो भाऊने फिर नानारावसे यह कहा के मैंने अपने बेटे कुंवर बिस्वासराको मुझे देदो तो मैं तब हिंदुस्तानपर जाऊंगा. तो नानारावको यह बात भाऊकी मंजूर कर ली, और अपना बेटा देनेको तयार कर लिया.

भाऊ कहता पेशवा एक अर्ज सुनाऊं ।  
 बिस्वासराको साथ दो तब हिंद जाऊं ।  
 अटक नदीपर पाएगा घोड़ो जल पिआऊं ।  
 जैसे साके गुर्गी मानसिंग वैसे तकमें लाऊं ।  
 काबुल और कंधारकी पकड बेगम लाऊं ।  
 केसरका कयारी पाडकर खेती करवाऊं ।  
 इतनी बातें कर चुकूं बहजूर दखनको आऊं ॥ ४ ॥

तब नानारावने यह कहा भाऊसे के तब मेरा बेटा जंगके लिये मांग लिया तो जंगके लिये जिस कदर सामानकी जरूरत हो वो मुझसे मांग ले. तो भाऊने जंगका सामान नानारावसे मांगा के तीन लाख तेतीस हजार फौज दे दे, और तीन लाख तेतीस हजार घोड़ोंके घिसयारे दे दे, और तीन लाख तेतीस हजार घोड़ोंके साइस दे दे, और साडेसातसो हाथी दे दे, और अस्सी हजार बैल बन्जारेका दे दे, और बावन मंडी दे दे, और तिरपन बाजार दे दे, बावन करोड खजाना दे दे, ग्यारा हजार बटीत दे दे, ग्यारा हजार खच्चर दे दे, साडे ग्यारा हजार तोपखाना दे दे, और तेतीस हजार तोपोंके भरनेवाले दे दे, और अडतालीस हजार तोपोंके चलानेवाले दे दे, साडे ग्यारा हजार तोपखानेका मालिक हैदराबादका था (इ) बराहीम खान गारदी. यह सामान मांगकर भाऊ अब अपनी माके पास आया. तो उसकी मा भाऊसे अच्छा सुलूक किया.

भाऊ उठ दरबारसे माता फिर आया ।  
 तेरी माता बोली प्यारसे भाऊ पास बिठाया ।  
 बेटा तू के शहासे लडेगा मनमें गरबाया ।  
 करी तयारी हिंदकी भूला बहकाया ।  
 काबुल और कंधारसे चढ गिलजा आया ।  
 झनका ऐसे मदका मार खेत डिगाया ।  
 दकन बैठे करो राज मेरे बहती माया ॥ ५ ॥

यह बात भाऊकी मा कही अपने बेटेके सामने तो नामंजूरी करदी.

भाऊ मातासे कहे एक अर्ज सुनावे ।  
 कहे कहानी बावली क्यों हमे डरावे ।  
 मेरा नौ लख नेजा दखनी कोन मोहोरे आवे ।  
 मैं लेता तख्त लाहोरका तलवारसे आवे ।  
 भाऊकी माता बोलती तूं भाऊ मेरा ।  
 एकलौतीका एक लाल कर चला तमेडा ।  
 तारे गिन तूं करे रैन कब हो सबेरा ।  
 मैं भेजूं गालिबजंगको कर आवे निवेडा ॥ ६ ॥

के तेरा मामा गालिबजंग है तो मैं उसको भेज दूंगी. तेरी बाबत तुम नहीं जाव. यह बात फिर भाऊने अपनी माकी नामंजूरी करदी. के नहीं मा, मैंही हिंदपर जाऊंगा. तो उसकी मा भाऊके

रानीके पास आयी. के बेटी, तुम अपने पतीको समझा लो के हिंदुस्तानपर लड़ाईके लिये मत जावे. उसने हां करली के मैं नहीं जाने दूंगी. उस रानीका नाम पार्वती था उसने आकर अपने पतीसे हाथ जोड़कर एक जवाब कहा—

हाथ जोड़ हाजीर खड़ी भाऊकी रानी ।  
 माताका कहना मानले समझावे सियानी ।  
 मैं रतवंती जोबनभरी नासमो पहचानी ।  
 मैं सुकभर सोई नहीं सेजपर तुई रैन आजानी ।  
 मैंने सपना देखा रैनका निरवखट कहानी ।  
 तेरा पूना डूबा फौजमें ओ चढकर पानी ।  
 हुक्म दे तेरे चलूं साथ मैं सुखरे परानी ।  
 पागपठ तेरा करूं साजन थरानी ।  
 बुरका पेरो लडें नारने सुना पठानी ।  
 वै काबुलकी बेगमा हम देखनकी राती ॥ ७ ॥

जब रानीको यह भाऊरो कहा के मैंभी आपके साथ चलूंगी. तो भाऊको इन्कारी के नहीं के जंगपर औरतका चढनेका काम नहीं होता. आपनी नामूसी है करके वहांसे खडा हो गया, न अपनी मांका कहना न अपनी औरतका माना, वहां चलकर आया जहांपर साडेसातसो हाथी बंधा हुआ था. एक नागझरी दयां था. पूनाके पास उसमें भाऊने हुक्म दिया उसमें तमाम हाथियोंको न्हालावो धुलावो—

हुक्म दिया भाऊको लाओ महत्ते ।  
 नागझरी दयांमें मर्दन करंते ।  
 होवे जडेजड वरते जोहार झडंते ।  
 दातों चोडे सोढने करे ऊंचे माथे ।  
 एक नाम दोनोबकें नारी और कंधे ॥ ८ ॥

वहांमे साडेसातसो हाथी सजवाकर वहां आया जहांपर तीन लाख घोड़ी बंधी हुवी थे. तो साइसोंमे बोला के उनको खूब अच्छी तरहसे सजावो और जीन वगैरह अच्छी तरहसे डालो.

हुक्म दिया भाऊरावको लाओ तुरंग ।  
 सज्जा सुरखा मक्सी अल्लक सुरंग ।  
 मैं संजाफी गैहरी समंदरंग ।  
 पाजी जल छेता वे मन भर उमंग ।  
 अगाडी खोल पिछाडियां मल पंछे अंग ।  
 दुमचियां और शेरबंद ढलते पेशबंद ।  
 पूरे नर्त दियां चढें तेज चढे न संग ॥ ९ ॥

तो महाराजकी तीन लाख तेतीस हजार घोड़ी चढी और साडेसातसो हाथी सजे. उनके ऊपर एक हाथीपर नानारावका बेटा कंवर बिस्वासरा बैठा. जिसपर बावन ढाल हौदेके लगे हुए थे. एक हाथीपर भाऊ चिमणेरावका बेटा बैठता है. एक हाथीपर सवार भीमा किड़ना और एक हाथीका सवार कोन तात्या ये दकनके सूबे थे. एक हाथी सवार बलवंतराव भाऊका सालार और अजंटे शहरका रहनेवाला. इस तरह वह तमाम दकनके सूबे हाथियोंपर सवार थे.



साहिब सुमरो व अपना धनसर्जनहारा ।  
 रनमंडन भाऊ चढा जाने जग सारा ।  
 कंवर चढा बिस्वासरा नानाका प्यारा ।  
 बीठल और इठल चढे दियां फौजों लारा ।  
 भीमा ध किझा तात्याने खेल सिंगारा ।  
 जूं जरजोधनने चढवा कहूं यारा ।  
 सय्यद चढता फतहअली गुलबर्गेवाला ।  
 नर्मदापर डेरा दिया शाहका देखे फिरे हलकारा ॥ १० ॥

महाराजका डेरा जब नर्मदा नदीपर हुवा तो शाहका अहलकारा खडा हुवा देखता था उसका नाम हबीबुल्ला था। वह देखकर साडे छह सूबे दखनको कांप गया। तो वह बादशाह अहमदशाह के पास देहली आया। आकर पादशाहके सामने रोने लगा के हुजूर साडे छे सूबे दकन लडनेके लिये आये हैं—

अहलकारा फौजा देखके दिल दहशत खाई ।  
 देहलीमें अहमदशाहसे आया सिफत सराई ।  
 दकन उमंगी घटजोड सातों पादशाही ।  
 सुनकर अहमदशाहनें दिल दहशत खाई ।  
 झारझार रोये बादशाह तिस आसूं आई ।  
 शहजादह तंबूरनें एक अरज सुनाई ।  
 बाबोल पूरब उखेडके सब लादूं भाई ॥ ११ ॥

अहलकारकीं बातें अहमदशाह सुनकर हँल गया, के अब मुझे दकन नहीं छोडनेकी। हमारे पास इतना सामान वगैराभी नहीं के हम दकनके सामने कुछ मुकाबिला कर सकें। तो शहजादह तंबूरको यह कहा के पिताजी, तुम मत घबराओ। मैं नवाबोंको इकठ्ठा कर दूंगा। जितने हिंदमें हैं तब तो हम लडनेके काबिल हो जायेंगे। तो शहजादह तंबूरको यह कहा नजीबखानसे के भाई, तुम हमारी इज्ञत व आबूको रखो। जब दखन सुलूकसे हमारे ऊपर चढाई करते हैं तो तुमभी जितने नवाब व अमीर हैं उन सबसे सुलूक करो। तो नवाब नजीबखान साथ शहजादह तंबूरने ले लिया। पहिले लखनौ पहुंचा। नासिरुद्दौला जो नवाब लखनौ थे उनके पास पहुंचा। जाकर उनके पास अरज किया के तुम हमारी कुछ इमदाद करो। अहले दखनके मुकाबिलेपर आमादा होजा। तो नवाब लखनौ का यह बात सुनकर उसीवक्त उनकी साथ हो लिया जंगके लिये। फिर अपनी बावन हजार फौज ली। लखनौके नवाब नासिरुद्दौलाने एकसो पच्चीस हाथी लिये और सवासो तोप ली। और एक नवाब लिया फर्रुकाबाद बरेलीका बंगष अहमदखान साथ लिया और बावन हजार फौज अपने साथ ली। फिर वो चलकर पीलीभीत आये। पीलीभीतका नवाब मीरबेग साथ लिया। उनके पास भी बावन हजार फौज थी। मअ फौजके साथ हो लिया। सवासो हाथी सवासो तोप ये तमाम नवाब बमुकाम दहली इकठ्ठे हो गये। तो सब नवाबोंकी कमिटी इकठ्ठी होगई। तो उनके सामने कुरान शरीफ बीचमें रख दिया के यहांपर कलमा पढो और अहद करो के हम दखनके मुकाबिलेसे भागनेके नहीं। और दखनसे लडेंगे। तो नवाबोंने कलमा पढ लिया, के हम दखनके साथ लडेंगे और दहलीका तख्त दखनको नहीं देंगे—

साहिब सुमरो अपना कलंदर पीर ।  
 बंदा बार बार बंदगी करके सुख रहे शरीर ।

तेरे कचेरी बोलता बलोच नसीर ।  
जवान चला जाय भाग काफिर बेपीर ।  
सन्मुख जो जो बैर खेप भोको शरीर ।  
हृद व कौल इमानकी यहांका दोकीर ॥ १२ ॥

तमाम नवाब हिंद अहमदशाहके तरफ हो गये और देहलीका तख्त निशान दो. बमुकाम पानीपतका जंग बोल दो. यहांपर यह किला देहलीका खाली कर दो और शादराह अपना डेरा कर दो. यह तमाम फौज हिंदुस्तान दो लाख नब्बे हजार की मीजामें हुई. तो उन्होंने शादराह डेरा कर दिया और देहली किला खाली हो गया. और लाल किलेमें बारा हजार जवान छोड़े गये और औलियाखान (या) खूबअलीखान दोनों उनके सरदार छोड़े गये. तो भाऊ नर्मदाका पूल बांधकर कहां आये गंभीर आये. वहां झनकाबहादुर और सूरजमल जाट साथ मिला.

फौजा चंबल उतरके नालाई देर ।  
झनका और भाऊ मिले बीरजके हेर ।  
झनका रोये उलासन आसूं ये घेर ।  
झनकासे भाऊ कहे दिल रखो शेर ।  
मैं धरके रायां फूक दूं जानूं झड़ते बेर ।  
मारूं अहमदशाहसे देहलीमें घेर ॥ १३ ॥

तो भाऊमहाराजको दरबार लगा और सूरजमल जाटको वाली बनाई. सत्तर हजारकी लागत आई और सात लाख रूपिये नजरका मिला महाराजसे. तो भाऊ सूरजमलपर घुस्सा हो गया. और कहा के उसके हाथोंमें हतकडिया और पैरोंमें बेड़ियां डाल दो और कैद कर दो. क्यों के उसने अक़मशाह और बहादुरशाह दोनों शहजादे लडवा दिये थे, उनकेपास जो खजाना था इनमे भी लेता रहा उनमें लेता रहा. और अपना भरतपूरका किला बनवाया गया है.

सूरजमल भाऊरावके आया दरबार ।  
नजर दिखावे सात लाख सत्तर हजार ।  
देख भाऊराव भरता हंगार ।  
सूरजमलको करो कैद दो बेड़ी डाल ।  
नहीं करे झनका महाराज कोई हमरा बिचार ॥ १४ ॥

सूरजमलने हाथ जोड़े के ऐ महाराज, मेरे ऊपर क्यों खपा हुआ. व मुसलमान एक तरफ हो गये हम हिंदू जो हैं आपकी तरफ हो गये. ऐसा सुलूक न करना चाहिये. जो आपने मुझे कैदमें डाल दिया मुझे कैदसे रिहाई दो मैं आपकी बड़ी मदद करूंगा.

बातें सूरजमलकी आयी पसंद ।  
जाट बिदा जाने नहीं अकलके फंद ।  
बारापुली डेरा दिया देहलीके कंद ॥ १५ ॥

सूरजमल भाऊका डेरा दिल्ली करवा कर अपने भरतपूर चले गये. और साडेतीनसो तोपखाना चुरा कर भाग गये तो भाऊरावने कहा के मैं वापिस आकर फतह करके किला भरतपूरको भी तोड़कर वापिस दखन चला जाऊंगा. तो भाऊने कागझ औलियाखान (या) खूबअलीखान जो किलेमें बारा हजार फौजके अफसर थे उनकी तरफ कागझ लिखा.

जबी तो भाऊरावको लाया दरबान ।  
 कागझ कलम मंगवाकर लिखता परवान ।  
 बाचो खूबअलीखान दिल करके ग्यान ।  
 खाली कर दे किलेको कहना मेरा मान ।  
 भरोसे अहमदशाहके क्यों खोये जान ।  
 और घनेरी क्या कहूं सच करके जान ॥ १६ ॥

यह कागझ भाऊका किलेमें पहुंचा औलियाखान खूबअलीके पास तो उनको देखकर वह कागझ फाड़कर फेंक दिया. और दूसरे उन्होंने भी अपना जवाब लिखा.

उल्लियहखान खूबअलीखानको दरबार लगाया ।  
 कागझ कलम मंगवाकर खत बेगी लिखवाया ।  
 क्यों खाली करदूं किलेको तेरा उर पाया ।  
 मैंने गिलजा अहमदशाह नमक जो खाया ।  
 रंडी दूखी लाया लूट घर खशम नपाया ।  
 लड़ंगा रनखंब गाड़कर होगा मेरे रबका चाहा ॥ १७ ॥

के मैं तेरे साथमें लड़ंगा. मैं तुमको नहीं समझता के कोन भाऊ है तू. तो यह कागझ भाऊरावने देखतेही लाल किलेपर चढ़ाई कर दी. और गोजदीखान वझीर बुलवाये अब किले तोड़वा दे. गोजदीखान वझीरको तदबीर बतलाई के जामे मस्जिदके जो सुतून है उनपर तोप चढ़ादों तब किला टूट जायगा. वहांसे तोप मारो. यही हिकमत भाऊरावको करी—

साहिब शुमरु अपना भजन नदी माई ।  
 गोजदीखान वझीरको हिकमत बतलाई ।  
 जुमा मस्जिदका लिया सूत धर तोप चढ़ाई ।  
 गोला मारा किलेमें खिचडी ढाई ।  
 दूसरा मारा बुर्जमें उड़गये सिपाही ।  
 उल्लियहखान खूबअलीखानने दहशत खाई ।  
 कागझ कलम मंगवाकर एक फर्द लिखवाई ।  
 लाल किला अपना करो लो, हमारी जान बचाई ।  
 शर्त नमककी बजा दियी बंदा बादशाही ॥ १८ ॥

भाऊरावको किला फतह कर लिया. दोनों अप्सर गिरफ्तार कर लिये और बारा हजार फौज मार दी. वह दोनों अप्सर पकड़कर शादराह पहुंचा दिये जहांके पादशाहका डेरा था. और कहा के जहां मेरे साथ कर तुम लड़ते हो मुझे जंगकी जगह बताओ. तो बादशाहनें उल्टाही जवाब भेजा के मेरा तेरा जंग पानीपतकी थलीपर है. तुम देहलीको छोड़ दो. तो भाऊने अपना डेरा यह बादशाहकी बात सुनकर उठा दिया.

कूच किया भाऊरावको बाजा दुआला ।  
 चढ़ बैठा पीठ तुरंगकी बड़ा मुराद सजेला ।  
 सोनीपतमें वह यहां है लखं भेट दुआला ।  
 भाऊको डेरा दिया समालका कांपा भूआला ।  
 बोलेखान तुवर मिला पानीपतआला ।

**दिया दुशालह सरोपा मोतीकी माला ।**

**मेरा पानीपत मुकाबिला जा बंधा पाला ॥ १९ ॥**

तो भाऊ वहांसे सोनीपत आया, सोनीपतका मैदान पसंद किया के यही मैदान अच्छा आब व हवा अच्छी. यही बादशाहसे जंग करो. तो झमीनदार आसपासकेने ख्याल किया के हमारी झमीन बिघड जायगी और बहू बेटियां तंग हो जायंगी. इस महाराजको पानीपत पहुंचाओ. बोला महाराजसे यह खेडा जो सोनीपतका है, यह जीतका नहीं है. उसका नाम सोनीपत है. जो लडने आता है वो मुन हो जाता है. न घोड़ेके पैर चलनेके लिये उठते हैं. तो फिर महाराजने डेरा उठाकर फिर समालका गया. उसी जमानेमें पानीपत अंदर बोलेखान राजपूतकी कमान अच्छी चढ़ी हुवी थी. पांच-चार बेटोंको लेकर समालका आनकर मुलाकात की, और ये पूछा के ऐ बोलेखान तू पानीपतका रईस है हमारी मदद करो. बोलेखानको कहा के मैं हुजूरकी मदद करूंगा. यह बात सुनकर भाऊने बोलेखानको दखनकी एक घोड़ी एक दुशाला एक मोतीका माला बतोर इनाम दी. इनाम देकर यह बात कही के अब तो हमारा डेरा पानीपतकी थलीके ऊपर लगना दे. तो बोलेखान, जो पठानोंकी जमीन थी और पीरजादोंकी जमीन थी, वह थली पानीपतकी भी है, उस थलीके ऊपर कालेआमका पेडा है. दिरखके नीचे महाराज परदा तनवा दिया. तो महाराजने काबूलका रास्ता तमाम घेर लिया. पानीपतके इर्दगिर्द अपना तमाम लश्कर डाल दिया. जब वहांको जगह नहीं रही तब महाराजके सातसो हाथी घेरेंदा जो कसबा है वहां जाकर बंधे. तो महाराजने वाहन जोड़ी अहल-कारोंकी बुलवाई कहा के हमको सो सो कोस और पचास पचास कोस तक खबर दो. के कहीं अहमद-शाह बादशाहका परवरिशखाना हो कुच जवान हो तो हमें खबर दो, तो वो अहलकारे हरजगह फिर गये. तो एक अहलकारा कुंजपुरा शहर पहुंचा तो वहाँ कुंजपुरेमें पादशाहका परवरिशखाना इकठ्ठा होता था. अनाज वगैरहका गेहूं, चावल वगैरह बादशाहका परवरिशखाना था. कुंजपुरे शहरमें बादशाहका साठ लाख तीन करोड गन्ना जमा था और दस हजार जवान काबूलके थे और कुतुबजंग और समंदखान दोनों वह सरदार थे. कुतुबजंग सय्यद था आले रसूल था अहमदशाह पाद-शाहका पीर था. समंदखान यह पठानका लड़का था अहमदशाहका भतीजा था. इस दोनोंकी आपसमें दोस्ती थी. वह अहलकारां देखकर भाऊको आकर सलाम किया पानीपतमें—

पानीपत डेरा दिया आगये बाझार ।

अहलकारे भेजे चार खंट लावो खबर शिताब ।

हलकारेने भाऊरावसे झुक किया जोहार ।

नजाबतखानका कुंजपुरा हिंदमें कंधार ।

कुतुबजंग समंदखान दोनों सरदार ।

तेरा बदला दत्तेरावका जमनासे वार ।

पहिले फतह शाहसे गढ लिये मार ॥ २० ॥

के यह दोनों कुतुबजंग समंदखान दोनों मार दिये तो तेरीही जीत है. अगर यह न मारे तो आपकी हार है. यह बोल अहलकारने भाऊसे आकर कहे. यह बात सुनकर हलकारकी फौरन भाऊने फौजको हुक्म दे दिया. तो नानारावका बेटा कंवर बिस्वासरा बोला के आप हिंदुस्तानपर खिजालत हमारी करनेके लिये आये हो. एक अहलकारके कहनेसे तुम कुंजपुरेपर चढ़ाई करते हो. यह बात आपकी बिल्कुल गलत है. आप ऐसे करो के कागझ लिखकर नवाब निजाबतखानके पास भेज दो, के हमारे मुलजिम कुतुबजंग समंदखान है. उन दोनोंको पकडकर हमारे पास पानीपत भेज दो.

जमी तो भाऊरावको मुनकी बुलवाया ।  
 नजाबतखानके सामने रुक्का लिखवाया ।  
 पानीपत से कुतुबजंग तेरेपर आया ।  
 उन दोनोंको पकड़ दे तुझके फर्माया  
 तूने सूबा करूं लाहोरका दूं बहुती माया ।  
 सूना दूरसे हिंदमें धन लूटा खाया ।  
 तूने माल भराना तख्तपर गढकिला चुनाया ।  
 और घनेरो क्या कहूं परवाना तेरे पर आया ॥ २१ ॥

यह दोनों शक्स कुतुबजंग व समंदखान जो काबुलके हैं ये दोनों मेरे दुश्मन हैं, उन दोनोंके हाथोंमें हतकडी और पावोंमें बेड़ी डालकर मेरेपास पानीपत पहुंचा दे, तो मैं आपको पाउन करोडकी चौथाई देकर जाऊंगा वरना आपके लिये अच्छा न होगा, अहलकारेके हाथ कागझ कुंजपुरे शहरको चलता कर दिया, वो हलकारा कागझ लेकर कुंजपुरेमें पहुंचा, तो उस वक्त नवाबकी कचेरी लगी हुई थी, और कुतुबजंग और समंदखान दोनोंभी कचेरीमें बैठे हुये थे, नवाबने जिस वक्त भाऊका परवाना पढा तो उसी वक्त घुस्सेमें हो गया, वह कागझ फाड़कर फेंक दिया तो फिर भाऊके पास नवाब कुंजपुरेवालेने उलटही जवाब लिखा—

परवाना पढा नवाबनें कांपा पठान ।  
 भाऊ गरूर दिखाता क्या नकीं किरसान ।  
 तेरी मथुरा प्रिदावनका कर दिया कठलान ।  
 तेरे गिनगिन ढा दिये दोहरे हिंदके धान ।  
 सुक्रतालपर भरतिया मारा सुरग्यान ।  
 दत्ता दिल्ली लिया मार फौजों मुंडान ।  
 दत्ता मारा साहेवा मुहरा मुलतान ।  
 मैं लडे ना हट्या मेरी जात पठान ॥ २२ ॥

नवाब बहादुरने यह कागझ उलटाही भाऊके पास चलता कर दिया, यह कागझ अहलकारे वापस लेकर पानीपतके मक़ाममें भाऊसे दिया और उसको पढा, एक लख पौरन हुकम फौजको दिया के अब कुंजपुरा शहरपर चढाई करो,

हुकम दिया भाऊरावको दमामह घोर ।  
 तीन लाख घोड़ी चढी रणबंदी कोर ।  
 धरती ऊपर उडे धूल सुम्म बाजे पोद ।  
 बागोंको बेल तजे बिन तुझके दोर ।  
 पढा भगाना हिंदमें सुरक्षी लाहोर ।  
 डेरा दे दिया कुंजपुरा कांपे पिसावर ।  
 फंदीने जाल बिछा दिया कुंजपुरा हैरान चारों रोड ॥ २३ ॥

तो भाऊने जातेही अपना डेरा कुंजपुरेमें डाल दिया, तो वह कुतुबजंग व समंदखान भाऊसे डरकर एक पुरानी कश्तीमें जमनामें मअ दस हजार गिलचोंको लेकर रातभर पानीमें खडे रहे, जब सुबह का वक्त हुवा और मुल्लाने अज्ञान पुकारी तो उस वक्त कुतुबजंग और समंदखान दोनों नवाबकी कचेरीमें गये, तो नवाबसे कहा,

लङ्कर भाऊरावका पापडिथा डेरा ।  
 कुतुबजंग समंदखान उठ चल सबेरा ।  
 कहा नजाबतखानसे तू मर्द बडा बैरा ।  
 हमारा लङ्कर लेले किलेमें दे रैन बसेरा ।  
 हम बाहेर रहे बचते नहीं अब दूसर तेरा ।  
 हमारा पहुंचे गाझी पादशाह उठ फजर मबेरा ।  
 इतने हम तुम भाऊरावपर पकडे शमशीरा ।  
 इतना सुना नवाबको हसकर मुख फेरा ।  
 गामढोर ! तुम्हारा काम क्या, चले जाव, लढनेको मैदान  
 बहु तेरा ॥ २४ ॥

वह पर्वरिशखाना जो बादशाहका वहांपर पडा हुवा था वह और गल्ला अनाजका पडा हुवा सात लाख तीन करोड रुपियहपर बेईमान चुरा कर दोनोंको जवाब दे दिया, कह गल्ला अनाजका सात लाख तीन करोड रुपियह हमारे हां बच जायगा, उनको भाऊराव मार देगा. तो वह कुतुबजंग और समंदखान दोनों नवाबके सामने लाये नवाबसे कहा के अब दुश्मन हमारे ऊपर चढकर आगया और किसी तरह हमको दुश्मनोंसे बचा ले.

शाहसे कहे समंदखान सुन कुतुबजंग ।  
 नवाब निजाबतखानकी हुई अकलभंग ।  
 हम राखे लाली लाके, ता बातों ढंग ।  
 आप नचावं कंचनी बाजे वृदंग ।  
 मर्दोंके सर सेहरे मुख बरसे रंग ।  
 तुम बांधो कमर सिपाहियों पटेरो सुरंग ।  
 मरने सती क्यों डरो रन चढो न संग ।  
 प्राणनदीपर चल कर मचा दो जंग ॥ २५ ॥

उन दोनोंने कुतुबजंग समंदखानने कहा के अब नवाबकी क्यों इतिजार करते हो. अब भाऊके सामने लडनेके लिये तयार हो जाओ. दोनों शख्स वहां आये जहांपर उनके दस हजार जवान खडे हुवे थे. लडाईके ऊपर समंदखान चढा और कुतुबजंग वह अकेले बैठ गये. समंदखान दस हजार जवानको लेकर भाऊके मुकाबिलेपर लडनेके लिये चढता है. मोहरेके ऊपर तोपखाना लगा दिया. तो जिस बक्क गोला मारा तो दस हजारमेंसे पांच हजार जवान उडा दिये. बाकी बचे पांच हजार और समंदखान उनको अपनी तलवार बजानी भाऊकी फौजके साथ शुरू कर दी. तो भाऊने यह कहा कह उनमें समंदखान कोन है. जनकाने कहा के वह समंदखान है जो लडता है. के कुतुबजंग नहीं है के जवाब दिया नहीं है. तो भाऊने सीताराम मरेठेसे कहा वो डुबेरी शहरका मरेठा रहनेवाला था के तुम मारो समंदखानको. तो सीताराम मरेठा यह बात सुनकर समंदखानके मुकाबिलेपर आता है. तो वो सीताराम मरेठा समंदखानको मार दिया है. उसके ऊपर बलवंतराजी भाऊका साला आते है. उस भाऊके सालाको समंदखान मार दिया है.

तोप अजलका जबर जंग कडके जंबूर ।  
 उडे सिपाहियां टुकडे हो चिकनाचूर ।  
 मूर्ती होगी सुखरंग जानो खंडा सिंदूर ।  
 तेगा सुत समंदखान मन भरा गुरूर ।

तेगा मारा अंतमान के बैठा भरपूर ।  
 सूबेका सर काटके धड गिराया दूर ।  
 बलवंत रावजी घोड़े रन आये हुजूर ।  
 तेगा मारे खान समंद के बैठा भरपूर ।  
 खान घोड़ेसे नीचे पड़ा, खानको ले जाती अशौंकी हूर ॥ २६ ॥

के जब समंदखान मर गया और पांच हजार गिलचे थे उनमेंसे एक हजार गिलचा बाकी रह गया. तो समंदखानके दो बेटे थे. एकका नाम मुहम्मदीखान और दूसरेका नाम बहादरखान था. वह दोनों अपने बापकी लाशपर टूटकर पड़े. दखन कहे के हम उसका सर उठावे और काबूल कहे के हम उसका सर उठावे.

खानके ऊपर दौड़े वॉही खानके यार ।  
 डूके मुघल विलायती देकर ललकार ।  
 जंगी मिस्त्री बाजे कडाकीड होती झनकार ।  
 सौदा तुले सरहों नर करे ब्यौहार ।  
 एकेकपर दो दो पड़े रन लगा बाझार ।  
 मर्द घोड़ेका पड़ा खेत बारा हझार ।  
 प्राननदी दूगनी लगी निक्तर धार ॥ २७ ॥

एक जसवंतलाल मरेठा था जो पूनेका रहनेवाला था. उसने सोचा के मैं समंदखानके बेटेको मारूं. तो समंदखानका बेटा बहादरखान उसके ऊपर पहुँचा. वह जसवंतलाल बहादरखानको मार दिया. बहादरखानके ऊपर शमशेरबहादर सूरमा चला. तो वो नानारावके चचाके बेटा था उसने बहादरखान मार दिया.

खानके ऊपर बोडा वा खानका चेला ।  
 आवे पुस्तु बोलता हात लेकर सेला ।  
 सन्मुख जसवंतलालके धर कुब्बत पेला ।  
 काडाजंग हलूलके धड बाप अकेला ।  
 शमशीर बहादर बूडा सावंत अलबेला ।  
 झनका खींचा पटा पटीतने जानों नाग संपला ।  
 मारा बहादरखानके था असल सुखेला ॥ २८ ॥

एक हचार गिलचोंमेंसे कुल दसवीस बकाया रह गये. बाकी सब खतम हो गये. तो फिर कुतुबजंग बुलवाया कह अब तेरा यार समंदखान मर गया. फिर कुतुबजंग रनमे आकर तलवार सूतकर लड़नेके लिये तयार हो गया. तो लड़ते लड़ते कुतुबजंगको बहोत देर हो गयी. तो फिर भाऊ झनका बहादरसे बोला कुतुबजंग कोन है के यह लड़ता है कुतुबजंग. कुतुबजंगके मुकाबिलेपर पहुँचा. भाऊने खटकाजी महाराज पूनेके रहनेवाले थे, वह कुतुबजंगके मुकाबिलेपर आये. तो वो खटकाजी महाराज बड़े पहिलवान कुश्ती लड़नेवाले थे. तो वो मार दिये कुतुबजंगको. तो फिर भाऊने नुजुमी बुलवाया. नुजुमीसे पूछा के यह कुतुबजंग किसके हाथसे मरना चाहिये. तो नुजूमियोंने कहा के मुसलमानके हाथसे मरना चाहिये. यह सय्यिद है और हिंदूके हाथसे नहीं मरेगा. तो भाऊके पास नौकर सय्यिद फतहअली था. वह मुकाबिलेपर कुतुबजंगके भेजा, के तुम कुतुबजंगको मारो. कुतुबजंगने पशतूम कहाके ए सय्यिद तुम मुझपर तीर मत मारो. मेरे पीछे जो गिलचे खड़े हुवे है

उनके मारो. जातपर जातके न मारना चाहिये. सख्यद फतहअलीको कुतुबजंग बचा दिया. मुहम्मदखानका जो समंदखानका बेटा था उसके तीर मारा.

कुतबजंग रबमें मंडा जोधा धंगताली ।  
 समंदखानके मेरे पर शमशीर संभाली ।  
 खटकाजी महाराजकी भाई बेढाली ।  
 जिसकी कमर काढकाढी कटी सिपाहियाना खाली ।  
 सख्यद बूढा फतहअली कमान संभाली ।  
 क्यों तरकशते काडता कीती कर झाली ।  
 कान बराबर तानके छोडा जलाली ।  
 तीर मारा मुहम्मदीखानके घट तोडा माली ।  
 जूं मतवाला झुका खेत बाहर खडा कलाली ॥ २९ ॥

तो जब यह जवान कुतुबजंगके मर गये तो यह अकेला रह गया, तो उसने भागना सोचा. के अब तुम्हारी आवरुमें कुछ फरक नहीं. क्यों के भाऊने पासमें और फौज है. फिर कहा के नवाबसे मुझे पोशीदा करले. मैं अकेला हूं, मेरी जान बचा ले. तो नवाबको फिरभी जवाब दे दिया. फिर रनमें आकरके लडाई शुरू करदी.

कुतुबजंगको गदूतका फैला सुरंग ।  
 किलेके फाटक बढ रहे बाहर खडे मलंग ॥  
 घोडेसे नीचे उतरकर सहारा तंग ।  
 प्राननदीपर आकर मचा दिया जंग ।  
 गोला लग गया तिन्हहका उड गया सुरंग ।  
 जीवन पकडा कुतुबजंग, रही दिलमें लडने की उमंग ॥ ३० ॥

भाऊके सामने कुतुबजंगकी उलटी सुलटी मुस्क बांधकर लाये. तो भाऊने पूछा, तू तो बडा मर्द था. मेरे सामने कुछ नहीं अटका. उसने कहा के हुजूर, तेरे पास तीन लाख फौज थी. और मेरे पास दस हजार फौज थी. मैं कहां लड सकूं ? अबभी मुझे अकेलेको छोड दे, तब भी मैं अकेला लड सकता हूं.

कुतुबजंगको पकडके कर बांधा पटका ।  
 लाके भाऊराव पर झुक गया अटका ।  
 दखनका राजा हांसा अब पकडा खटका ।  
 तू बडा मर्द कुतुबजंग था घडी एक ना अटका ।  
 कुतुबजंगसे भाऊरावसे फिर सुना दिया लटका ।  
 तेरे तीन लाख मेरे दस हजारने किया झटका ।  
 सागरसे दर्याको क्या सूखे मटका ।  
 मेरा छन मंतरका काम था तमाशा तेरा नटका ।  
 अबके हीला बाजोंसे छोड दे फिर दिखाऊं झटका ॥ ३१ ॥

तो भाऊने कुतुबजंगको नहीं छोडा. और हुक्म दिया के उसको कतल करो. जल्लाद लेकर कुतुबजंगको मारनेके लिये खनी अस्तानके बीच चले. तो कुतुबजंगने जल्लादोंसे कहा, के तुम्हारे अप्सरने मेरे वास्ते क्या हुक्म दिया. तो जल्लादोंने कहा के आपको कतल करनेका हुक्म दिया. के



भाई मेरा नमाझका वक्त है अगर तुम मुझे नमाझके वास्ते पानी दे दो तो नमाझ अदा करने के बाद मुझे फिर कतल कर देना. कुतुबजंग नमाझ आदा की. फिर कहा के ऐ अह्ला, हम धोकेमें देकर इस नवाब कुंजपुरावालेने मरवा दिये है के खुदा उसका बेडा गर्क करे. तो जल्लादोंने कुतुबजंगको कतल कर दिया. उसका सर उठाकर भाऊके पास पहुंचा दिया. पूछा भाऊने जल्लादोंसे के कुतुबजंग तुमसे कुछ कहता था ? के हमारे सामने हुजूर यह कहा के हम नवाब कुंजपुरेने धोकेमें डाल कर मरवा दिये. खुदा उसका बेडा गर्क करे. उसी वक्त नवाब के ऊपर भाऊरावने चढाई की, नवाबको पकडो. जाते ही नवाबको पकड लिया, के हमको खझाना दो. नवाबको इनकारी की के मेरे पास खझाना नहीं है मैं कहाँसे आपको खझाना दूं. तो नवाबको फिर तलती मिर्च कटवा कर तोबरेमें डाल कर बंदवा दी, तो फिर मिर्च चढ गई. फिर बोला के हुजूर यह सात लाख रूपियह यहाँसे खोद लो. फिर नवाबकी राई लगाई के हमको और खझाना दो के हम तुमको (आगमें) झोंक देंगे. फिर खौफसे नवाबने तीन करोड दिया. वही खझाना नवाबके पास से तीन करोड सात लाख वसूल किया. वह खझाना बादशाहका था. फिर नवाब छोड दिया. जो गल्ला अनाजका था बादशाहका वह सब फूंक दिया. आग लगा दी. दरबार लगा कर कुतुबजंगका सर डाली बनाकर वह शादराह पहुंचा दी के तुम आवो. क्यों शादराह छुपे बैठे हो. तुम आकर मेरे मुकाबलेपर आकर पानीपत जंग करो.

जबही तो भाऊरावको लाया दरबार ।

कुतुबजंग सीसपर लपटा रुमाल ।

भिगी बेग सजाके लिये जाओ कहार ।

शादराहमें शाहका लग रहा दरबार ।

मेरी शाहसे कहो बंदगी दो हुरूफ सुधार ।

दखनका आया पेशवा माँगें मैदान.....? ॥ ३२ ॥

तो वह कहार लोग कुतुबजंग व समंदखानका सर लेकर शादराह पहुंच गये. तो बादशाहका दरबार मौजूद था. तो जाकर भेंगी रख दी. और पूछा के यह कहाँसे आयी है ! यह पानीपत मकामसे आयी है. यह दखनकी मेवा है. आप इसको खोलो. जब भेंगी बादशाहको खोली एक सर निकला कुतुबजंगका, एक भेंगीमें समंदखानका सर निकला. दोनोंके सर देखकर बादशाह रोया. के अब चढो भाऊके मुकाबले पर.

सर देखा खान समंदका गिलचा भपकाया ।

मेरे कुतुबजंगको मार कर भाऊ गरभाया ।

जंगपर चढा नजीबखान जिने बंधा रचाया ।

शहझादह चढता तंबूरशाह जिने पील सजाया ।

तबल तमंचा कराबैं हौदा भरवाया ।

गुजर चढा गुलाबसिंग रायीका जाया ।

गौरीपुर पनवाडी आगये ख्वाजा चढा जो पाया ॥ ३३ ॥

जब उस घाटेके ऊपर बादशाहकी फौज आयी तो जमना चढी हुई थी. कोई रास्ता पार होनेको नहीं मिला. तो गोजर गुलाबने कहा बादशाहसे के हुजूर तुम इस जमनाकी भीट दो. तो बादशाहने एक पानका बीडा और पांच पैसे मनसूरी यह भेंट दिया ख्वाजा की. आधा दर्या इधर हट गया आधा उधर. बीचको रास्ता हो गया. तब पादशाहको अपनी फौज उतारी

साहिब हुमरो अपना सब हक ताला ।  
 शाहने जमनातीरका भर लिया प्याला ।  
 शहशादह तंबूरको पीला संझाला ।  
 उतर पडा दरयाबपार लडनेको काजा ।  
 सोनीपतमें भाऊरावका जब थाना भागा ॥ ३४ ॥

तो बादशाहने फौज उतार कर एक खेड़ागांव है जाटोंका वहां हिमतसिंग जाटकी कमान चढ़ी हुई थी उसके पास आया, कहा के तुम भी मेरे साथ पानीपत चलो. भाऊसे लड़ेंगे.

फौजा अहमदशाहको सब पार उतारी ।  
 झार झार रोये पादशाह तिस आसूं डारी ।  
 हिमतसिंग आंट मिलाकर कर ताबेदारी ।  
 शाहने बख्शा सरोपा घोडा कंधारी ।  
 मेरा पानीपत मुकाबिला होती है भारी ।  
 चौसठ बैठी जल जोगन लबों हाथ भवारी ॥ ३५ ॥

तो पादशाहको अपना डेरा कहाँ किया पसनियाके नीचे. यह सब नवाब इकट्ठे थे. अगले रोज लखनौका नवाब नासिरुद्दौला बुलाया गया, पीलीभीतका मुघलबेग नवाब बुलाया गया. फर्रुखाबाद बरेलीका नवाब बंगश अहमदखान वह बुलवाया. नजीबाबादका नवाब नजीबखान वह भी बुलवाया. ये तमाम नवाब इकट्ठे करके गोजर गुलाबसिंग, अन्धेरावाला हिमतसिंग जाट ये दरबारमें मौजूद थे और तीस पानका बीड़ा और नंगी तलवार निकालकर रखदी अब भाऊके मुकाबिलेपर चढो कोन जवाब चढता है? तो पहले नवाब नजीबखान चढा. एक उसका चचा (इ) बिराहीमखान वो चढा. बावन हजार फौज ली. छाजीर गांवकी थलीपर आकर खडे हो गये. वही लढाईका मैदान था.

दो दलके मोहरा मिले रनखंब घड़ाया ।  
 छतरपति निरछुटे भूपभारत मचाया ।  
 गिलचा अहमदशाको नवाब बुलवाया ।  
 तुम देखो भाऊरावको दल कैसे लाया ।  
 जंगपर चढा नजीबखान ले पैदल धाया ।  
 चंदनखान उस्मानखान मुल्ला मनभाया ।  
 गूजर चढा गुलाबसिंग रायाका जाया ।  
 जिनका रनखंब झेंडा घडा माली बाग लगाया ॥ ३६ ॥

जब बादशाहकी तरफने अमीर व नवाब लडनेके लिये चढ गये तो हलकारोंने जाकर भाऊसे कहा के नजीबखान नवाब बावन हज़ार फौज लेकर चढा. तो भाऊने तीस पानका बीड़ा नंगी तलवार रख दी के अब साडे छे सूबे दखनमेंसे चढो कोन चढता है नवाब नजीबखानके मुकाबिलेमें बीड़ा कोन खाकर चढा? बलवंतराव भाऊका साला बावन हज़ार फौज लेकर चढा. अजंटा शहरके रहनेवाला था. एक बलवंतरावके चचाका बेटा था. उसका नाम बीठलराव था. हाथीका सवार था. चढकर वह भी छाजपूरकी थलीपर चढकर आये. नवाबके मुकाबिलेपर आये. तो बलवंतरावके पास पिंडारे लोग थे जो तेदादमें नऊतो थे. उन लोगोंको जाकर हाथी (इ) बराहीमखानका घरे लिया जो नजीबखानका चचा था. उन पिंडारे लोगोंको वह हाथी भी मारा (इ) बराहीमखानका सरभी काट लिया.

जमी तो भाऊरावपर कोके हलकारे ।  
 जंगपर चढा नजीबखान ले साहू सारे ।  
 इन दखनके सूरमे नीचो भिखारे ।  
 हटा हटा कर फोडे ढोके पिंडारे ।  
 नौसों तेरा येक बार तुकों तन मारे ।  
 बराहीमखानके पीलपर बाजे दो धारे ।  
 तलवारों पील तराशके परबत कारे ।  
 सर काटा बराहीमखानका घड नीचे डारे ।  
 कलमा कहके नबीका खानकी रूह बहिश्तमें सुधारे ॥ ३७ ॥

जब नजीबखानका चचा मर गया तो नजीबखानको देखा, और अपनी फौजसे कहा के अय हाइयों मेरा चचा मर गया, मेरे चचाका बैर लो, तो नजीबखानके पास कटेरके पठान थे नौसो आदमी, उन नौसो आदमियोंको हाथी बलवंतरावका घेर लिया, तो उन पठान लोगोंको हाथी भी मारा और बलवंतरावका सर भी (उ) तार लिया.

बराहीमखानके बैर पे कोपी कटेर ।  
 पठानों करे उठाई जानों भूखे शेर ।  
 हाथी राव बलवंतका उन लिया घेर ।  
 हौदोंमें नेक्षे गठें बाजे शमशेर ।  
 तलवारों पील तराशके मार कर दिया ढेर ।  
 सर काटा राव बलवंतका घड दिया घेर ।  
 बीठल भाऊराव पर चला सुख फेर ।  
 तेरा रन चढा बलवंतराव बडा सांवंध शेर ।  
 सुन भाऊ मुंडे है आते आसूं घेर ॥ ३८ ॥

तो भाऊरावने अपने सालेका सुनकर बडा रंज किया और कहा इनकाबहादुरसे के मेरे सालेका बैर ला दे, तो इनका बहादुर लढाईके ऊपर चढा, और एक चढा होलकर मल्हार उज्जैन शहरके रहनेवाला था, तो इनका बहादुरने बडी जोर की तलवार बजाई, एक दर्याखान बलूच था, शामलीके पास पकी गढीके रहनेवाला था, वो जाते ही मार दिया.

इनका चढता सिंदिया होलकर मल्हार ।  
 सिकरे छोडे बाजदार खेलन शिकार ।  
 इनकाने दर्याखान बलोचके मारी तलवार ।  
 तनमें (उ)तर गी खानके जानो साबुन तार ।  
 मिसरी बाजे कडाकीड होती इनकार ।  
 सुद्र तले सरहों नर करे बेबहार ।  
 मर्द घोडेका पडा खेत बारा हम्मार ।  
 सेतर बाजी जीते जिते देगा वह सच्चा कर्तार ॥ ३९ ॥

इनका बहादुरसे लडते ही पठान लोक बहोत उलटे हटे और कान मान गये, और कहा नजीबखानको, हलकारेसे कहा के तुम पसनियाके बडके नीचे जाव और बादशाहसे कहो जाकर के नजीबखानकी मदद भेजो, तो बादशाहने सुनते ही शाहपसंद नसबची को भेजा जो काबुलका

जवान था, के तुम नजीबखानकी मददपर जाव. तो नवा गिलचा लेकर शाहपसंद नसक्ची छाजपूरकी थलीपर लडनेके लिये आता है. एक सीताराम मरेठा मुकाबिलेपर आगया. शाहपसंद नसक्चीके सीताराम डुब्री शहरके रहनेवाला था. शाहपसंद नसक्चीको आता ही वह मार दिया—

शाहपसंद नसक्चीने घोड़ा धमकाया ।  
 सन्मुख सीतारामके एड लगाया ।  
 तांश तोला तुर्कने नेम्रा फिर उठाया ।  
 (उठा पटक दिया धरन पे नट बांस खिलाया ।  
 शमशीर बहादुर सूरमा मनमें घुस आया ।  
 चचने रत्नीचा पटा डैबतने जानों नाग खिलाया ।  
 शाहपसंद सूरमापर धरें वार चलाया ।  
 तुर्कतुरंगके करे चार धरनी ठैराया ।  
 दो दिल करें सराहता धनसूरे तेरी जनती जाया ॥ ४० ॥

जब बादशाहने मददगार शाहपसंद नसक्ची भेजा था तो वह शमशीस्वहादुर सूरमाने मार दिया. शमशीरबहादुर पूनेके रहनेवाला था. शाहपसंदके मरेपर नजीबखान भाग गया. मरेठोंका मुकाबिला छोडकर के भाग गया. तो माधोराम मरेठा नानारावका बेटा था उसने सोचा के मैं पस-नियाके पेडके नीचे चलूं, आज ही अहमदशाह बादशाहको मार दूं. अघाड़ी कोन खड़ा हुवा था ? गोजर गुलाबसिंग जांपर अब बापौली गांव बसता है यहांपर माधोराम मराठेके मारा. तो वह मर गया. उसकी रही फौज काले आमके नीचे आई.

शाहपसंदके मरनेपर जब हटे पठान ।  
 तिरछे नेजे कर दिये जानो नकसाभान ।  
 पैदल कटी नवाब माचा भतियास (?) ।  
 जंग देखे खान नजीबने जब गये अवसान ।  
 डोर कटी रनखंबकी झंडा गिरजान ।  
 गोजर खड़ा गुलाबसिंग लेवन हात कमान ।  
 तीर मारा माधोरामके अर्जुन की साबान ।  
 हौदेसे नीचे पड़ा तब गया परान ।  
 शाम हो गयी दिन छुप गया ना रद्दी अपने पराईकी पहचान ॥ ४१ ॥

भाऊ जिस रोज पहिली लढाई नजीबखानसे जीता था उस दिन हवा पछवा चल रही थी. अगले रोज हवा पूर्वा चल गई. तो तेनीश हजार लाश पड़ी हुवी थी हिंदू मुसलमानकी, वह तसाम सड गई. उनकी बदबू भाऊके लश्कर तक पहुंची. तो भाऊने अहमद-शाहके पास कागद भेजा के तू अपनी मुसलमान की लाश पहचान कर उठा ले, मैं अपनी हिंदूकी लाश उठा लूंगा. और ये लडाईका मैदान साफ हो जायगा. तब हमारा तुम्हारा मुकाबिला होगा. क्यों के मेरे लश्करमें बदबू पहुंच गयी है.

भाऊने अहमदशाहपर भेजा वकील ।  
 शाहसे कहियो बंदगी लडनेकी डील ।  
 भारत माचा पड़ा जंग रन जो जे पीर ।  
 रन ते लोथ उठा लूं तक रखे डील ।

जिन सर चोड़ ढले थे खाजीनू चील ।  
 चार घड़ी सुस्ता जे मार भर दो झील ।  
 पकड़ूं अहमदशाहने निस भरूं लील ।  
 पकड़ूं खान नजीबने सर ठोकों कील ।  
 सर कर दूं खुंट कंधारकी जहां ताथे लेते फील ( भील ) ॥ ४२ ॥

यह कागझ भाऊने अहमदशाहपर पसनीयाके बडके नीचे भेजा तो अहमदशाहने भाऊकी बातें सुनकर नामंजुरी कर दी. के मैं तो मुसलमान आदमी हूं. मैं नहीं लाशको उठा सकता हूं. अगर तेरे हां लाश चाहिये हैं तो अपनी तमाम लाशोंको उठा कर पूने सतारेको भेज दो.

भाऊने अहमदशाह पे भेजे खबर ।  
 लाश उठा के करूं क्या मिट्टी किनार ।  
 उनके ऊपर पड़े और हूरी निसार ।  
 मेरा तेरा बड़ी खंजरने जंग फिर पकड़ूं तलवार ।  
 मेरी तेरी जो पेड बची रही जंगकी पांसा और सार ।  
 सही नर्द मर्द है घर आवे मार ।  
 जो जीते सो करे राज तेरा पूना मेरी कंधार ॥ ४३ ॥

तो भाऊके पास यह कागझ लिखकर बादशाहने काले आमके नीचे भेज दिया. तो भाऊ यह बात सुनकर गुस्सेमें हो गया. फिर कागझ उलटा भेजा के मेरा तेरा एकसे एक का जंग है. एक आदमी तेरा होगा, एक मेरा होगा. इन दोनोंमेंसे एक मरे तब दूसरा उसके पास जाय. यह अहमदशाहने सुनकर मंजूर कर ली. हम एकसे एक ही लड़ाएंगे. उलटाही पादशाहने कागद भेजा के चढाव किसको चढाते हो. तो भाऊने नारू शंकर सूरमा उनके पास था जो बडा बहादुर था वह चढाया के तुम जा कर लडो, अस्सी हजार का उस्ताद था पट्टा सिखानेवाला. अहमदशाहकी तरफ कोन चढा ? के वंगश अहमदखान फर्रुखाबाद बरेलीका नवाब बावन हजार फौज लेकर चढाई कर दी. छाजपूरकी थली के ऊपर उनका मुकाबिला हुवा. तीन लाख तेतीस हज़ार फौज तमाशा देखनेके लिये नारू शंकरके आयी

नारू चढतां सूरमा कर दोहाई दोहाई ।  
 अहमदखानके मोरचे आया राड जगाई ।  
 साबिरखानको सुनी बात घोड़ी धमकाई ।  
 नारूने खेंची म्यानसे बिजली चमकाई ।  
 साबिरखान पठानके तन बरछी लाई ।  
 खानका सीना गई तोड बैठी हडकाई ।  
 खेत लडने सूरमा धन सूर तेरी जग्गी माई ॥ ४४ ॥

के तीन भाई कटेर रहनेवाले थे. बडा साबिरखान, छोटा सादतखान, उससे छोटा सादलखान. बडा भाई साबिरखान नारू शंकरको मार दिया. अब छोटा भाई सादतखान नारू शंकरके मुकाबिले जाता है.

नारू शंकर सूरमा सर तुरा न चावे ।  
 है कोई दलमें सूरमा मेरे मोहरे आवे ।  
 सादतखानको सुनी बात घोडा धमकावे ।

नारू शंकर सूरमा पे धरवार चलावे ।  
 आगे दखनी मर्द पटाइत था धर चोट बचावे ।  
 नारूने खींची म्यानसे बीजली चमकावे ।  
 सादतखान पठानकी तन बिरछी लावे ।  
 खेत छडे सूरमा धन नेरी जननी मातारे ॥ ४५ ॥

उनके दिलमें नारू शंकरकी बहादरी जच् गई के वो दो लाख नव्वे हजार को यह अकेला ही काफी है। तो बंगश अहमदखानको अपनी फौजकी तरफ झंडी मारी, के है कोई नारू शंकरको मारे ? सादिलखानके बंडे दो भाई नारू शंकरको मार दिये थे। उसके दिलपर कुछ असर पडा के यातो मुझे नारू शंकर मारेगा या मैं उसे मारू दूंगा, मैं अकेला ही जीकर क्या करूंगा। तब मेरे दोनो भाई मारे गये।

बंगश अहमदखानको मुख बोली बानी ।  
 है कोई दलमें सूरमा जाया पूत पठानी ।  
 सादिलखानको सुनी बात खींची कुरदानी ।  
 नारू शंकर सूरमा यह भाई जमधानी ।  
 जिसका टूट चला मैदानमें नक्तार पानी ।  
 सीस घमंदे धरती पे तीरती मुरघानी ।  
 मुगल् पठानो करा जोर मचा दी घानी ॥ ४६ ॥

नारू शंकर जो सूरमा था वो सादिलखान पठानके बेटे को मार दिया। भाऊ यह कहता था के अस्सी हजार जवानोंका बहादर यह मेरा सूरमा है, इसको कितने आदमी मारे हैं। अहलकारने जाकर कहा काले आमके नीचे भाऊसे के दो आदमी उसें मारे हैं एकने उसको मार दिया। तो नारू शंकरका यार संता बाग था वह उसकी आगमें पडा। उसे मुकाबलेमें तलवार बजाई। वो संता बाग फिर उस सादिलखान पठानको मारा। फिर एकसे एककी लडाई बंद हो गई। फिर उसका रसद रोकनेका इन्तजाम किया। बादशाहकी रसद आती थी म्यान दोआबसे। बुलंद शहर गलोटी बादशाहकी रसदगाह थी। वहां जाकर बुंदेले मरेठे। को बादशाहकी रसद रोक की, यही अकल भाऊकी थी के उसकी रसद रुक जायगी तो यह सर हो जायगा।

भाऊ लिखता पेशवा बांचो बुंदेला ।  
 हाती भेजा सरोपा पगोटा सेला ।  
 शाहकी रसदां रोख दे सर हो रोहेला ।  
 हींदन नदीपर डेरा किया जा झंडा खोला ॥ ४७ ॥

के जिस वक्त बादशाहकी भाऊरावने रसद रोक दी, तो अहमदशाह पादशाहके लष्करमें कहन पड गया। तो पादशाहने कहा के मेरा रसद किसको बंद किया है ? कहा के भाऊको रोक दिया। तो अहमदशाह पादशाहका भतीजा बक्षी जहानखान था। उससे पादशाहने कहा के तुम रसद छुटवाकर लाव। तो वह बक्षी जहानखान बारा हजार फौज लेकर चला।

लश्कर अहमदशाहके कोके मुकेरी (?) ।  
 बुंदेलेने मियां दोआब तेरी रसदां घेरी ।  
 बक्षी कहे जहानखान अब बियां तेरी ।

पीर मनालिया हिंदका खाजा अजमेरी ।

उतर पड़ा दर्यापार जायगा बभेरी (?) ॥ ४८ ॥

उस बक्षी जहानखानको एक सर बुंदेलका काटा, अपनी रसद छुटवा दी, फिर भाऊकी रसदां रोक दी. कहाँ रोकी कसबा घरघोंदा जा रोकी फिर रसद रोकी भाऊकी दस्ताना ( भाद-डस्ताना ? ) गांवमें, वो दिल्लीके गांव है. फिर भाऊके लश्करमें कहत आन पड गया.

लश्कर भाऊरावके पड्या कहत काल ।

घोड़े घूमे घास बिन दानेकी टाल ।

फिरे सिपाही पृच्छते आटा और डाल ॥ ४९ ॥

तो भाऊकी फौजने बावन पहर भूकीको हो गया. अनपानी नहीं मिला. और सोचा के बहुत बुरी हुई. एक मोहोर पचीस रुपयेकी थी उसका एक कटोरा पानी पानीपतकी थलीपर मिला. पचीस रुपियेकी सेर एक कणीक पुरानी मिली. फिर बादशाहको लिखा तू मेरीसाथ क्यों नहीं लडता. फिर जंगपर चढा कुंवर बिस्वासरा मरेठा. बावन पहरका भूखा था. तीन लाख तेतीस हजार फौज लेकर चढा हाथीका सवार. तो अपने बापसे कागझ भेजकर चला. उसमें रामराम लिखी और जय हर नाम लिखी. के जो हम पानीपत लडनेके लिये आये थे तो हमारी फौजमें कहत पड गया. हमको अन्नपानी नहीं मिलता. तो नानारावके पास वह कागझ पहुंचा वह वहांसे खजाना लेकर चल दिया.

बावन पहरमें रावको एक लिखी कहानी ।

नाना सेते रामराम और लिखी जौहारी ।

मेरी मातासे कहियो बंदगी और लिखी जौहारी ।

बायल मोहर कटोरा बिक रहा लश्करमें पानी ।

पचीस रुपया धिके सेर वह कनिक पुरानी ॥ ५० ॥

तो महाराज फौज लेकर छाजपूरकी थलीपर लडनेके लिये आया. तो अहमदशाह बादशाहको खबर हुई के दखनका सूबा अपने आपही चढा है तो फिर बादशाह भी चढा. बादशाहका बेटा तंबूरशाह भी चढा है. और घेठा गाझानखान भी चढा. और बक्षी जहानखान भी चढा. जितने फिर नवाब थे तमाम चढ गये. तो बादशाहने कहा अपने बेटे गाझानखानसे के तूम कुंवर बिस्वासरा मेरठेको मारो. कहने लगा के अच्छा अब्बाजान मैं उसको मारूंगा तो कुंवर बिस्वासराके हाथीपर जा चढा.

देखा गाझानखांको राजा अंबारी ।

हाथी हौदा जा चढा बडा मर्द खिलाडी ।

आगे नानाजीके कुंवरको कराबेन उभारी ।

दस्त रवां धर रावके तन गोली मारी ।

गिलचा हौदेसे नीचे पडा धरती लर्जी सारी ।

डेरा जीता रहा खेत गिलचा कंधारी ॥ ५१ ॥

जब पादशाहका बेटा गाझानखान कुंवर बिस्वासराको मार दिया. फिर तंबूरशाहको देखा के मेरा भाई उसने मार दिया. तो दूरसे कमानपर तीर चढा लिया महाराजके हल्कमें मारा. बक्षी जहानखानको कुंवर बिस्वासरायके कलीजेके अंदर गोली मारा.

शहसादा खून लिये हाथ तर्किसा सर्काया ।  
 के बरकाव हाकटोका जयपर छहराया ।  
 तीर मारा कुंवर बिस्वासराका झुक नीचे आया ।  
 वझीर बहादुर हिंदका तमंचा उठाया ।  
 गोली मारी कुंवरके झुक नीचे आया ।  
 टुटा फूल गुलाबका राजा कुम्हलाया ।  
 खेत लडे है सूरमा धन सूर तेरी जनती जाया ॥ ५२ ॥

जब कुंवर बिस्वासरा मार दिया तब दखनकी फौज हैरान हो गई, तो अहलकारा लोग दौड़ कर भाऊके पास काले अगमके नीचे आये, भाऊने पूछा के लड़ाईका क्या हाल है? अहलकारोंको कहा के कुंवर बिस्वासरा मर गया, तो कुंवर बिस्वासराकी सुनवर रोया,

हलकारा कुंवर बिस्वासराके आये भाऊ पास ।  
 बेटा नानारावका मर गया बिस्वास ।  
 सुनकर भाऊ पेशवा ले उभे सांस ।  
 अब मेरा दखन आचनजानका छुटा भैवास ।  
 नाना पूछे पेशवा कहां है बिस्वास ।  
 क्या मुंह लेकर जाऊंगा नानाके पास ॥ ५३ ॥

अब मेरा दखनमें जानेका काम नहीं रहा, यह बात सुनकर भाऊ हाथीपर सवार हुवा और लष्करमें जहां जंग होता था आया,

भाऊ कहता पेशवा मेरा हाथी होलो ।  
 कुंवर मरा बिस्वासरा दखनका दूल्हा ।  
 यहां लोटे मैदानमें वहां तुलतां फूलों ।  
 दखन आचनजानका अब रस्ता भूलो ।  
 क्या थारी आखें मिच गई यहां बैठे टोलो ॥ ५४ ॥

जितने फिर जवान बाकी थे सब भाऊके साथ चढ गये, होलकर मल्हार जो उजैनके रहनेवाले थे वह झंडेके मालिक थे, सुर्ख झंडा दिया करते थे, इतने लड़ाई रहा करती थी, गिर्दगुबार पानीपतकी थलीपर छा गया, एक दूसरेकी फौजमें कोई तमीज नहीं रही, जो आगे आता था उसे कतल कर देता था, भाऊके साथ होलकर मल्हारको दुश्मनी की, सुर्ख झंडा जो देते थे वह नीचे गिरा दिया, हरी झंडी फौजसे देदी व फौज फिर भाऊकी भाग गई, और भाऊ भी हैरान रह गया, एक गाऊं भाऊपूर है वहां हैरान होकर चले गये, वहां एक फकीर रहता था, उनके पास जाकर रहने सहने लगे, वहांसे बहोत दिन रहा, फिर वहांसे किराना पार चले गये, जो जवान दखनी रह गये थे, सबके अंदर तलवार निकाल दी, जो भाग गया सो भाग गया, खजाना वगैरा जो सामान था सब यही हिंदुस्तान रह गया, कोई छेने न पाये,

तो यह किस्सा भाऊका जो जोडा पानीपत निगाहीने जोडा, यह उसको गाया है, यह वाकअ सनह १७८१ इसवीमें बमकाम पानीपतकी तीसरी लड़ाईकी बाबत हुआ है, जो के मरेठों और अहमदशाहके दरमियान हुई,



# STUDIES IN PREHISTORY OF THE DECCAN (MAHARASHTRA): A SURVEY OF THE GODĀVARI AND THE KĀDVA, NEAR NĪPHAD

By

H. D. SANKALIA

## I INTRODUCTION

The thirties of this century seem to be auspicious for prehistoric studies in India. These were revived in South India in 1930, while the first systematic attempt to study North Indian prehistory was made almost in the same year, and the work carried on for several field seasons. Slight, but important work was done in Western India, near Bombay, about the same time. Similar work is also started in Bengal.<sup>1</sup> Amid these studies here grouped regionally one feels the absence of any study in the Deccan, particularly that portion of the table land (or plateau) which is bounded in the north by the Tapti, and in the south by the Krishna, in the east by the Mānjra and the Wainganga and in the west by the narrow fringe of the Konkan lowlands. The area so covered is at present called Mahārāshtra. Its present boundaries may be coterminous with that of Mahārāshtra mentioned in an inscription of the 7th century.<sup>2</sup> Those who had studied the finds from South India, as well as from Gujarat, had felt the necessity of doing some work in this part,<sup>3</sup> which forms an intervening portion between these areas.

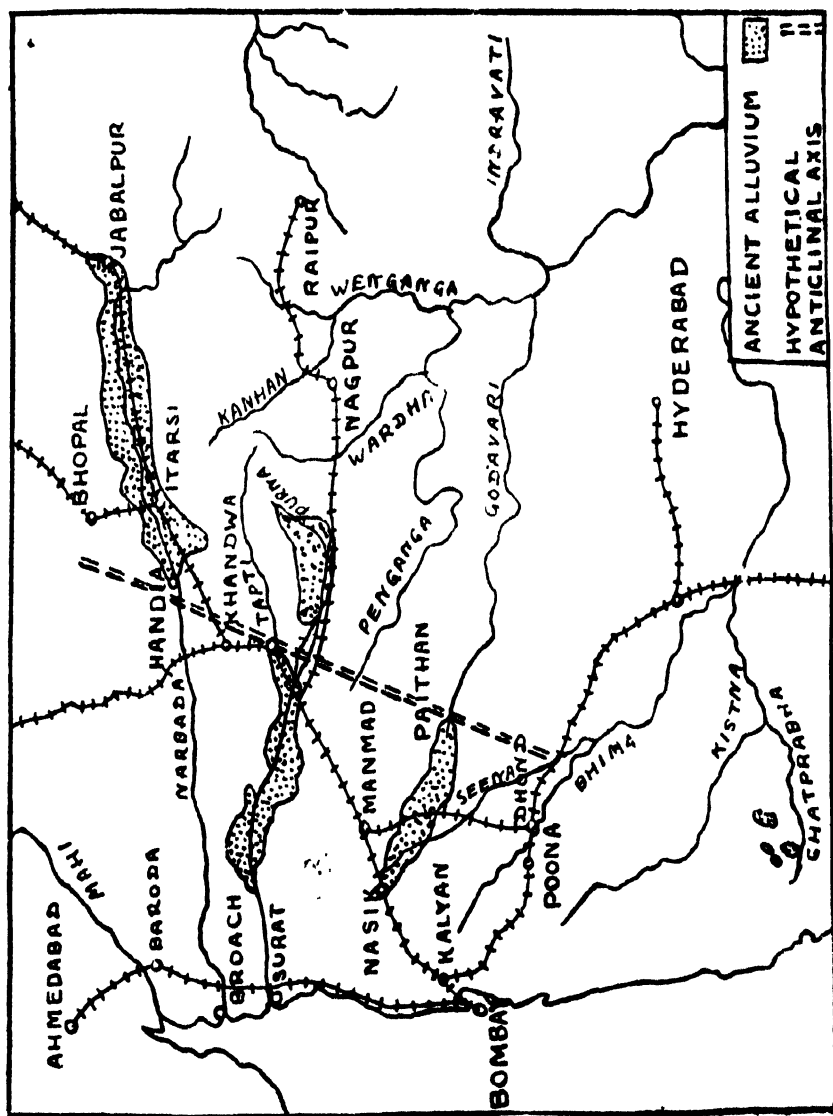
The absence of any work in the area is now felt all the more because prehistoric work in north India have led scholars to believe that Early Man travelled northwards from south India carrying with him his Stone Age culture. The writer's study of the Gujarat finds (past and recent) also points to a close connection between Gujarat and South Indian industries.\* In this contact, as has been already pointed out by him, a few links are

<sup>1</sup> For further details with references see SANKALIA, "Pre-Vedic Times to Vijayanagara," *Progress of Indic Studies*, (1917-42), (published by BORI, Poona), 197-8.

<sup>2</sup> These are merely rough boundaries suitable for the purpose of this article only. In order to fix definite boundaries due account must be taken of the various political vicissitudes through which Mahārāshtra passed, as well as of its linguistic and ethnic limits. For while it is certain that Pulakeśin's, "Three Mahārāshtrakas" did not include the Tapti, they did include a part of Karnataka, and a part—western—of the Hyderabad State.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Coggin BROWN, *Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, 3.

<sup>4</sup> See SANKALIA, "Pre- and Proto-history of Gujarat," *Mulārāja Volume*, to be published by the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan.



MAP showing the old alluvial deposits on the Godavari, Purna-Tapti and the Narmada (after VREDENBURG RCSI 33, PL. 1) and other rivers of Maharashtra.

provided by the Karnataka industries.<sup>5</sup> But no evidence has yet come forth from the Deccan Mahārāshtra, primarily because no work has been done in this area. The main reason for omitting or neglecting it from all pre-or proto-historic exploration is the fact that everywhere the Deccan trap comes up; there are hardly any löess mounds as in Gujarat or other mounds as in Sind where one could look for ancient buried vestiges of civilisation. Almost all rivers have not only got a subsiratum of this rock, but their banks are generally low, with few gullies and of trap. Above all there is the total absence of quartzite pebbles or rock as noted by FOOTE,<sup>6</sup> which was the favourite material of Early Man. So it was held that there was little prospect of finding Stone Age Cultures along the rivers of Mahārāshtra. But this view was based upon a general impression of the geological features of the country. As will be mentioned in detail below geologists of the last century had noted that there were a few rivers—the Godāvari and its tributaries, which had comparatively high cliff-like banks, and patches of old alluvium. It was therefore thought worthwhile to examine these sections of the rivers, with a view to seeing if any traces of Early Man could be found in Mahārāshtra.

The Godāvari and one of its tributaries, the Kādva, were first selected. The reason for selecting the Godāvari is obvious. It is on its banks that the earliest cultures should have sprung up as were the historic culture of the Sātavāhana Period, as evidenced by the antiquity of Nāsik and Paithan or the later Rāstrakūṭa and Yādava, as shown by the distribution of their monuments, whereas the hoary antiquity endowed by the *Rāmāyana* to the Godāvari, particularly near Nāsik, is well known.

In fact a prehistoric survey of this river is long overdue. For not only its traditional and historical antiquity demands it, but also the fact that it had yielded geological, palæontological and cultural evidence of its antiquity.

The geology of Mahārāshtra is simple. It forms part of the Deccan trap which not only covers the whole of the Bombay Presidency from the Narbada in the north as far south as the parallel of Goa in the neighbourhood of Belgam and Kaladgi, but also extends northwards, where it occupies a small area, and ends abruptly south of Chhota Udaipur. In the east the trap almost touches Nagpur, an arm of it goes as far as Jubbulpore. In the west it forms almost a straight line, stretching approximately from Surat to Goa in the south. Here it is generally low in height, and capped by laterite, as are many of the higher plateau hills. Solitary remains of trap are found in Kathiawar and Cutch in the northwest. These nearly horizontal strata of basalt and similar rocks are responsible for peculiar

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Bruce FOOTE, *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities, Notes on Ages and Distribution*, 36.

features of the country : "the extensive plateaux, the long hog-backed hills, the terraces on their sides, and the black precipices." 'The whole country has very much the appearance of a plain formed by marine denudation, through which plain the streams have cut.'<sup>7</sup> At many places the trap comes up ; where it does not, the ground is covered by a few feet of black soil, a decomposition of the rock, forming the most fertile area in the land. A number of small rivers and a few big rivers drain the land, but almost all of them form part as a glance at the map will show of the Godāvari drainage system, which flows as one stream—now a mighty river—beyond Sironcha. A few others—the Sinā, Bhimā—join the Krishna which in a sense constitutes the southern boundary of Mahārāshtra.

All these rivers rise in the Western Ghats and flow eastwards ; whereas the Narbada, Tapti, and Purna—other rivers which flow through the northern trap area flow westwards. There is thus an opposition between these two drainage systems. However a certain geological change or changes have given these rivers a kind of unity, which is useful to the palæontologist and archæologist. It is this. The drainage system of the upper Deccan trap area, as well as that of the lower have at certain portions along their course deposits of old alluvium. The Narbada has it between Jubbulpore and Handia ; the Tapti and its tributary the Purna between Nandurbar and Amaravati ; the Godavari has it between Nāsik and Paithan, and is also found on its other tributaries the Kādva, the Painganga, the Wardha and the Wainganga. The deposits on the Narbada and the Godāvari reach at places remarkably great height. They are about 100 feet in height at Janakpur, near Hoshangbad ; about 40 to 60 feet at Nāndur Madhmeshwar and at Paithan. These deposits were accumulated, according to an earlier view,<sup>8</sup> by a general tilting of the Peninsula, by means of which its western side was uplifted more than its eastern portion, and rock-basins were caused. This might explain, according to VREDENBURG, 'some of the features observed in the alluvial plains of the Narbada etc., but does not explain the case of the eastward flowing Godavari.' He therefore reconsidered the entire question and accounted for these phenomena by postulating 'an extensive, though shallow, warping of the surface along certain definite lines and varying locally in direction.' Thus 'the formation of a single shallow anticlinal ridge running west of the western termination of the Narbada and Purna plains with a strike slightly east of north would suffice to account for the accumulation of the ancient alluvium in three of these plains : those of the Narbada, of Berar, and of the upper Godāvari.'<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Adapted from BLANFORD'S "Sketch of the Geology of the Bombay Presidency," *Records Geological Survey of India (RGS)* 5. 88-102 and "Poona to Nagpur," *ibid.* 1.60-5.

<sup>8</sup> *Manual of the Geology of India*, 2nd Edition 397, cited by VREDENBURG, "Pleistocene Movements in India," *RGS* 33-38.

<sup>9</sup> Vredenburg, *RGS* 33-38-9 and pl. 1.

Whatever may have been the exact cause or causes of the formation of these plains and the accumulation of the ancient alluvium strata in them geologists and palæontologists now hold that the fossil fauna contained in the Narbada and the Godāvari alluvium are of the same type, the alluvium itself of a definite geological age, namely the Lower or the Middle Pleistocene.<sup>10</sup>

It is in this geological stratum that search for traces of Early Man is to be made. In Mahārāshtra though most of the rivers have a rocky, shallow bed of trap or flow through deep channels cutting the underlying trap and at time crystalline rocks, still there are a few rivers like the Godāvari, the Kādva, the Wainganga,<sup>11</sup> the Painganga,<sup>12</sup> the Wardha,<sup>13</sup> and the Kānhan,<sup>14</sup> where the banks are not shallow but cliff-like, formed by the old alluvium, which stand still above the river level. At other places the alluvium is denuded, or almost so, the gravel being exposed here and there, resting on the trap, or forming part of the river bed.

Palæontological date was obtained twice. The first time in the fifties of the last century.<sup>15</sup> It consisted of a skull of an elephant, which was identified as *Elephas Namadicus*. 'It appears to have been of immense size, as the tusk is said to have been 29 inches in circumference.' It was found near Paithan on the left bank of the Godāvari, and 'had been washed out of a calcareous conglomerate, of which the bank consisted.'

PILGRIM found for the second time in 1904.<sup>16</sup> He excavated from one

<sup>10</sup> According to the recent work of DE TERRA, *The Ice Age and Human Cultures in India*, 319.

<sup>11</sup> The whole of the area surveyed is occupied by Archean rocks, but on the plateau, outliers of the Deccan trap capped by laterite, there is widespread alluvium on the Wainganga. HAYDEN in *RGSI* for 1915, 1916, 38.

<sup>12</sup> Fossil remains were found in the valley of the Painganga at Hingoli. Gravels not continuous, but at places they form part of the river bed. Cf. *RGSI* 32:200.

<sup>13</sup> ..... over the Deccan trap there is laterite in some areas .... and then older gravels and clays of some of the river valleys contain fossil bones ..... Similar deposits forming the banks and often the beds of the upper feeders of the Godāvari, the Wardha, the Painganga ... and here also they locally contain a large number of bones ... gravels cemented into a conglomerate by the infiltration of carbonate of lime. These gravels are post-trappen as they contain rolled pieces of agate, bloodstone etc. The lower portion of these fossil beds is composed of gravels and sand; below this it has clay, sand and pebbles. OLDHAM, *RGSI* 4:78-9.

<sup>14</sup> The older alluvium covers large areas in the Kānhan valley, is 80 feet thick and lithologically distinguished from the newer by the presence of a great abundance of kankar .... It is now being eroded. From one of the beds of the conglomerate in the older alluvium, Dr. FERMOR extracted a worked palæolithic chert core ..... We have evidence in this valley of the existence of two alluvia with corresponding period of Stone Culture. HAYDEN, op. cit. 36.

<sup>15</sup> See *Memoir Geological Survey of India*, 6:232 and *RGSI* 32:199-200 and also other references cited therein.

<sup>16</sup> *RGSI*. 32. 201-202.

of the gravel conglomerate patches forming part of the river bed, about a mile upstream from Nāndur, near the left bank, fossil remains of the cranium and tusk of an elephant, as also, 'a portion of the lower jaw of a hippopotamus, containing the incisor and canine teeth.' The latter was unfortunately immediately lost (stolen from the camp at night), but 'the former proved to be the remains of an individual of remarkable size, who must have stood at least 16 feet at the shoulder, the tusk measuring 25 inches in circumference at the base.' Pilgrim thought the elephant in question belonged to the species of *Elephant Antiquus* (*Namadicus*), who had possibly originated in Europe and migrated thence to India etc. As to the age of the finds he considered them to be contemporaneous with that of the Narbada fossil remains, since the alluvial deposits of the Godāvāri were approximately of the same age as that of the Narbada. These deposits, according to him belonged to the Lower Pleistocene period,<sup>17</sup> if not later.

The cultural evidence, pointing to the existence of man during this geological period, is the discovery of an agate flake, which was found by WYNNE in about 1863,<sup>18</sup> just below the village of Mungi, near Paithan. Here the river bank is about 50 feet in height. And the flake was discovered about 20 feet above the base of the cliff, 'in a bed of uncompacted sub-calcareous conglomerate, gravelly and containing shells of species similar to those now living in the neighbourhood.' The flake is 2½ inches in length, and about 7/12 inch in breadth, formed from a compact light coloured agate chip. It is slightly curved, and at one end it is so sharp, and the edges are so rounded as to resemble 'a carving knife for game.' The other end has a tang like extension, 'which may have served as a means of attachment to a handle.' The sharp cutting edges are much blunted and hacked.

The flake was supposed to be an artifact and its discovery was acclaimed as of great importance by the then geologists BLANDFORD, OLDHAM, FOOTE and others as evidencing the early appearance of man in India. But nothing was done to follow up the discovery except by WYNNE himself, "who made a careful search in the neighbourhood for other specimens, but without success." The result was that this find was cited in all the later works on Indian prehistory and museum catalogues as a typical specimen of the Godāvāri industry, and the closing words of OLDHAM, "It is however, as yet the only case on record of such occurrence of works of human art in these beds in this country. And we would earnestly seek the cooperation of those who may be more permanently in the vicinity of these deposits to institute and maintain a search for others," remain true, as far as the Godāvāri is concerned, till today.

The specimen is indeed typical. Its age is undoubted. It is small, and dissimilar from other contemporary river drift implements of India which are bigger, and are of quartz, quartzite, trap etc. but not of agate, chalcedony and other similar varieties. By its age it would be called a

<sup>17</sup> See note 10 above.

<sup>18</sup> OLDHAM, *RGSJ* 1-65 ff., pl. I.

palæolith; by its form and size, a microlith, similar to those found all over the löess deposits in Gujarat-Kathiawad, as well as in Central India, the Central Provinces, Hyderabad State and South India.

Two things are therefore necessary to study this problem. The first is to survey the Godāvari and other rivers of Mahārāshtra which have old alluvium deposits and search for artifact-like agate and other similar flakes and cores, and pebbles and fractures of this type of stones for comparison; artifacts of other varieties of stone (these would be mostly of trap) as well as fossil remains. Secondly it is desirable to study the fracture of agate and like stones under natural and artificial conditions.

Both these were attempted during the year on a small scale.

## II

For the commencement of a systematic survey of the Godāvari and its tributary the Kādva, Niphād was found suitable.<sup>19</sup> It is about 8 miles to the north-west from Nāndur-Madhmeshwar,<sup>20</sup> the site of the famous fossil finds of 1904, whereas Niphād itself is situated on the confluence of the Kādva and the Vadāli (here called Vainathā) Nala,<sup>21</sup> and about a couple of miles from the main G.I.P. line running north-eastwards. Its proximity to Poona was also a consideration.

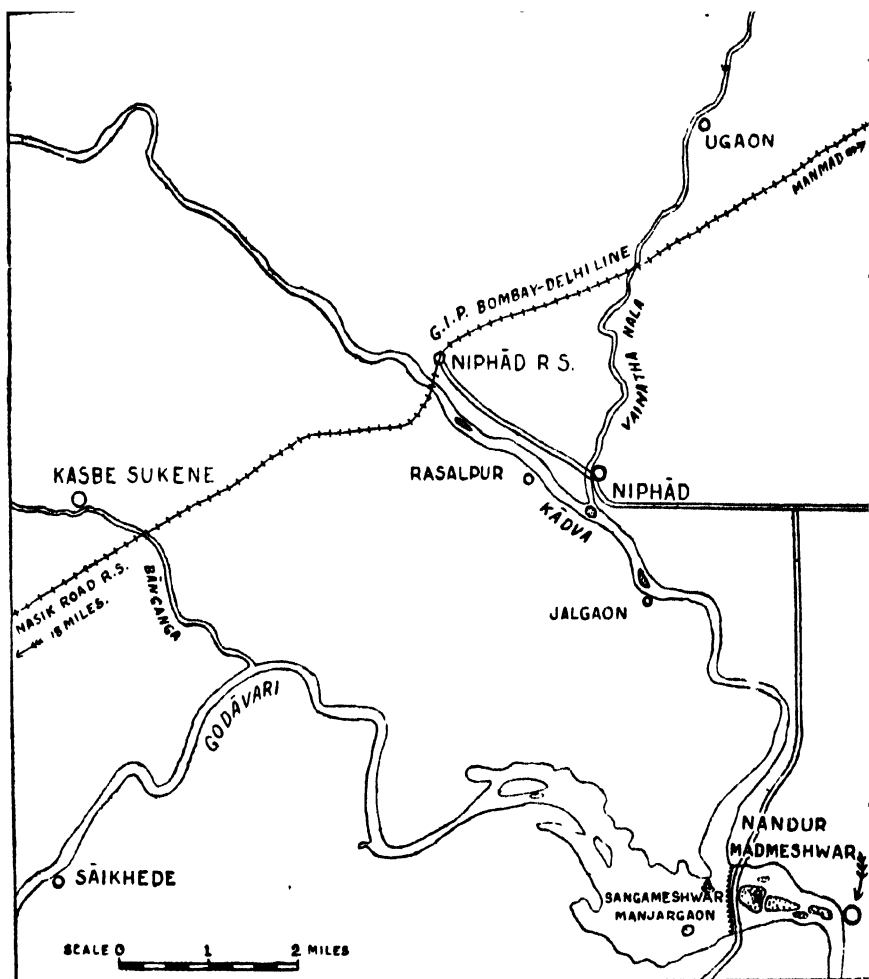
Nāndur lies on the left bank of the Godāvari, at a distance of a mile and half from its *sangam* with the Kādva. It is this area, comprised between the sangam and the village that is geologically, palæontologically, and archæologically important. It is the first place after the Godāvari rises in the high ridges at Trimbak, forces its way through the first ten rugged miles, and passes through Nāsik that the high cliff-like banks, composed of the ancient alluvium are visible. Everywhere the bed and the bank are both rocky, though high. Even at Nāndur the bed is rocky, but beyond the sangam from the Godāvari Weir, we see first long, winding, high, left bank, gradually descending as it were towards Nāndur; the broad, almost a quarter of a mile, rocky bed of the river, cut up into several channels; the "midway" (Madhmeshwar) Śiva temple, and the low right bank imperceptibly rising into the plains. Beyond this the left bank almost falls into a peneplain, the old alluvial deposits having been almost washed off. These reappear as low cemented gravel patches in the bed of the river opposite

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<sup>19</sup> The writer would thank here Mr. B. K. APTE, a student of the History Department who, through the kindness of his cousin Mr. M. S. VARTAK arranged for his stay with Mr. M. G. VIRKUL at Niphad. Mr. VIRKUL not only proved to be an excellent host, but took a keen interest in our work and contributed not a little to make our visit successful. Both Mr. D. R. PATIL, one of the senior students who took part in the survey and the writer are grateful to Mr. VIRKUL.

<sup>20</sup> See Survey Map, 1 inch = 1 Mile, Sheet No. 46  $\frac{1}{4}$  (Bombay).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*



MAP showing the area surveyed on the Godāvari and the Kādva.



Nāndur,<sup>22</sup> and near the right bank which for a quarter of a mile has a high bank.

We first took up the survey of the left bank, where the alluvial deposits dip down ; since it is almost opposite the Madhmeshwar temple, this section is called Nāndur Madhmeshwar, the finds bearing the abbreviation NM-I. It was wise that this spot was selected first. For it is here and for a little distance upwards that the ancient gravel stratum is best exposed for study. Further upwards near the Weir, though the bank is higher, it consists mainly of fine, trap-decomposed, brown silty clay, the river having encroached inwards has eroded the old alluvial bed, remnants of its gravelly part lying exposed in the river-bed. It is from these that PILGRIM had excavated the elephant cranium.<sup>23</sup>

The left bank, bearing the gravel layer, opposite Madhmeshwar, is approximately 25 to 40 feet in height gradually descending lower down the course of the river,<sup>24</sup> (and ascending, after a little dip, marked by a shallow gully into a cliff—ranging from 40 to 60 feet in height). How it is composed can be best explained by the following section.<sup>25</sup> The gravel bed is a little more than 10 feet in thickness, say in the centre of the section, but lessens down to 5 feet or less at its lower end, whereas in its upper end it suddenly dips down, and is seen capping the trap bed of the river.<sup>26</sup> The gravel bed lies everywhere without any unconformity over the trap foundation, but just where the photograph was taken it seems to rest on a thin layer of yellowish clay.<sup>27</sup> This clay may not be an actual layer, but a rewash covering the lower horizon of the gravel bed, though it did not appear to be a rewash, for little digging showed that it did extend inwards.

The gravel is not very hard, and looks whitish brown or grey where it is freshly exposed,<sup>28</sup> few blocks of it loosened from the parent bed lie scattered over the talus. These provide an excellent picture of the composition of the gravel, which is shown to consist principally of small pebbles mostly of trap, ranging from 2 to 4 inches in diameter, but at times of quartz and agate, cemented together into a calcareous conglomerate. Long, bone-like,<sup>29</sup> kankar nodules are also found, usually at the junction of the gravel and the recent alluvium.

The gravel bed yielded a small tubular fragment of a fossilized bone, a fine, small, chalcedony arrow-head-like specimen and a few agate and chalcedony flakes. Pebbles of agate, and trap as well as shells were also collected, for a comparative study, *in situ*.

<sup>22</sup> It is these which are shown in the Survey Map by large black blocks.

<sup>23</sup> The exact spot, as remembered by an old fisherman who served as our guide, now lies adjoining a river-bed-field.

<sup>24</sup> Fig. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Fig. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Fig. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Fig. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Fig. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Though not upwards, where the gravel forms a part of the river-bed. Cf. also PILGRIM, *op. cit.*, 201.

The survey higher up the course proved unproductive. For as described above, though the bank is high, the gravel lies low washed by the river. A couple of implement-like pieces of blackish trap were found from the surface of the gravel bed. But these seem to be recent fractures, in which the river-bed abounds. They are evidently the rejected fragments of the blocks quarried from the river bed for building the Weir. Some of the pieces are indeed fine. One picked up by the writer near the Madhmeshwar temple would easily pass off as a neolithic celt.

The second place on the left bank where the gravel remains exist is situated opposite the village of Nāndur, just in front of the temples, where people gather in a fair on religious festivals, and bathe in the river. From the village it is approached by descending the mound on which are situated the temples. Then crossing a narrow, shallow channel of the river, one once again climbs up or circuits a small rising ground in the midst of the broad, rocky river bed, from where one sees the river bank gently sloping into the watery bed of the river. These features reveal extensive and irregular denudation by the river. The high cliff-like bank from here lies at a distance of half-a-mile. Had it extended untouched we would have found the old gravel stratum forming part of the bank. Instead we find that the river has reduced and split up the bank, leaving a small portion of the bank between its two channels, while the main bank lies on the left, away from the river.

It is between the mid-channel bank and the principal watery bed of the river, that patches of ancient gravel beds lie exposed.<sup>30</sup> Here they appear dark grey and have become very hard. From the surface of one of these hard gravel patches a couple of fossil bones were excavated, as also a small flake No. 10. This locality, to distinguish it from the first, is called Nāndur Madhmeshwar-II.

Traversing the rocky river bed, full of large quarry-made trap pieces, many of which were about to turn into pebbles, we arrived at the right bank, just where it is about 25 to 30 feet in height.<sup>31</sup> Here too the gravel is eroded, and patches lie submerged in water,<sup>32</sup> which is rather deep and flows in a fairly wide channel further down, almost cutting the bank into a steep wall. This prevented us from examining the bank, which lower down, at a distance of 1 furlong, had retained the old gravel bed *in situ*. It was disappointing, for though from a distance the bed appeared to consist of small pebbles only, we would have perhaps succeeded in finding a few agate cores and flakes.

We had by now surveyed the Godāvari from the sangam upto the bend, where it turns, almost at right angles, southwards, and flows into a compa-

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<sup>30</sup> Fig. 6.

<sup>31</sup> This place was noticed by PILGRIM, *op. cit.*, 201. He also mentions (*loc. cit.*) small gullies on the left bank. A few of these we examined, but they are made by the erosion of soft brown silt, down to the road level, whereas many are very shallow, and rounded by deposition. Both these leave little scope for the search of finds.

<sup>32</sup> Fig. 7.

relatively narrow, but shallow course full of water. It was thought inadvisable to follow it up at this point. We therefore turned our attention to one of its major tributaries, the Kādva.

The Kādva rises into the Sayhādri spurs to the north-west of Dindori. For the most part it has a shallow, undulating rocky bed, and banks. But at a few places we do find patches of the old alluvium, particularly its gravel content, overlying the trap bed, or bank of the river.

The first and the largest deposit that came within our survey lies on the left bank, just where the Kādva joins the Vainathā Nala, exactly opposite an old small Śiva temple. The spot lies almost adjoining the main road going to Vinchur, and is about half a mile from the Niphād post-office. The gravel patches extend over 50 yards in length, about 10 yards inwards in width towards the road, and are approximately 10 feet in depth. They overlie the trap bed of the river, which, where the gravel is eroded, is capped by brown, loamy silt. The gravel appears dark grey and is extremely hard. At places, its lower horizon is being hollowed by the river water.<sup>33</sup> From one of these hollows we dug out with great difficulty, a large piece of bloodstone, bearing unmistakable signs of flaking and three large pieces,—all varieties of chalcedony, (one is almost green, the second is a variety, with white and brown streaks and the third is an oval hand-axe-shaped white variety). The trap pebbles embedded in the gravel are comparatively bigger, about 4 inches long, and 2 inches in circumference.

Lower down a small section of the gravel is exposed on the left bank at a little distance above the village of Jalgaon. Its depth is very little, the gravel resting on a trap foundation, and covered by a thin layer of yellowish alluvium which is further covered by its darkish variety. No finds were made here.

Along its upper course leading towards the railway bridge, a gravel patch occurs, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile above the sangam of the Kādva and the Vainathā Nala, opposite the village of Rasalpur. This locality is called RP-1. Only two small trap pebbles were collected from this site. But a small, mostly eroded patch, called locality RP-2, standing as a solitary block, 2 furlongs further up, little away from the actual river-bank, yielded a small core-like agate piece, 1 inch in breadth, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch in length, trimmed all round and over both surfaces. One side of its longer axis has an irregular edge, formed by the intersection of the sloping upper and lower surfaces. It was found *in situ* and collected together with its gravel matrix. Near this, on the surface, was also found a small hand-axe-like piece of chalcedony completely enveloped by a white film. The piece has a flat faceted butt-end, a small mid-ridge half way the upper surface and ending in a point, and two rather deep scars on the right hand back corner. The under surface is flat, just underneath the point, but has a small ridge, formed by the cutting away of the

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<sup>33</sup> Fig. 8.



FIG. 1. The high cliff-like left bank of the Gedavari, between the Weir and Nandur. The gentleman (Mr. FATHI) stands on the old gravel lying exposed in the river-bed. It was here that fossil remains of an elephant were found in 1901.

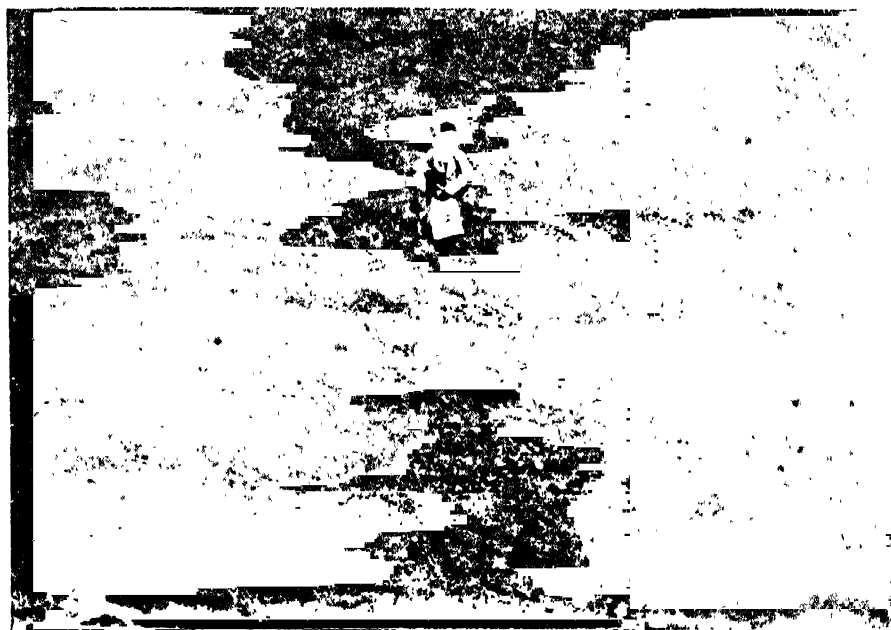


FIG. 3. Showing the gravel stratum forming part of the left bank, about 1 mile down the Weir.



FIG. 1. Measuring approximately the maximum depth of the gravel, 1 mile down the Weir.

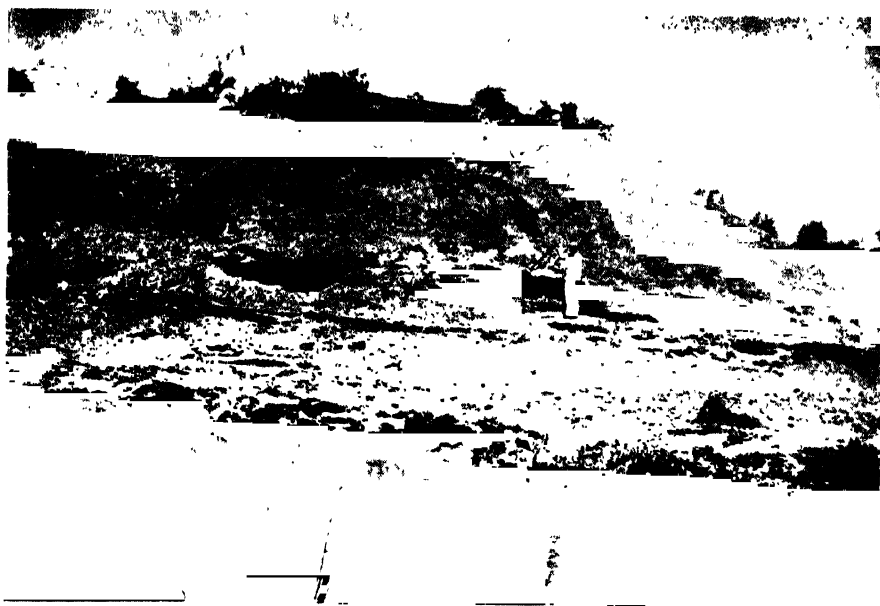


FIG. 5. At the junction of the gravel and brownish silt, left bank of the Godāvari, 1 mile down the Weir.

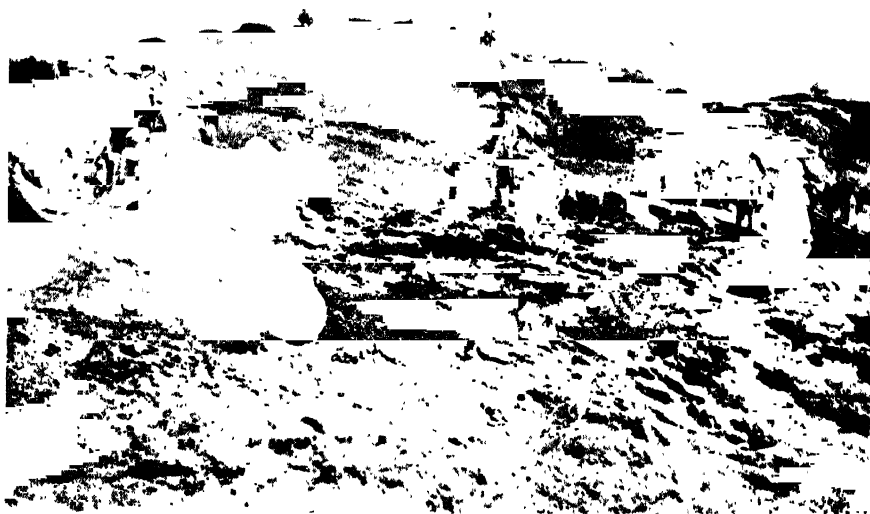


FIG. 6. The eroded left bank at Nāndur. Here the gravel as in Fig. 1 lies in the river-bed. A large fossil bone (identified as a portion of the left hip bone of an adult human being, of a short stature not more than 5 feet in height) was dug out from the cemented gravel patch where Mr. PATIL stands.



FIG. 7. A gravel patch forming part of the river bed, near the right bank.



FIG. 8. The hard, dark grey, hollowed gravel on the left bank of the Kādya-Vamatha sangam, Niphad.



FIG. 11. FINDS from the OLD GODĀVARĪ AND KĀDVA Gravel.  
(This photograph was kindly prepared by Mr. JOGLEKAR, Arch.  
Survey, W. Circle, Poona).

left side. The gravel also yielded a large-sized trap piece, which even in its highly rolled state, with its straight cutting edge, formed by sloping surfaces, and a slightly rounded U-shaped butt-end, would pass off as a cleaver. Unfortunately no other corroborative evidence is available to declare it as an implement.

The last place where the gravel is slightly exposed is at right angles to the 1st mile stone from the Niphād station. It is a small, low patch. A couple of agate flakes were collected *in situ* from it.

A full description of the most important finds is appended to this note. The question that now remains to be discussed is whether these finds are implements. For doing so one has to take into consideration their

- (i) stratigraphical position,
- (ii) technique,
- (iii) relation to natural specimens, and
- (iv) relation to known artificial specimens—i.e. implements.

The findspot of majority of the 'finds' was the old gravel stratum which geologically on palaeontological evidence cannot be older than the Lower Pleistocene, and in all probability is Middle Pleistocene.

The technique includes shape, and the manner of flaking. Almost all the finds are flakes. The two or three trap specimens are much weathered, so it is difficult to describe definitely their manner of flaking. In one case No. 9 Levallois-type of flaking seems to be implied. The rest—agate and chalcedony pieces—exhibit what is known as pressure flaking, as well as the employment of Levallois technique.

The natural specimens which can be compared with these finds are the numerous—mostly agate pieces—which a careful observer notices on the trap hills around Poona. Veins of agate etc. cross these hills. And one studying their modes of fracture, can see small and large pieces, which have just flaked off from the parent body, only one side showing a clean smooth surface; then pieces which are so flaked on both sides; pieces, having no traces of the originally uneven cortex, but a fine, conchoidal bulb of percussion on the under surface, and one or more flake scars, made as it were by pressure flaking. Of course such fine pieces are comparatively few, as the writer's several months' study of the Fergusson College hill and its surroundings showed. But they are nevertheless there, and point to the fact that agate can under natural conditions assume a surface and form which we see in later palaeolithic industries and microliths.

At the same time some of the finds from the Godāvāri and Kādva gravel Nos. 1-4, 14 are so similar, almost identical with the microlithic cores and flakes brought to light by the Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition that one would not be able to distinguish them from the latter if they are placed together. Indeed both stylistically and stratigraphically the Godāvāri finds present a problem. According to the latter they fall into the early or middle palaeoli-



thic period ; according to the former they recall the microlithic culture of the Epipalaeolithic or Neolithic period. Were it not for the palaeontological evidence, assigning the gravel bed to the Middle Pleistocene, one would on the stylistic evidence of finds, if they are really implements, assign them to the proto-Neolithic period, the gravel itself resembling in many respects, in its agate, chalcedony, and trap content, while the upper stratum of the alluvium, varying from yellowish to brown and black tints—similar newer alluvium of the Narbada.<sup>34</sup>

The discovery of fossil bones does not help the solution of the problem either. It proves once again that the Godāvari gravel is ossiferous. But the identification of a rather large piece from NM-II, by Dr. G. M. KURULKAR of Seth G. S. Medical College, Bombay, (who very kindly and promptly acceded to the writer's request for its identification) as 'a part of a fossilized human bone, (which) can be easily identified as a portion of the left hip bone. The bone in question belonged to an adult of a short stature of approximately not more than 5 feet in height,' is indeed an interesting piece of evidence. Unfortunately the specimen cannot be definitely assigned to the Middle Pleistocene, for though it was found embedded in the old gravel stratum, the latter lay exposed in the river bed. So the specimen may have been washed thither from a later age deposit and got embedded in it. Nevertheless the fact that, so far, this is the first recorded evidence of the discovery of a human bone in the old alluvial deposits deserves to be noted.

The solution of the problem in its present state cannot but be hypothetical. Perhaps further geological and archæological studies of the Mahārāshtra rivers, particularly the Godāvari—might offer a clue to its solution. It is hoped to extend the survey over the middle course of this river, embracing particularly the following areas :—Puntamba,<sup>35</sup> where the gravel is shown to exist on both the banks ; Kokamthan,<sup>36</sup> both banks ; Kānhegaon,<sup>36</sup> left bank ; Chās,<sup>37</sup> both banks, just where it is crossed by the road to Vinchur ; Murshatpur,<sup>37</sup> left bank ; Kopargaon,<sup>38</sup> both banks (just above the town), and Brahmangaon downwards to Paithan and Mungi where the map does not show gravel patches, but several small gullies cutting up the high alluvial banks on either side.<sup>39</sup>

## APPENDIX

### *Description of important finds.*

No. 1. Site—Nāndur Madhmeshwar-I.

LOCUS.—Left bank of the Godāvari, 1 mile down the Weir.

<sup>34</sup> DE TERRA and PATERSON, *op. cit.*, 319-20.

<sup>35</sup> Survey Sheet Map 1 inch = 1 Mile. No. 47<sup>1</sup>/<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 47<sup>1</sup>/<sub>5</sub>. <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 47<sup>M</sup>/<sub>6</sub>. <sup>38</sup> 47<sup>M</sup>/<sub>7</sub>.

<sup>39</sup> Similar seems to be the case between the Pravara Sangam and the area downwards.

LEVEL.—*In situ* gravel, 15 feet above the bed of the river.

MATERIAL.—Chalcedony. Condition—Slightly rolled.

SIZE.— $1\frac{1}{4}$ "  $\times$   $\frac{3}{4}$ "

OBJECT.—A thick, triangular, arrow-head-like piece with a blunt point; has a tang-like sloping protuberance at the back; the under side is similar in shape, but has got an almost level surface. It has signs of pressure chipping on both these surfaces, whereas the right side, which is 2 mm. (about  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch) high, and the left which is  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch high have a smooth flat surface. Both these meet at an angle, whose edge, about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in height, is blunt.

No. 2. Site—Nāndur Madhmeshwar-I.

LOCUS.—Left bank of the Godavari, 1 mile down the Weir.

LEVEL.—*In situ* gravel, 15 feet above the river bed.

MATERIAL.—Chalcedony. Condition—slightly weathered.

SIZE.— $13/16$ "

OBJECT.—Crescent or lunate blade. It has chipped or worked back, and sloping, but blunt and uneven edge.

No. 3. Site—Nāndur Madhmeshwar-I.

LOCUS.—Left bank of the Godavari, 1 mile down the Weir.

LEVEL.—*In situ* gravel about 15 feet above the river-bed.

MATERIAL.—Chalcedony, whitish yellow. Condition—Slightly weathered.

SIZE.— $9/10$ "

OBJECT.—Crescent or lunate blade. It has a convex outer side, slightly worked, and a concave inner side, marked by a rather deep flake scar. The upper surface shows definite signs of pressure flaking.

No. 4. Site—Nāndur Madhmeshwar-I.

LOCUS.—Left bank of the Godavari, about 1 mile down the Weir.

LEVEL.—*In situ* gravel.

MATERIAL.—Agate—light blue. Condition—fresh.

SIZE.— $13/16$ "

OBJECT.—Flake, the upper surface has a mid-ridge, higher near the point; it also bears two small flake scars. One side has a fully serrated edge; the other partly.

No. 6. Site—Nāndur Madhmeshwar-I.

LOCUS.—Left bank of the Godavari, 1 mile down the Weir.

LEVEL.—*In situ* gravel.

MATERIAL.—Chalcedony, pinkish. Condition—slightly rolled.

SIZE.— $1\frac{1}{2}$ "  $13/16$ .

OBJECT.—Blade—Scraper? The object has one side roughly rounded, and sloping, while the other is straight. Three sides are cleanly faceted, all meeting into a dull point.

No. 7. Site—Nāndur Madhmeshwar-I.

LOCUS.—Left bank of the Godavari, 1 mile down the Weir.

LEVEL.—*In situ* gravel.

MATERIAL.—Chalcedony, dark red with greyish tints.

CONDITION.—Slightly rolled. Size— $2\frac{1}{4}$ ".

OBJECT.—Levallois-like broad flake or scraper. It has a clean, smooth under surface, with a small bulb of percussion on one side, and a possible erasure. The surface has a few marks of flaking, but these, as well as the marks on both the side edges are now dull owing to slight rolling and use? The end opposite the one having the bulb of percussion has a faceted side.

## No. 8. Site—Nāndur Madhmeshwar-I.

LOCUS.—Left bank of the Godāvāri, 1 mile down the Weir.

LEVEL.—*In situ* gravel.

MATERIAL.—Light grey trap. Condition—Slightly rolled.

SIZE.—3"

OBJECT.—Knife-like blade. It has a clean under surface. The upper surface shows 5 flake scars, whose edges are now rounded by rolling. Towards the pointed end, as well as on the under surface, there is thin yellowish film of silt.

## No. 9. Site—Nāndur Madhmeshwar-I.

LOCUS.—Left bank of the Godāvāri, 1 mile down the river.

LEVEL.—*In situ* gravel.

MATERIAL.—Light grey trap. Condition—Slightly rolled.

SIZE.—1" 9/16.

OBJECT.—Piece of a thin blade. It has a smooth under surface, stained by iron oxide; the upper has a small or shallow ridge, down which the platforms slope. Due to rolling they are not clear cut. The edges formed by the intersection of the sloping upper sides and the under side are even now fairly sharp. The back of the blade is recently broken.

## No. 10. Site—Nāndur Madhmeshwar-II.

LOCUS.—Peneplain, left bank, opposite Nāndur.

LEVEL.—*In situ* gravel in the bed of the river.

MATERIAL.—Chalcedony, chocolate with greenish tints.

CONDITION.—Slightly rolled. Size—1" 9/10.

OBJECT.—Side-scraper? It has a clean, flaked (?) under surface; the upper surface has almost a mid-ridge, the shorter, but steeper side of which is chocolate, and retains a patch of the original cortex, while the broader side, shows a broad, side, flake scar, and additional signs of flaking. The edges are not sharp.

## No. 12. Site—Niphād.

LOCUS.—Left bank of the junction of the Kādva and Vainatha Nala.

LEVEL.—*In situ* conglomerate.

MATERIAL.—Bloodstone. Condition—slightly green with reddish streaks; polished owing to weathering.

SIZE.—2½" × 1¼"

OBJECT.—Now a rectangular piece, having several flake scars on the upper surface. On the under surface the scars are fewer, but there is one which is very deep, about ¼ of an inch; the longer sides are also similarly flaked. One end is smooth (though flaked originally); the other retains most of the original cortex. Both 'step' as well as 'pressure' flaking seem to have been used.

## No. 13. Site—Rasālpur.

LOCUS.—Left bank of the Kādva.

LEVEL.—Surface of the gravel.

MATERIAL.—Chalcedony? Condition—Slightly rolled and covered with a whitish encrustation.

SIZE.—2"½ × 8/10"

OBJECT.—Triangular piece, like a small hand-axe. About ½ of its upper surface, that towards the point, has a mid-ridge; this becomes irregular and fades out towards the butt-end. It however is marked by two rather deep flake scars on the right hand side. The under side is uneven, having a large flake taken off on the left side, causing a small ridge, between the point and the raised butt-end. The butt-end has a flat platform; the point and the sides are formed by the intersection of the sloping upper and lower surfaces. The edges of the latter are not sharp.

No. 14. Site.—Rasālpur-II.

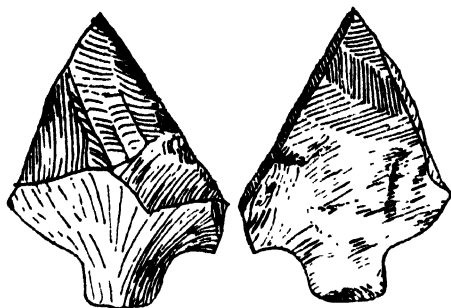
LOCUS.—Left bank of the Kādva, about 2 furlongs above the village

LEVEL.—*In situ* gravel patch, a little away from the actual river bank.

MATERIAL.—Agate, bluish white. Condition—Fresh.

SIZE.— $1\frac{3}{10} \times 1$ "

OBJECT.—Core Scraper? A roundish piece, completely flaked over on both surfaces, but on the upper surface there is a rather deep lengthwise flake scar, while many small scars mark one half of the under surface. There is an irregular and blunt edge on three sides caused by secondary chipping, the remaining side has a broad facet.



1-NM-I



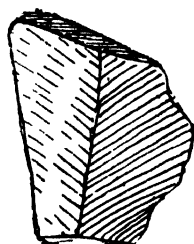
2-NM-I



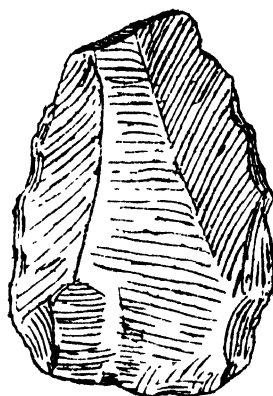
3-NM-I



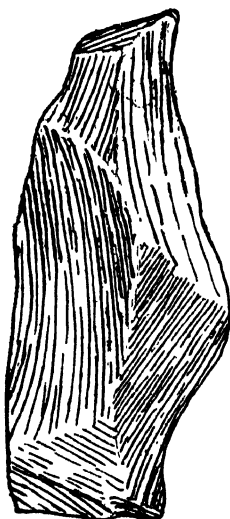
4-NM-I



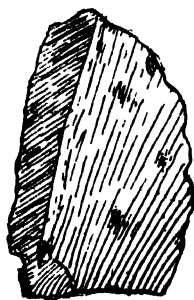
6-NM-I



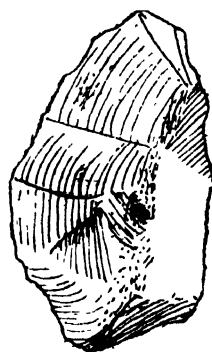
7 NM-I



8 NM-I



9-NM-I



10 NM-II

Fig. 9. Finds from OLD GRAVEL on the Godāvāri.

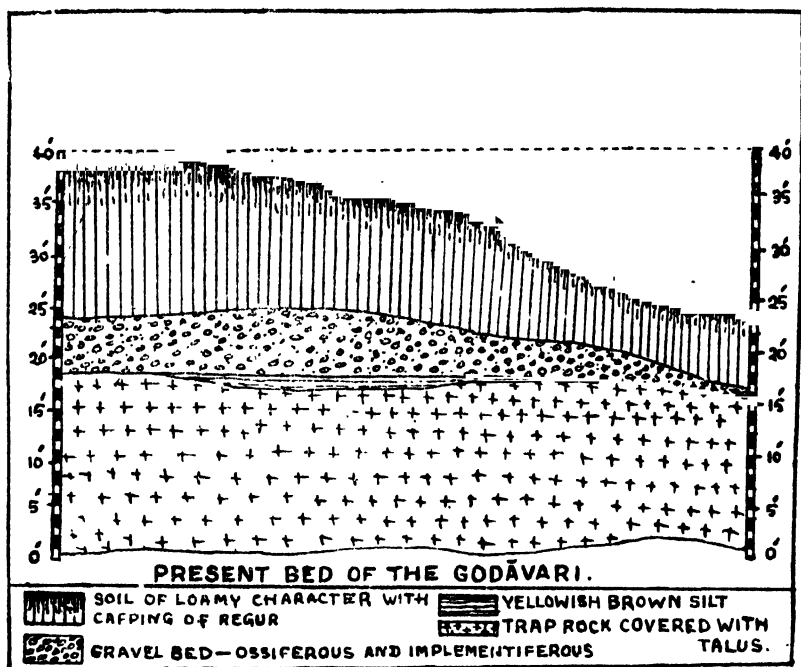
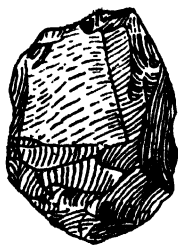


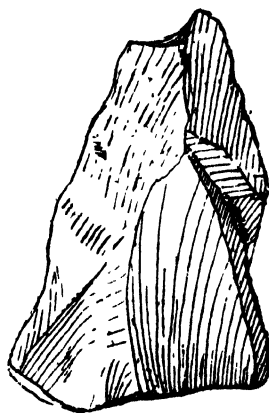
FIG. 2. Generalized Longitudinal Section along the left bank of the Godāvari at Nāndur-Madhmeshwar, NASIK DISTRICT.



No. 12-NF  
¼ of the original



No. 14 RP-II



No. 13 RP-II

Fig. 10. Finds from OLD GRAVEL on the KĀDVA.

# AN UNRECORDED KANARA CAMPAIGN BY THE MARATHAS

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR.

Busy historians in trying to write complete histories sometimes pass over certain important episodes and never once mention them. We have come across such a lapse on their part. The lapse is rather inexplicable as it is connected with such a comparatively late event as Cornwallis' war on Tipu Sultan in 1791-2, of which many Englishmen also have written in profusion. A tripartite alliance of the English, the Nizam and the Peśwa, was jointly carrying on this war against Tipu and the forces of the Marathas were both jointly and severally carrying on the war into the Mysore territories. While Haripant Phadke was acting in unison with Lord Cornwallis in the South, Parshurām Bhāu Patwardhan was somewhat erratically invading Tipu's dominions in the north-west, with an English battalion under Captain Little. After capturing the fort of Dharwar by April 1791, Bhāu invaded the Bednore area, carrying sword and fire wherever he went. They respected neither friend nor foe, the chartered but uncontrollable Pindarees accompanying the army pillaging everything they came across. They even looted the sacred monastery of the Hindu Pope<sup>1</sup> of Śringeri. What wonder that the whole region so ransacked felt the effects<sup>2</sup> of the invasion for two generations !

The various narraters of these events, English and Indian, have noted the facts for the plateau region of Bednore above the ghats. But few have taken cognizance of the fact that this havoc had descended down the ghats on the coastal region of Kanara also. Only the learned and assiduous Dr. BUCHANAN<sup>3</sup> has casually mentioned the event in his journey through the district in 1801. This is what he wrote in his diary : 'About ten years ago, a predatory band of Marathas, under the command of Balu Row, came this way, destroyed entirely the Agraram of Kiramaneswara and the inhabitants were swept away from all the neighbouring country.' (p. 108). Writing of Bailur he says that 'not half the number of cultivators required for tilling the land remained' (p. 136), Vol. III. This drew my attention towards the event and then and there I began a search. While I could find no mention of the fact in all the renowned histories, to my delight I found the fact noted in the introductory gist of letters written by the late Vasudevashastri KHARE at the beginning of his ninth volume of the collection of historical

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<sup>1</sup> *Aitihāsika Lekhasangraha*, Part IX, by V. V. KHARE, Nos. 3336, 3338, 3342.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4494.

<sup>3</sup> *A Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. 3,

documents. His mention<sup>4</sup> of the fact is based on four original Marathi letters written by the actors in the field themselves. They narrate the events to their employer at home, in this case to Gangadharrao alias Balasaheb Patwardhan residing at Miraj.

From the first letter<sup>5</sup> written at the end of May 1791 from Hāngal on the Dharwar-Kanara-Mysore State corner, it is learnt that the Peśwā's fleet stationed at Vijaydurg on the Ratnagiri coast had invaded the Kanara coast south of Goa during the fair season and occupied coastal posts. When the main fleet with its complement of fighting marines returned home for the rainy season, Tipu's troops invaded the region from the south and took back those posts upto Mirjan. Thereupon Baburao Salonkhe, who led the remaining coastal guards with small frigates, sent an emissary clerk to Parshurām Bhāu asking<sup>6</sup> for help of troops to meet the danger. It is not known whether direct help was sent to him, but a Captain of Bhāu's named Narasingrao Devāji did descend into the coastal regions of Kanara and occupied the whole coastal strip.<sup>7</sup> This Captain had been detached from Dharwar while the siege was still going on, with orders to proceed to the help of the Chief of Bilgi to the west of Siddapur on the Kanara uplands. This chief had been ousted by his enemies who had kept him in prison. He opened talks with the Marathas who set him free and again established him at Bilgi. For this help he became an inner guide of the Marathas in conquering those regions. With five hundred trained troops and three thousand local levies, order was established in the region and then the troops descended the ghats. They attacked the enemy concentration there, killing their leader and his chief lieutenants, at which the troops took to flight. Narasingrao Devāji then occupied Chandavar, Honawar, Gersoppa, Dhareshwar, Murdeshwar, Shirale and other mahals and established their posts upto Bhatkal where they had perforce to canton for the rains at the beginning of August. Heavy rains had swelled the rivers, widened the estuaries and made the sea unserviceably rough. Nothing could be done till the rains stopped.

After the rains, Narasingrao proceeded south from Bhatkal, occupying Baidur, Kiramanjeswar and Gangoli. He then went east upto the foot of the ghats upto Hosangady, the ghat leading up to Bednore, and advanced parties climbed up the ghat also till Bednore remained only ten miles ahead. There Tipu's forces of two thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry attacked them suddenly, inflicting heavy losses. Following their success they descended the ghats and began guerilla tactics. Narasingrao was sitting at Gangoli with a view to attack Kundapur fort to the south of the creek. Finding his position untenable there, he had to fall back to Honawar, so as to be in touch with his line of communication. He had to recross some seven creeks as there was no space for Maratha cavalry tactics in that cramped region.

<sup>4</sup> KHARE, IX, p. 4478.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3342.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3349.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3364.



At Honawar he collected more men and ammunition, again crossed those same creeks and besieged Kundapur at the beginning of November 1791. It is likely that the small Maratha squadron of Baburao Salonkhe was helping the Maratha troops in crossing the creeks and generally on the water-front. Englishmen<sup>8</sup> also seem to be co-operating in this affair, whether as gunners or marines. What these allies intended was to cut off Tipu's communications with the sea, thus isolating Bednore, then being surrounded by Parashurām Bhāu up the ghats. Bhāu had succeeded in forcing a retreat on Rezasaheb<sup>9</sup> who had advanced to check Bhāu, with the help of Capt. Little's battalion. But later on Bhāu had to leave the scene and march<sup>10</sup> post-haste to the help of Cornwallis then besieging Seringpatam, as previously decided in the plan of operations by the allies. This seems to have given a set-back to the coastal operations of Narasingrao Devaji, which naturally came to a close with Tipu's signing of a partition-treaty at the end of February 1792.

The region of this isolated and short campaign originally formed a part of two states, Bednore and Sonda. These states were tributary to the Marathas from the days of Śivājī, and as such were portions of the Maratha Kingdom. After Śāhu's return, they paid tribute to the Peśwā Bālājī Viśwānāth in 1717,<sup>11</sup> but that right was formally conceded by Śāhu to the Kolhapur Raja in the final partition treaty of 1731.<sup>12</sup> The recovery of the tribute however depended on the military strength behind the demand for it. Kolhapur found it impossible to collect their dues and so later on the Peśwas entered the field ostensibly as agents of Sambhāji of Kolhapur.<sup>13</sup> There were other claimants for the same tribute also. Nizam-ul-Mulk, Murarrao Ghorpade, the Nawab of Savnur, all had their hands in the pie. Fatesing and Raghuji Bhonsale, Babuji and Abaji Naik, also<sup>14</sup> cast avaricious glances towards the same and made matters complicated for the Peśwā. When the Peśwā Nanāsahib got full control over the Maratha State after 1752, he brought all these states into a common line of tributaries. Bednore paid twelve lakhs<sup>15</sup> a year as tribute. After the death of its last able ruler Budi Basappa Nayak, his wife Virammaji<sup>16</sup> ruled over the state for almost a decade, first with her son Channa Basappa, and later after his strangulation, herself. When she adopted a son of her maternal uncle, Patanśet of Bankapur, without Peśwā's cognizance, she was reprimanded for her conduct by Balvantrao<sup>17</sup> Mehendale, the Peśwā's agent. This adopted boy Somasekhar Nayak together with Virammaji was imprisoned by Haidar Ali when he captured Bednore in 1763. They were kept in the fort of Madgiri, which was captured by Mādhavrāo Peśwā in 1767. They were set free, honoured<sup>18</sup> and sent to Poona. Vir-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3390.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3411.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3414.

<sup>11</sup> *Peśwā Daptar*, 30.308, p. 245.

<sup>12</sup> *Patren-Yadi-Vagaire* (1930) Nos. 19, 20.

<sup>13</sup> *Peśwā Daptar*, 26.23 ; 28.37.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.202.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.193.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 28. 2, 3, 34, 37.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.194.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.147.

ammaji died on the road to Poona, while Somasekhara died a bachelor long afterwards. In the 1771 invasion of Mysore, Trimbakrao Mama Pethe landwards and Visaji Keshava<sup>19</sup> by sea with a navy, had invaded and almost occupied Bednore-Sonda territories, but the premature demise of Mādhavrāo found them back in Poona. Raghoba the infamous gave back these conquests to Haidar to espouse his cause.<sup>20</sup> When let down by the English he sent his comrades to Bednore by sea and had himself thought of repairing personally to that place. His projects did not fructify and Bednore remained in Haidar's possession. The Patwardhan family had spilled their blood lavishly to take back these lands, on account of which Parshurām Bhāu, a scion of that family had invaded the land now with vengeance. But ultimately,—such is the irony of history—it dropped from his hands, and finally was settled by the English after Tipu in 1799. The lowlands of Sonda-Bednore were named Canara and formed into a district.

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.224.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.283, 390, 305.

# KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND KINSHIP USAGES IN GUJARĀT AND KATHIĀWĀD\*

By

I. KARVE.

## I.

A detailed study of the kinship terminologies of various regions is undertaken with a view to find out the cultural affinities of the peoples of these regions. Such a study was undertaken for the Marāṭhā country<sup>1</sup> and now similar studies are being undertaken of the neighbours of the Marāṭhās. In this essay many inferences about the customs of the people of Gujarāt are drawn. It is not suggested that these usages are in force among all Gujarāt castes today. On the contrary the very nature of the investigation, which needs inferences from kinship terminology and folklore, shows that the social pattern of today is different from that of the older days, and that newer moral concepts have gradually changed old folkways. Customs and social institutions however do not die out entirely but leave their traces behind in the thought and the language of the people. A reconstruction of these is undertaken with a view to find out cultural origins and the cultural affinities of a people. This is thus a historical study. The present paper could not be illustrated fully from the literature of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād as was done in the case of the Marāṭhās. The investigator's knowledge of Gujarātī is too inadequate for this venture. It is, however, hoped that the gaps left in this attempt will be filled by some competent Gujarātī scholar, well versed in the folklore, legend and history of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād<sup>2</sup>

## II.

FATHER'S FATHER AND FATHER'S FATHER'S FATHER :—There are no independent terms to show the relationship of grand-father and great-grand-father. The word *dādā* is sometimes used for grand-father but it denotes also 'father.' In the expression *ājā-pāḍvā* (the first day of the month of *Aśvin* when oblations are offered to the mother's father) however, the word

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<sup>1</sup> I have dealt with Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages of the Marāṭhā Country in *BDCRI* 1.327.

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity to record my very grateful thanks to my numerous friends in Gujarat and Kathiawad, who have helped me in my investigations. Chief among these were Prof. G. G. DHRU, Ahmedabad, Mr. Ratilal DAGLI, Vadhan (now Nyayadhisa of Vala State) and Mr. DAVE of Rajkot.

*ājā* meaning grand-father is found. In this expression it means mother's father. In the following expression *dādā* is used for father's father.

“**अरे अमने तो आना बाप दादा सदा देवी गणी मानता आव्या छे**” III p. 66, Pt. 2.

FATHER :—Many words are used for father. The modern words are *bāpā*, *bāpa*, *bāpu*, *dādā* and *bhā*. The last two words are used in Kāthiāwād. Besides these the words *tāya* or *tāu* are also found in old Gujarātī.

**दसकोछि द्रव्य हूँति पणि बापूजी साथे पहुति ।** V p. 108.

**चोरे चोवट बेठा दादाजी । कां रे श्रीडी बगर तेव्यां आन्या जो ।** VIII p. 30, Pt. 1.

**बापाजी बापा, मे शां करीया पाप; भयें ने भादरवे बळवी सासरे ।** IX p. 54.

**बाप तणी निंदा न करे ।** VI p. 21.

**नियताय कद्रपंजरि धरी ।** V p. 21-52.

**आज पढम जिणवर मुझ ताऊ ।** VI p. 21.

The words *tāu* and *tāya* are not found in modern literature. Besides these words, purely Sanskrit words like *tā.a*, *pitā* etc. are used, the word *patyājī*, probably from *pitā*, is used in folktales.

**तू मने पत्याजी केम कहे छे.....तेनो हूं पुतर ।** IV part 2, p. 37.

There are no words for mother's mother, though sometimes the word *dādī* and *nāmū* are used.

MOTHER :—The word most commonly used is *mā*, with its variant *mādi* or *māvaḍī*. The words found in old Gujarātī are *māya* or *māyaḍī*, *māyī* or *māyī*. The other word used in modern times is *bā*. It is however not found in older literature or in folksongs. The purely Sanskrit words *mātā* is used in folksongs.

**बापनी बैयर कहेवा करतां मा कहिये तो पाणी पाय ।** II p. 20.

**मालण तेनी मावडीनां वखतथीज हाडाना घरमा फुल आपती हती ।**

XIII Pt. 1, p. 135.

**भगति म चुकिसि बापह मायी ।** VI p. 22.

**बचन म दूमिसि तू निज माडी ।** VI p. 20.

**माइ मू दूष अनीठऊं दीठऊं गमइन चीरु ।** VII p. 7.

**अज्जु माइ महं वंदियउ वीरनाहुसिबगामि ।** V p. 62.

A number of words are used for the father's house by a girl. In folksongs very loving references are found to the own brother's or mother's brother's house. These represent the kinsmen who would champion the cause of a girl if she is ill-treated by anybody.

**मरम पीयारु प्रकट न कीजइ ।** VI, p. 22.

**मोसाळे मा नैं ।** III, Pt. 2, p. 146.

**मुज मोसाळ तणूं ते ठाम ।** I, Pt. 3, Jayānand Kevālī p. 148.

These words are *piyār* or *piyāru*, *mosāḷa*, *mosāḷa*. The word *mahyer*, which would be equivalent to Marāṭhī *māhera*, meaning mother's house, is not

used as often, but was reported to me by the Nāgara Brahmans. Among them the bridegroom's father's sister is called *māhyārī* and receives honours as representing the woman born in the bridegroom's house. This word is equivalent to the Marāṭhī word *māhervāśīma* applied to all women born in a family. The word *māhyara* is found in the marriage songs of some castes.

तमे माह्यरामां मा जाशो लखीवर, माह्यरामां ससरजी हट करो ।<sup>5</sup> X, p. 19.

PARENTS :—The words *māvalara* or *māvitra* (Sanskrit *mātāpitarau*) are used.

जेतलई योवनभरि जाई तेतलई माचीत्र सामां थाई । V, p. 126.

सगां मावतर दीकराने घमघोरी राते मेलीने हाल्या आव्यां ' तां । IV, Pt. 1, p. 43.

FATHER'S BROTHER :—Father's elder brother is called *mōḷā bāpu* (elder father), the younger brother is called *kākā* or *kāko*. The word *kākā* is also used for father's brother generally. The latter word is of Turkish origin. I was unable to find it in old Gujarātī literature. It is found in middle Gujarātī.

काका मोरा ए वर जो जो । ए वर छे वेवारी ओ रे । XII, Pt. 1, p. 15.

काका धर्म तुमे नवि लहो । I Pt. 3, Jayānand Kevaḷī p. 205.

The word *kākā* is used for the stepfather among many castes. It is also used for the husband of the mother's sister among some castes like Ahir, Khavās, Rajput and Kāṭhi.

FATHER'S SISTER :—The word *faī*, *fuī* or *foī* are used in modern Gujarātī. Among the Brahmakṣatris the word *buā* is used for father's sister. In old Gujarātī the word *fuyā* is found.

फुईने मूळ होत तो काका कहेत । II, p. 345.

जेतल अंतर सोनइया नहि रुया, जेतल अंतर बाप नहि फुया । V, p. 109.

*Foīyāru* is the word used for the present which the aunt (father's sister) of the bridegroom receives. It is equivalent to the Marāṭhā *Āte cīr* (आते चीर) aunt's *sari*.

MOTHER'S BROTHER. The word *māmā* is used in modern as well as in old Gujarātī. In old Gujarātī the word *māula* is also found. *Māmeru* is the present received from the mother's brother on the occasion of marriage.

माउल कालिंग सूरिपासि पुच्छइ जन्नह फल । V, p. 17.

स्वामी जो तुम आवो तिहां, मुझ मामानुं मंदिर जिहां ।

I, Pt. 3, Jayānand Kevaḷī p. 149.

नरवीरनो माउलो प्रेम घणो अनपार । I, Pt. 3, Jayānand Kevaḷī p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> My friend Mr. G. G. DHURU writes to say that the word *māhara* denotes the marriage-pendal in this context. But as the marriage ceremony takes place in the house of the bride, the word does convey the meaning given by me above. The song is also about the groom going to the bride's house.

**MOTHER'S SISTER** :—is called *māsī* in old and as well as in modern Gujarātī. In my personal enquiries I found that the word *māsī* is used also for the step-mother.

કતવિરિય નરનાહ હણઈ માસી સુય દુહમ । V, p. 21.

તુજ માસી વિમલાસહિત આવિશ તહરે સાથ ।

I, pt. 3 Vatsa Raja Devarapa p. 218.

**BROTHER** :—The word *bhāi* is used in modern Gujarātī. In folktales the word *vīra* is also used. In Kāthiāwād and Kachha the word *bhā* is used. Both these words and the word *bandhava* and *sahoyara* are found also in old Gujarātī literature.

મોટા ભાઈ લાવ્યા ઘુઘરા રે । નાતુ ભાઈ લાવ્યા ચંદણ હાર VIII, Pt. 3, p. 74.

આળે પરિઆળે વીરોજી દેજો । IV, Pt. 1, p. 10.

દુગઈ કોઈ ન રક્ષિસઈ સયણ ન બંધવુ તાડ V, p. 67.

ભરહ રાડ અમ્હ સહોયર । VI, p. 6.

વડડ સહોયર અનં વડવીર । દેવ જ પ્રણમઈ સાહસધીર VI, p. 7.

દૂહવિડ એ મઈ વડુ ભાય । VI, p. 18.

મરમ મ બોલિસિ વીર । VI, p. 21.

હું મેળી તું આ સળા આપુની સંબંધ એ । III, Pt. 2, p. 67.

**FATHER'S SISTER'S SON ; FATHER'S BROTHER'S SON ; MOTHER'S SISTER'S SON ; MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON** :—All these relatives are also called 'brother' (*bhāi*), but in order to distinguish them from the own brother, expressions like brother through father's sister, (*foiāt bhāi*), brother through father's brother (*pitryāy bhāi*), brother through mother's sister (*masiāt bhāi*) and brother through mother's brother (*mosāḥia bhāi*) are used. The expression '*māḍī jāyō vīra*' (brother born of my mother), which one meets with in folk-literature, also points out to the distinction between own brothers and the step-brothers.

મોસાલે મામો નૈ, નથી માડી જાયો વીર । III, pt. 2, p. 146.

In modern times the word *bhāi* is used as a suffix for names of men and means Mr. so and so, e.g. *Gaḷu-bhāi*.

**SISTER** :—In old Gujarātī the words *bahina* or *bahini* or *bhaiṇī* are found while in modern Gujarātī the word *benā* is used. *Beṇī* or *bheṇī* are found in the folk-literature of Kāthiāwād.

પરજી બહિનિ મળીનહ માને । VI, p. 20.

રાષે બહિનર બેટડી ય, જિમ હુઈ શીલ ન મંયુ । VI, p. 24.

પુષ્કવડસુય પુષ્કચૂલ મહીણી તસ મજ્જા । V, p. 23.

નળદી વઝાવ્યા સાસરે બેનીને । પૂરા રાજ । VIII, pt. 1, p. 54.

હું મેળી તું આ । III, pt. 2, p. 67.

In modern Gujarātī the word *benā* besides its kinship connotation also connotes any woman and is used as a suffix for women's names e.g. *Tārā-ben*, *Lilā-ben* etc.

FATHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER ; MOTHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER ; FATHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER ; MOTHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER :—All these relations are also termed *benā* (sister) and the same kind of arrangement is used to distinguish the own sister from the daughters of various aunts and uncles as was noted for the sons of aunts and uncles.

SON :—In modern Gujarātī the word used is *dikaro*. It is sometimes used to mean a boy without the kinship connotation. This word is not found in old Gujarātī. The word *beḷā* is found in both modern and old Gujarātī. In old Gujarātī the word *putta*, *puttu*, *pūta* and *suya* are used. They are not found in modern Gujarātī. Besides these words the word *gagā* is used in Kāthiāwād. The word *mobhī* meaning the main beam on which the roof is supported, is used in the sense of 'son', because the son represents the support of the house. Besides these, purely Sanskrit words like *putra*, *tanaya* etc. are used in literature in modern times. The words *pūta* and *chaiyo* are found in folk-sayings even in modern times.

दीकराने भणावीश मा । IV, pt. 1, p. 25.

आ तो मारां दीकरा (children)। बेय जणां नवकुंकरी रमे छे । IV, pt. 1, p. 32.

बिवि बेटी जनमी सुनंदन, तेह जि तिहूयण मन आनंदन । VI, p. 1.

सयंपंच घाय दिणि दिणि दियइ पुत्तनेह एरिस हवई । V, p. 21.

बच्छ ति नारी दुखनिहि जाहं न कंतु न पुत्तु । V, p. 66.

राणी मंत्री कहेवि एक सुय छत्र रहावइ । V, p. 20.

रहिसइ पूत कलत घरबार, रहिसइ सइणु सह परिवार । V, p. 77.

परणु.....भाईना मोभीने । XII, p. 10.

कांत्या तेना सूत ने जाया तेना पूत । II, p. 242.

छैयो घोडो पावो चाल्यो । IV, pt. 2, p. 70.

DAUGHTER :—The word *dikarī* or *dikrī* is used most often. The word *gagī*, *dhidī* and *chhodī* are used in Kāthiāwād. In old Gujarātī *kanna* or *kannā*, *dhuyā* or *dhuya* and *beḷī* or *beḷadī* are found.

नागदेवताए तो बाईनें दीकरी करीने पाताळमां राखी छे । IV, part I, p. 83.

गगी केम रोई । IV, part I, p. 41.

कोळीनी छोडी केम वराय । IV, pt. 2, p. 56.

कां रे धीडी वगर तेब्बा आव्या जो । VIII, pt. 1, p. 30.

कक्षा सहस सुख अछइ पुण पुत्त न इक्कय । V, p. 12.

कनडि मागिय उगसेण धुय राजल लाधा । V, p. 83.

राज्ञी कमललोचना आवी...दिठी बेटी । V, p. 102.

राषे बहिनर बेटाडि य जिम हुइ शील न मंगु । VI, p. 24.

The words *dikro* and *dikrī* seem to be very modern. They are not used much by the Jain story tellers and poets of the middle-Gujarātī period. I found only one place where the word *dikarī* is used.

स्वामी ते कन्या सही वरी, परणी किम आपे दीकरी ।

I, Pt. 3, Jayānand Kevāḷ p. 187.

**BROTHER'S SON** :—The word is *bhatrījo* ; and it is used both when a woman speaks of her brother's son or when a man speaks of his brother's son.

મેળો જમાહવા ભત્રીજો દેજો । IV, Pt. 1, p. 10.

**BROTHER'S DAUGHTER** is *bhatrījī* or *bhatrīja* (a short form) for both man and woman.

ભત્રીજા મોરી ક્યાં તમે દીઠા, ને ક્યાં તમારાં મન મોહારે । XII, Pt. 1, p. 15.

**SISTER'S SON** and **DAUGHTER** are called *bhānjā* and *bhānjī* respectively. The words *bhānkā* and *bhānkī* are also used in popular tales.

કનક શ્રીમન જાગ્યાં હેજ, આવ વચ્છ મુંજ તૂં ભાણેજ ।

I, Pt. 3 Vatsa Raja Devaraja p. 227.

વાંસેથી ભાંકો ભાંકી તો ડગ્યા છે । IV, Pt. 1, p. 50.

**SON'S SON** AND **DAUGHTER** ; **DAUGHTER'S SON** AND **DAUGHTER** ; **SON'S GRANDSON** AND **DAUGHTER'S GRANDSON** etc. :—There are no kinship terms for these relations. Descriptive terms like son's son—'*dīkrāmo dīkro*', and daughter's daughter—'*dīkrīnī dīkrī*' etc. are used.

**HUSBAND** :—The words *vara*, *dhañī*, *swāmī* or *sāmī*, *pati* or *paī* and *kantu* are used from olden times up till now. In Gujarātī, as in other Indian languages, the husband is never addressed directly either by name or by the kinship term except in songs and tales. The husband and wife speak of each other in the third person. The word *vara* is used oftener in the sense of bride-groom.

કન્યા આપણી ઇચ્છા વરહ વર । V. p. 103.

ભજા વિસય વિકારિમારિ પદ્મારણિ ચલ્હ V, p. 21.

વચ્છ તિ નારી દુક્લનિહિ જાહં ન કંતુ ન પુતુ V, p. 66.

હું તુજ ઘરણિ તૂં મુજ સામિ । I Part 7, માધવાનલ્લી કથા, p. 18.

પટલાણીએ લાગ દીઠો.....મારા ધણીનું ગઢગૂમડમાં બહુ ધ્યાન પડે છે ।

IV, Part 2, p. 149.

**WIFE** :—The word *vahu* or *vaū* ; *strī* or *astri* ; *bhārajā* and *kallatu* have been in use since olden times. In old Gujarātī the word *kalatta*, *gharañī* or *gehiñī*, *bhaīja* or *bhaījā*, are used. The word *vahu* is used also for the bride and the word *vahuvāru* is used for the women of a family who belong to it by marriage and not by birth. In this sense the word is the antithesis of the word *mahyāri* which connotes the women born in a family. (These may go to other families after their marriage but as *mahyāris* they have certain rights and duties to perform on certain occasions).

તં બસીસહં વહુઅરહં એકુ દેવ આધાર । V, p. 65.

નવિ વડુ લિજ્જહ તરુણપણિ સાલિભદ્ર સુકુમાલ । V, p. 63.

ઓસદ્વિસેસિ સુ જિ સજ્જ કરિ સત્યવાહિ નેદિણિ ટવી । V, p. 23.



रहिसइ पूत कलत घरबार रहिसइ सइण सहपरिवार । V, p. 77.

पदमरथ नामेण राउ बनमाला घरणि V, p. 42.

मंत्री तेयलीपुत्त भज्ज तस पुट्टिल नाणी । V, p. 20.

छण मइलंछण-समवयण तुह भज्जा बत्तीस । V, p. 63.

मारी गामनां घहुवारुं रे भाभी तमने वीनवूं । VIII, Pt. 1, p. 4.

अरे हे अरुणी आपणे आही देरामा क्यांथी । IV, Pt. 1, p. 31.

जुगवाहूं घर भारजा करै अनुपम काजरे । I Part 7, चार प्रत्येक बुद्धचउ पई p. 91.

STEP-FATHER :—is called by the same terms as own father. He is also called *kāko* among some castes. (Widow remarriage is allowed in some castes only).

STEP-MOTHER :—is called *sāvaki mā*, *apar māya*, *ormāya* or *ormōn mā*, or *māsi*.

ओरमायां ने वेरवायां । II, p. 294.

पहिली कौशल्या तणेरे, चरणे नामी शीश, पाले अवरा मा भणीरे । I Pt. 2. p. 259.

STEP-SON :—(woman-speaking) receives the same epithet as one's own son. When a man speaks of his step-son, there are certain terms employed which describe his coming into his mother's new home. Such a son is called *āṅgīo dīkaro* i.e. a son who comes holding his mother's hand.

आंगळीओ दीकरो, मानी आंगळी वळीने जाय । I, p. 295.

STEP-DAUGHTER :—is called simply *dikri* or *sāvaki dikri* when a woman speaks and *āṅgīa dikri* or *sāvaki dikri* when a man is speaking, p. 133.

CO-WIFE :—Is called *śokya*, *sauka* or *ben* (sister).

सउक मिली हिव तेहनी बोले भावे तेम ।

I, Pt. 7, Chara Pratyek Budha Chaupai, p. 133.

मारी शोक्यना ते मारा अडधा अंग नारे । VIII, Pt. 1, p. 72.

The CO-WIFE is addressed as *bāiji*.

WIFE'S BROTHER is called *sālā* or *sūlo*.

शालो कहे काई साचो करो, व्याहणीत मनमांही धरो । I, Part 2, page 54.

पण रोना साला अयपे तेम कर्तु नहि । III, Pt. 2, p. 159.

WIFE'S BROTHER'S WIFE :—is called *saḷāeli*. This special term is not often used. The younger generation does not often know it. The feminine form of *sālā* is *sālī* and it is used for wife's sister. Hence the necessity was felt to find a new word. There is no word in other Indian languages for wife's brother's wife. This relative has no special functions or privileges.

Among people who practise marriage by exchange, the *saḷāeli* is often time one's own sister.

WIFE'S SISTER is called *sālī* or *hālī*. Wife's elder sister is called *pālā sāsu* and the epithet *sālī* is reserved generally for the younger sister of the wife. A man and his *sālī* are always on terms of great familiarity.

झटपट रांधे रुदा साली, झटपट रांधे रुदा साली । VIII, Pt. 3, p. 34.

WIFE'S SISTER'S HUSBAND is *sāḍhu*.

HUSBAND'S BROTHER has no general name. The elder brother is called *jeṭha* and the younger brother of the husband is called *dera* or *deriḍā*.

ગોરા છે મુજ દેરીડા, મુજ સ્વામી મીને વાળ । VIII, Pt. 3, p. 5.

મયળરેહા લેઈ સગલો મેટળો જાળે જેઠ પ્રસાદ રે ।

I, part 7 Char Pratyek Budha Chaupai, p. 92.

મલી નારીને પાંચ પિતા કહ્યા રાજા સુસરો સેઠરે

.....જન્મપિતાને જેઠ રે ।

I, Pt. 7. Char Pratyek Budha Chaupai p. 92.

હા દેવર હા દેવ । I, part 4, p. 342.

દેવર સાથે બોલે ભાષ તુમ્હસુ खेलणी अभिलाष I, part 2, p. 262.

HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S WIFE has no generic term as in Marāṭhī. Husband's elder brother's wife is called *jeṭhāṇī* and the younger brother's wife is called *derāṇī*.

HUSBAND'S SISTER is called *nanāṇḍa* or *nanḍala* or *nanḍāḍī*.

મારી નણદીના તે મારા ધરમના રે । VIII, Pt. 1, p. 72.

Husband's sister has special privileges at the time of the marriage ceremony and there she is referred to as *vara-bahīṇa* or *bahīṇī*. Another word which is used for the women of the groom's party in general and for the sisters of the groom in particular is *jandāṇī*.

લૂણ ઉતારિહિં વરબહિણી હરિસુજ્જલવયળી । V, p. 84.

HUSBAND'S SISTER'S HUSBAND is *nandoī*, a word formed on the same model as *banevī*.

BROTHER'S WIFE is called *bhojāī* or *bhābhī*.

તું મોજાઈ માતા સારખીરે, એતો મૂકી લક્ષ્મણ પાસ । I, part 4, p. 339.

મારા ગામની વહુવારુરે મામી તમને વીનવું । VIII, Pt. 1, p. 4.

માય હમારી પ્રશુપ્રાર્થીયા, મામી મ કહીશ ફેરી હો માઈ । I, part 2, p. 138.

SISTER'S HUSBAND is called *banevī* (man speaking and woman speaking) from the Sanskrit word *bhagini-pati*.

આ તે કીયાં શે'ર આવ્યાં, બનેવી મોરા રે । VIII, Pt. 3, p. 37.

મુજ વચને તુજ બેહિનેવી ચઢ્યોરે, તેહને હળવા કાજ । I, part 4, p. 340.

FATHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE is called *kākī*. Some informants used the expression *moṭī-mā* (elder mother) for the wife of the elder brother of the father. This is consistent with the usage by which the father's elder brother is called *moṭī-bāpu* (elder father).

કાકી ઘર તાલા જડે, રાખેવા ઘર સૂત । I, part 2, p. 152.

MOTHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE is called *māmi*.

FATHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND is called *fuō*. Some informants gave the term as *māmā* i.e. the same term as used for mother's brother.

MOTHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND is called *māso*.

SON'S WIFE is called *vahu* in old as well as in modern Gujarātī. As the same word is used for own wife, sometimes the compound word *putra-vahū* (the wife of the son) is used.

वहुने घेर सासू बेसवा जाय । VIII, Pt. 3, p. 6.

वहु लागी सासुने पाय । I, part 3, Jayānand Kevalī, p. 200.

DAUGHTER'S HUSBAND is called *jamāi*, or the descriptive term *putriya-vara* is also used sometimes.

अमे कुळ जे पुत्रीय वर एहनो ए आचार ।

I, part 3, Jayānand Kevalī, p. 130.

अश्वकरी ओळखियो कुमार, मुज सहीअर बेटी भरतार

I, part 3, Vatsa Raja Devaraj, p. 242.

ए ज टाणे जमाई तेडवा आव्यो छे । IV, Part 1, p. 57.

HUSBAND'S FATHER is called *ṣaṣaro* or *susarāu*.

हिव राजा पृथ्वीचन्द्र सुसराउराउ मोकलवी रत्नमंजिरीसहित पाटणी आव्या ।

V, p. 129.

वहुनो ससररो ते मेणा बोलीया रे । VIII, part 1, p. 72.

WIFE'S FATHER is called *sasaro* or *susaro*. Some castes use the word *māmā* (maternal uncle) also. In *Śīrīrāma yaśa rasāyana rāsa* the word *mātula*, (maternal) uncle seems to be used for *sasaro*. *Lavaṇaṅkuśa*, one of the twins born to Sītā is described as fighting with a King Pṛthu in order to get his daughter ; and he applies the term *mātulasenā* (the soldiers of the maternal uncle) to Pṛthu's army. Pṛthu is in no way connected with *Lavaṇaṅkuśa*. It therefore appears, the word *mātula* is used to denote the future relationship of father-in-law.

मातुलसेना भाजती, लवणांकुश देखतो । I, part 2, p. 315.

चक्रीराजऋषि आव्यासही, संसारपणे ते ससररो सही ।

I, part 3, Jayānand Kevalī, p. 206.

HUSBAND'S MOTHER is *sāsu* or *bāijī*.

WIFE'S MOTHER is also called *sāsu*. She is also called *māmī* among some castes.

सासुजी पग लगतां, दीधीथी आसीसो । I, part 2, p. 313.

जयातणे मन आव्यो रोस, जाण्ये ए सासुनो दोष ।

I, part 3, Jayānand Kevalī, p. 144.

हूं रे न जाणुं मारी बाईजी रे, लंका केम लखाशे । VIII, Part 3, p. 6.

FATHERS OF THE SON-IN-LAW and the DAUGHTER-IN-LAW address each other as *vevahi*, and the mothers of the son-in-law and the daughter-in-law are called *vehvaṇa*.

## III

It is thus a very simple terminology which takes account of two generations only. There are kinship terms for father and son, mother and daughter, but no terms for grand-father or grand-mother and for grand-children. The word *dādā*, which is used for grand-father, is very modern, and even at the present time, is used for father by some castes. In folksongs published by MR. MEGHANI the word *dādā* seems to be used in most cases in the sense of father. I was told on personal enquiries that in a household where mother-in-law and daughter-in-law live together, it oftentimes happens that the child of the latter calls its grand-mother *mā* or *bā* i.e. mother, and calls its own mother *vahū* (the daughter-in-law), i.e. the term of address used by his grand-mother. Thus there are no equivalents for the Sanskrit words *pitā-* and *mātā-maha* and for *pautra* and *pautrī*. The eldest male of a joint family is the 'father' of the family and only one man would be called by this term seems to be the logic of the terminology. The employment of the same word *vahū* for own wife as well as for the son's wife is also noteworthy. This peculiarity is shared with Gujarātī by all northern Indian languages. In the Apabhramśa and Prākṛt languages the words *suṇhā* from Sanskrit *snus* is preserved, but I have been unable to find it in old Gujarātī (i.e. Western Rajasthānī) or in modern Gujarātī. *Vahū* has thus a very general meaning and merely distinguishes a woman who is married into a family from a woman who is born in a family. For the latter we have the word *māyārī*.

In Vedic literature we find distinct terms for the two relations mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. The complete disappearance of one term in all modern Indo-European languages of India except Marāṭhī, Koṅkaṇī and Singhalese<sup>4</sup> is a phenomenon worth studying. In classical Sanskrit the more generic word *vadhū* is used more frequently though the word *snusā* is not lost. The Prākṛt and the Pālī retain the word derived from the Sanskrit *snusā* and also use the word *vahū* in the double sense of wife and daughter-in-law. In Marāṭhī the Sanskrit word *vadhū* is used to indicate the bride especially in compound words like *vahu māya* (the mother of the bride), *vohara*, (bride and groom) and the *vavara puja* (a ceremony to be performed by the newly married couple together).. The word *vadhū* is used for the young wife but never for daughter-in-law for which the word *sūna* is used exclusively.

In old Gujarātī there are many words for wife like *bhājā* or *bhajja*, *kalatta*, *gharaṇī* and *vahu*; of these only *vahu* is retained in modern times, and to it is added the word *bāīrī* (equivalent to Marathi *bayako*), which however is not supposed to be very respectable. There thus appears to be a tendency towards the simplification of the kinship terminology. While some of the old terms are lost, the addition of new terms is also very small.

A kinship term not found in Sanskrit or Prākṛt literature, but used in modern Gujarātī is *kākā* or *kāko*. This term is of Turkish origin<sup>5</sup> and ap-

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Dr. S. M. KATRE for this information.

<sup>5</sup> I have to thank Prof. SHAIKH of the Institute for this information.

pears only in middle and modern Gujarātī. I have not been able to find it in Old Gujarātī or Western Rājasthānī. This word is used for the brother of the father, though for the elder brother of the father sometimes the word *moṭā bāpu* (elder father) is used. Among certain castes, the step-father is called *kākā*. This usage would suggest junior levirate and as a matter of fact the custom of a widow marrying the younger brother of her husband does exist in Kāthiāwād and Gujarāt among a great number of castes.

The distinction between cross-cousins and parallel cousins which is made in Marāṭhī and the Dravidian languages is not made in Gujarātī. In this respect also the Gujarātī kinship terminology shows its affinities to northern India. All the other distinctions which are based on that of cross-cousins as marriage mates and parallel cousins equated to own *geschwister* (brother and sister) are also absent in Gujarātī. Thus in Marāṭhī a brother's child receives different epithets according to whether a man or a woman is speaking. Similarly about a sister's child. All these separate terms evolved in Marāṭhī on the model of the Dravidian languages are not found in Gujarātī. The kinship terminology, except for one or two usages, does not show any trace of the culture complex connected with the institution of cross-cousin marriage. The exceptional uses are that the word *māmū* (maternal uncle) is used as an equivalent of the word *sasro* (father-in-law) among certain castes. The word *māmī* is used, though very rarely, for the mother-in-law. Thus we see, that it is a very simple terminology. It has lost some of the terms present in Sanskrit and Prakṛt, and added only one or two new words not present in the older language. The Marāṭhī language on the other hand, being sandwiched between the northern Indogermanic and the Southern Dravidian complexes, possesses the richest kinship terminology of all Indian languages. It has retained tenaciously all the Vedic terms including those for the great-grandfather and great-grand-child and coined new ones to express the cross-cousin relationship native to the region south of the Narmadā. The new terminology is not borrowed bodily from existing Dravidian words, but is evolved from within, inasmuch as words of Sanskrit origin are coined to express the new relationships. The tenacious retention of old words which have been lost in modern northern languages may perhaps be due to archaisms which are found among the peripheral people who have separated at a very early period from the original centre. This surmise however needs to be examined thoroughly by an adequate and comparative study of modern Indogermanic languages spoken in India. Marāṭhī in its kinship terminology reflects clearly the ambivalent position of the Marāṭhā culture towards the northern and the southern culture complexes.

We have now to turn our attention to the actual kinship usages in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād in order to find out what light they cast on the system of kinship terminology.

The kinship usages as regards the mutual behaviour of brothers and

their wives are very well marked in Gujarātī literature, folksongs and customs. A woman calls the elder brother of her husband *jeṭha* and the younger brother of her husband *dera* or *diyera*. She cannot speak with her *jeṭha* with an uncovered face. If she sits with her head uncovered and the *jeṭha* passes that way, she has to get up and cover her head and face. This custom of covering the head and face with the end of the garment is called *lāja kādhavī* (showing humility) and is practised in the presence of the father-in-law, the *jeṭha* and other older male members of the husband's family. The behaviour of a woman towards her *dera* (the younger brother of the husband) is entirely different. They crack jokes with each other, may throw red powder, or coloured water on each other at the Holi festival; or may take part in bathing together in swimming pools or rivers. A man while addressing his elder brother's wife calls her *bhābhī*. In modern Gujarātī that term is used as a term of respect, but in Kāthiāwād both the words *bhābhī* as well as *diyera* are used in an abusive sense. That the relationship between the *bhābhī* and *diyera* was once that of sexual freedom, will be made clear from the following incidents from Gujarātī literature and a close consideration of usages. The Holi festival is a festival of love. There are songs by thousands which depict the erotic aspect of the particular custom of throwing red powder or red coloured water on each other's body in the Holi play by Krishna and Radha or Krishna and other Gopis. It is a mock fight between a man and woman where the battle field is painted red (the colour of love). Again *jala-kṛīḍā* or water sport is depicted in literature as a favourite pastime of amorous people. This sport a woman can play with her husband or with the younger brother of the husband only.

देवल बोली के पाखुं दीयोर, “आपण दीयोर भोजाई होली खेलीये

हूं पुछुं तमने पाखु दीयोर छठो पवाडो ठाकोर ।

क्या रम्यां ? छठो रम्यां भाभी तमारे पीयोर ” XIII, Pt. 3, p. 186.

(Devala said, Pakhu, my *diyora* let us play *holi*, . . . please tell me where did you play your sixth battle?). In this a battle is compared to a sport, just as *holi* is a sport.

देवरसाथे बोले भाष तुम्हसूं खेलणनी अभिलाष ।

भाभीया मन राखण हेत, चालीयो भूपति महिल समेत ।

घटिका दोय करी जल ह्याल । I, Pt. 3, p. 262.

(Sītā said to her *devara* (Bharata) I wish to play with you. In order to please the *bhābhī* the king went with the women and enjoyed water sport for an hour or two).

King Bharata wished to become a Jain monk and give up all worldly pleasures. In order to turn his thoughts away from such a decision Sītā invited him for water-sports. In the same way Nemi, the Tirthankara of the Jains and a younger brother of Krishna (according to Jaina-tradition), was inclined to turn away from worldly pleasures and Krishna in order to

divert his thoughts from penance made him share in water sports with his wives i.e. with the *bhābhī*.

जलस्फालनधी उपनो कंकण ध्वनी श्रीकार

जाणे स्मर भूपालना, तूयनाद मन हार

.....नेमि खेलावण कारणे प्रेरी केशव ताहि ।

आवि मिली उतावली, जलभृत कंचण शृंग छटि नयण नेमीसना मृगनयणी मनरंग ।

कलश भरी पाणीतणा, नामे प्रभुने सीस, तेहोने पिण तिमहीज करे, निर्विकार जगदीसि ।

देखि नेमीने खेलतां, रिष्ट दामोदर थाई । I, Pt. 4, p. 574.

(From the water rose a charming sound of women's bangles, as if it was the sounding of the trumpet of the god of love. Keshav called Nemi to play with them. Casting glances at Nemi, one big-eyed lady, filling a golden horn full with water poured it on the lord's head. He also did the same but with a mind empty of any (amorous) thoughts. Seeing Nemi playing Damodara was pleased). This whole passage leaves us in no doubt about the nature of water-sport. It may be said that it was the *bhābhī*'s roll to give first lessons in love to the *Diya*.

*Bhābhī*—*diya* relationship and its implications are well illustrated in two old legends of Kāthiāwād, Hindu Harapāla and Lākhaṇa Sīyadā.

In the first story<sup>6</sup> Līlāvātī, the step-mother of Harapāla, wanted to poison him and prepared two dishes of sugar, one containing poison and said to him, "I will feed you with my own hands from one of these dishes, while you should feed me with your hands out of the second dish." Harapāla replied, "Mother, this is done only by bride and bride-groom or by a man and his elder brother's wife but never between a son and mother." In the second legend<sup>7</sup> the implication is brought out even more forcibly. The king Lākhaṇa was visiting a village when he saw a beautiful *chāraṇī* and shamelessly addressed her "*Bhābhī*, where is my brother, your husband?" Incensed at the insult the *Chāraṇī* said "you address as *Bhābhī* those who should be addressed as mother or sister and it is shameful of you." Saying thus

<sup>6</sup> लीलावतीए बे खोबा साकरथी भर्या, एकमां झेर नाख्युं अने बीजामां एकली साकरज राखी. हरपाळ आव्यो एटळे लीलावती बोली बेटा आ साकरना खोबा छे. तेमाथी एक खोबामाथी साकर तू मने खवराव अने बीजामाथी हूं तने खवरावुं. हरपाळ बोल्या, मा ए तो बहु करे के भाभी करे; मा दीकरो ते एम करतां हशे ? XIII, p. 35, pt. 3.

<sup>7</sup> राजा उठी उभो थयो ने मरकने मोए मूछे हात देतो कामबाईने पूछवा लाग्यो:—"भाभी मेरा भाई क्यां छे ?" आ झेरी वचन सूनतां वेंतज सति मुंझाई गई..... "अरे अमने तो आना बाप दादा सदा देवी गणी मानता आव्या छे, ते आ ई उंचा कुळमा उठेलो इंगारो न फट थई जोने मने भाभी कही बोलावे छे. माने बेनने ए भाभी कहे छे. अरे मारा रुपे बहु मुंझ क्युं..... ..स्तनो पलवारमा कापी.....ने एक थाळ लई तेमां मूक्यां पछी उघाडे माथे ते थाळ हातमां उपाडी ने उघाड शरीरे चोरा तरफ चाली.....हाथ उंचो करी कामबाई बोली "हूं भेणी तू था, सगा आपुनो संबंध ए । पण कवचन काच्छेला, के अवगणे काडियुं." etc. III, p. 67, pt. 2.

she went home ; but burning under the insult cut up her beautiful breasts and sent them to the king and then burnt herself.

The rule of avoidance between a man and his younger brother's wife, the prescribed familiarity with the elder brother's wife, the absence of an indigenous word for the younger brother of the father and calling the step-father *kākā* all lead to the custom of *Diyervatū* practised by many castes in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād. By this custom a widow is allowed—and sometimes compelled to marry the younger brother of her husband. The literary and folklore evidence suggests that in olden times, sexual relations may have been allowed between a man and his elder brother's wife. Similar conditions are found also in U.P. The sample of kinship terminology I have gathered is like that for Gujarāt. Though I have not been able to collect detailed accounts of kinship usages, the *der-bhābhī* relationship as depicted in song and tale and in custom is also similar. While avoidance is prescribed between the *jeṭha* and the younger brother's wife, the words used are also the same. Husband's younger brother is called *devara* and elder brother is called *jeṭha*. In old Marāṭhī and among certain castes on the Western Coast, distinct words exist for the elder and younger brother (*bhāvā* and *ḍāra*) of the husband, though they have vanished in modern times, the word *ḍāra* is used generically for all brothers of the husband. I suggest that the above facts are significant. Originally the distinct kinship terms, and the distinct kinship usages denoted that the eldest brother's wife could have sex relations with the younger brother of the husband, while the eldest brother could not even see the face of the younger brother's wife. In the countries south of the river Narmadā, there is no such relationship and so the distinctive functions of the elder and younger brothers of the husband having vanished, the distinct terms also vanished. In the northern languages, though the custom has vanished from certain castes, the terminology and the avoidance and familiarity relationships suggest that it might have endured for a longer period. The word *devar* has a counterpart *devr* in the earliest Sanskrit, but for the word *jeṭha* no equivalent term can be found in R̥g- or Atharvaveda. I had suggested that if the custom was for the eldest son only to marry and inherit property, his wife would have no male relation whom she could call *jeṭha*, while all the brothers of her husband would be her *devars*. The northern languages and the northern usages have in this respect kept the original terminology, while Marāṭhī changed it owing to a change in cultural outlook.

What exactly was this *diyer-bhojāi* relationship in olden days? It may be construed in the following way.

A woman was not simultaneously married to all the brothers. She married the eldest only, but by doing so she was automatically shared by the younger brothers also. In modern times this kind of sharing is not allowed. The *diyervatū*, the passing of a widow into the guardianship of her younger brother-in-law, is not recognised as a marriage at all. Only for the first marriage the words *lagna* or *vivāha* are used. The marriage of a widow is never performed by a Brahmin priest with vedic rites. It is called *nātrum*, and



*diyervatu* is only a special kind of *nātrun*. It is interesting to note that in one place in mediaeval Gujarātī the word *nātaro* is used for the first marriage (marrying of a man to a virgin) also.<sup>8</sup> I had thought this custom as equivalent of polyandry, but it is quite distinct, as there is no marriage at any one time with more than one man. The exact equivalent of this relationship can be found in the relationship of a man and his wife's younger sister. We have already noted that in Gujarātī as also in Marāṭhī distinct terms exist for the elder and the younger sisters of the wife. The elder sister is equated to the mother-in-law and it is taboo for a man to hold light conversation with her. With the younger sister of the wife a man is on terms of great familiarity and can marry her in the life time of his wife or after the death of his wife. In both Gujarātī as well as in Marāṭhī the step-mother is termed *māsi* (mother's sister).<sup>9</sup> While the custom of *diyervatu* has vanished in Marāṭhā country and is not practised by the higher castes in northern India, the custom of marrying the wife's younger sister is practised among almost all communities of India.<sup>9</sup> In Gujarāt in many communities it is also customary for a man to marry the daughter of the wife's brother, if the wife has no unmarried younger sister. These customs of *diyervatu* (junior levirate?) and the marriage of a man to the younger sister or the niece of the wife illustrate very well the sociological implications of the institution of marriage. Marriage was not conceived as the private business of two individuals but was a sort of a contract between two families. One family supplied the mate to a woman while the other supplied a wife to a man. If one mate died, the woman had to be provided for by the family in which she was married. A protector, a food giver, a father to her children had to be found out and the responsibility fell on the younger brother of the late husband. *Diyervatu* is a privilege and a responsibility. In the same way if a woman dies or fails to give birth to male progeny, her family has to provide another wife to her husband and the unmarried younger sister or seldom the niece is given to the same man. If it is difficult to find a husband for the younger sister, a woman sometimes pleads with her husband to marry her and brings her home as her co-wife. This latter usage is called in Marāṭhī *mehuṇcāra*. The words connote the familiarity or joking relationship as also possible marriage between a man and his wife's younger sister. *Diyervatu* and *mehuṇcāra* are thus complementary customs. Both the customs are prevalent in certain castes in Northern India and only the latter custom prevails in the south.

The kinship terminology as described above easily lends itself to an inference about the custom of levirate or *diyervatu*, but though the structure of the terminology does not reveal it another important custom prevails in

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<sup>8</sup> मोठ ब्राह्मणतणी कुंयरी, प्रोहितनई दई आदर करी । करा नातरो पूछई तात, माधव तेई न मानई वात । I part 7 Maghwanalim Katha, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> It was reported to me by Prof. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA and Dr. A. RIYAPPAN that the marriage of a man with his wife's sister is strictly prohibited among the Khasis of Assam and the Nayars of Malabar.

parts of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād. We have seen that among certain castes the father of the wife is called *māmā* i.e. maternal uncle. This term is quite logical and also almost universal in the Marāṭhā terminology, where cross-cousin marriage is the rule. In the Marāṭhā terminology there is a whole series of terms which can be explained only by the custom of the cross-cousin marriage. Thus the cross-cousins are sharply differentiated from the parallel cousins, man and woman use different terms when speaking about a child of their Geschwister (सहोदर) the nature of the term depending on the fact as to whether the Geschwister (सहोदर) is of the same sex as the speaker or of a different sex. All these peculiarities are entirely absent in the Gujarāṭi language, only the term *māmā* applied to the wife's father among certain castes lets one infer the presence of cross-cousin marriage and actual enquiries have proved that quite a number of castes practise this custom. In the legend and folk literature of Kāthiāwād there are many instances of cross-cousin marriages. In the story of Nondhala, the prince Nondhala<sup>10</sup> is married to his maternal uncle's daughter. In a curious story,<sup>11</sup> the date of which I have been unable to fix, a man is said to have wooed and won the wife of his maternal uncle. The other side of the picture, that of the rivalry between a man and his maternal uncle, is also depicted in many legends of Kāthiāwād. The famous legend of Ra Khengar and Ranakdevi arises mainly out of the episode of the quarrel between Ra Khengar and his nephew and the revenge of the latter. It will be of interest to note the castes which allow different types of preferential mating. I found on enquiries that

1. The following castes practise cross-cousin marriage :—Rajputs, Garasias, some Bhats, Charanis (in Cutch), Khavas, Khants, Kathi, Ahirs, Brahmakshetri Mers, Hati, Ghanchi (Muselman), Bhil, Margi-bāba and all other Baba or Gosāi, Dhedvankar, Bhagni, Vitholna, Gandhrapdh, Paṛi, Vagher, Kharvā.

2. The following castes practise *diyervatū* (junior levirate only).<sup>12</sup> All the Kanbis (leva, kadve, matia, anjna) Bhavsar, Gola, Kubhar, Rabari.

3. The following castes allow both cross-cousin marriage and *diyervatū*. :—Kathi, Vagher, Ahir, Waghri, Bhangi and Dhed.

4. The following castes allow neither :—All the Brahmans, the Banias and most of the artisan castes like Sutar, Kansar, Sali, Soni, Mochi, Darji, Kadia etc.

Castes included in the group 4 are all the so-called first and second rank castes advanced in education. They observe the avoidance and familiarity rules about the *diyer* and *bhojāi* (a woman and her husband's younger brother) relationship, but there is no record of a widow marrying the younger brother-in-law. In fact among all these castes widow remarriage is forbidden.

No. 2 group is in a state of transition. The educated and monied Kanbis, called Pāṭidārs, allow neither widow remarriage nor *diyervatū* but the Kanbis in the village do allow it. These Kanbis are found in Kāthiāwād

<sup>10</sup> III, pt. 2, p. 126.

<sup>11</sup> III, pt. 2, pp. 1-64.

<sup>12</sup> XI, pp. 263-64.

also but they are the agricultural caste of Gujarāt and form the majority in Gujarāti population. Some artisans follow the same custom, though the majority of artisans fall into No. 4 group.

No. 1 is, with a few exceptions, a Kāthiāwād-group ; most of the tribes and castes belong to Kāthiāwād and have a history of semi-pastoral or nomadic cultures which they have preserved even to this day. Of these the Bhils and Pardhis belong to the aborigines group. The data about Bhils are very conflicting. The educated Bhil stoutly denies the existence of the custom of cross-cousin marriage, while others have reported that they have such a custom. Both the Pardhis and Bhils in Mahārāṣṭra practise cross-cousin marriage. The other members of this group are separated from the Marāṭhā group by the whole of the riverine tract of Gujarāt.

Group No. 3 is both anomalous and interesting. The Ahirs are spread outside of Kāthiāwād. They are found in very large numbers in the provinces Delhi, West U. P., parts of the Panjab and then deep into Khandesh. Enquiries made by a student of this institute (Mr. A. M. SHARMA) showed that the northern Ahirs stoutly deny cross-cousin marriage and records of *diyervatū* may be found among them. Personal enquiries among Khandesh Ahirs showed that they were all a cross-cousin marrying people with no trace of *diyervatū*, while the Kāthiāwād Ahirs allow both kinds of mating. The data would show that the so-called Ahirs in all these provinces are different folks or that they get easily assimilated to the culture complex of the land of their adoption. The geographical distribution and the cultural occupation of the Ahirs as also the historical references to them seem to point out that the Ahirs originally belonged culturally to one group and so the second conjecture seems to be true. In a country like Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād, where there is a cultural ambivalence between the two complexes, they have apparently found it convenient to practise both kinds of marriages. The Kathis, a highly interesting caste or tribe, practise cross-cousin marriage both ways as also *Diyervatū*. They belong by cultural affinities to the Mers, to the Khants and lastly to Rajputs among whom *Diyervatū* is strictly tabooed and so their practising this custom appears strange. There is nothing *per se* illogical in a people practising both the customs, but in India there is a sharp geographical division between people who practise cross-cousin marriage and have a kinship terminology to suit and those that either practise levirate or have a terminology which points to levirate. The Kathis and Ahirs practise both and are hence a problem. Some (e.g. Kincaid)<sup>13</sup> derive the Ahirs and Kathis from Asia Minor and we know from the Biblical evidence that at least among some tribes both cross-cousin marriage and levirate were practised in ancient times. The Khavās may be left out of consideration as they are recruited from girls and boys bought by old royal houses and transferred as personal property in gift, inheritance and sale. There are

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<sup>13</sup> KINCAID, *The Outlaws of Kathiawad*.

no regular marriage among these people as the husband and wife may be separated at any moment at the master's sweet will.<sup>14</sup>

The Bhangis and Dheds are on the lowest rung of the ladder of the caste hierarchy of the Hindus. The Bhangis are found in the Marāṭhā country also, but they are all recruited from Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād, hence they belong to Kāthiāwād and Gujarāt. The Dheds are found in the Marāṭhā country. It is a word used as an equivalent of Mahār in Khandesh, Berar and the Central Provinces. The Mahārs in the Marāṭhā country practise cross-cousin marriage both ways but I have not been able to gather evidence of *Diyervaṇū* among them. In this respect these two Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād castes differ from the Marāṭhā castes.

The distribution of the customs of cross-cousin marriage and junior levirate is extremely interesting in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād. Gujarāt is formed by the alluvium of great rivers like the Narmada, Tapti, and Sabarmati, populated by an industrious agricultural class, the Kāṇbis. All the castes belonging to the agricultural class practise junior levirate. The Kāthiāwād agriculturist practises it but is averse to admit it openly and he and the more educated and richer Kāṇbis are giving up the custom. This change in outlook is due to the influence of the Brahmins and the Banias. The people influenced most by these are the intelligent artisan class which is active in all religious reformist movements. Kāthiāwād is a land belonging to pastoral and semi-nomadic tribes. Though Vaiṣṇavism holds its sway there also, still the worship of Śiva and the mother Goddess is practised among many castes. Most of the castes which practise cross-cousin marriage belong to Kāthiāwād. The unity of language covers two culturally distinct elements which are geographically separated also. Added to these we have elements like the Bhangis and the Dheds which practise both customs. This peculiar distribution of people of two culture-complexes raise many interesting problems. Considered historically, the solid block of cross-cousin-marrying people to the south of the river Narmada is older than the northern levirate block. The aboriginal element has its affinities to the South Sea Islands. This block has within itself different groups, some being purely matriarchal while others, which are in a majority, have a patriarchal structure of the family. To the east this southern block nearly joins the north-eastern peoples of Assam and the Naga country where we have cross-cousin marriage and matriarchy. The interrelation of the southern and the northern group cannot however be established at this point in the enquiry. To the west the Kāthiāwād group of people allowing cross-cousin marriage is joined to the southern group near Khandesh and Nasik via the Bhil country. This Bhil element is an aboriginal one and probably the oldest folk-element in Gujarāt; the other people are divided from the southern block by the Gujarāt wedge. Historically the Rajputs, the Kathis and Ahirs are late elements in India and so do not seem to be connected with the southern block. It would be interesting to trace

<sup>14</sup> ENHOVEN, *Castes and Tribes, Bombay Presidency*.

the date of settlement of Gujrat by the Kanbis, the Banias and the Brahmins. As most of the Brahmins belong to Mādhyandina Śākhā of the Śukla Yajurveda, there settlement is after the Christian Era. The Banias appear to have traditions connecting them with Cutch and Sind. The Kanbis need deeper investigation. It may be noted, however, that the Kanbis of Gujarāt who have settled in very large numbers in Khandesh like to call themselves Marāṭhās and practise universally cross-cousin marriage. The Marāṭhās, however, as a rule do not inter-marry with these Kanbis, and they form a compact endogamous sub-caste. A change in their marriage customs in such recent times in spite of endogamy appears to be strange and may give a clue to the problem of why certain castes in Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwād practise both cross-cousin marriage and levirate. They might have simply taken up a new custom and added it to their old culture-material.

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# UNPĀNINIAN FORMS AND USAGES IN THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

## 2.—PARTICIPLES<sup>1</sup>

by

E. D. KULKARNI

Participles are of various kinds: (1) present participles (2) past participles (3) potential participles or gerundives (4) perfect participles and (5) future participles. The participles of roots of the present tense and of causal, desiderative verbs are formed by adding the termination *-at* (शत्) to parasmaipadi roots and *-āna* (शानच्) with the augment *-m* (मुक्) prefixed to it to ātmanepadi roots of the first fourth, sixth and tenth class (including causal verbs) or thematic class and of the passive verbs and *-āna* to the ātmanepadi roots of the rest of the classes.<sup>2</sup> The participles of parasmaipadi roots of the ten classes, (except those of the roots of the 3rd class) and of causal and desiderative verbs are declined in the masculine like *bhagavat*. In the Nom. sing. the penultimate *a* is not lengthened. Participles of roots of the first, fourth, and tenth classes and of causal and desiderative verbs keep *-n* in the Nom. Acc. and Voc. dual Neut.<sup>3</sup> The roots of the sixth class and the roots of the second class ending in *ā* may optionally insert *-n* in the Nom. Acc. and Voc. dual Neut. The participles of roots belonging to the 3rd class and *jaksat*, *jāgrat*, *daridrat*, *śāsāt*, *cahāsāt*, *didhyāt*, and *vevyāt* are declined in the masculine like *marut* and they insert *-n* optionally before *-t* in the Nom. Acc. and Voc. plur. Neut. The participles of all other roots must reject *-n* in the Nom. Acc. and Voc. dual Neut.<sup>4</sup> The feminine base of all these roots is identical in form with the Nom. dual Neut. Exceptions to these rules are not wanting in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata. The majority of the irregularities noted below, occur mainly owing to the *padavyatyaya* or change of pada and change of conjugation.

<sup>1</sup> For the previous study of the series see *Annals BORI XXIV*, pp 83-97. I am highly obliged to Dr. KATRE for giving me valuable suggestions in the preparation of the article.

<sup>2</sup> लटः शतृशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ अप्रथमान्तेन सामानाधिकरण्ये सति धातोर्लटः शतृशानचौस्तः । *Siddhānta Kaumudī* (=SK) on *Pāṇini* 3.2.124.

<sup>3</sup> शप्श्यनोर्नित्यम् ॥ शप्श्यनोरात्परो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्य नित्यं नुम् स्याच्छीनयोः परतः । SK. on *Pāṇ.* 7.1.81.

<sup>4</sup> नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः ॥ वा नपुंसकस्य ॥ अभ्यस्तात्परस्य शतुर्नुम् न स्यात् । अभ्यस्तात्परो यः शता तदन्तस्य क्लीबस्य नुम् वा स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । SK on *Pāṇ* 7.7.78-9.

With respect to the voice it was pointed out by Dr. KATRE in his *Wilson Philological Lectures*, delivered under the auspices of the University of Bombay in March 1941, that the confusion of voice is characteristic of the later period when its true significance is completely lost, that most of the changes in voice noticed are from the epic literature, that the middle voice is on the decline, being chiefly found in the early metrical part of the canon, the only survival is in the present participles, where it drives out the active ending.<sup>6</sup> The illustrations collected below bear out the truth of the statement. One thing noted about the passive participles is that we have a number of them with active ending.

The past passive participles are made generally by adding *-ta* to the bare verbal root with observations of the ordinary rules of euphonic combination.<sup>6</sup> I have divided these participles into four groups (1) *seṭ* for *aniṭ* (2) *aniṭ* for *seṭ* (3) simplex for causative (4) causative for simplex.

From the past passive participle is made the past active participle by adding the possessive suffix *-vanti*. We have noted only two instances, one of *seṭ* for *aniṭ* and the other of causative for simplex.

The suffixes by which the gerundives are regularly made, are three *-ya*, *-tavya*, and *-nīya*.<sup>8</sup> The irregularities pointed out, chiefly belong to the *-tavya* type, which do not conform with rules of *seṭ*, *veṭ*, and *aniṭ*.

With regard to the last two participles, namely perfect participles and future participles; nothing peculiar is discovered. Only we have some illustrations of perfect participles lacking in reduplication and one instance of the future participle of *seṭ* used as *aniṭ* and *-at* for *-māna* and the other is an instance of the future participle with middle voice.

#### PRESENT PARTICIPLES

##### I. MASCULINE PARASMAIPADA.

- (A) *juhvan*—1·81·12<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>3</sub> B (except B<sub>3</sub>) D<sub>a1</sub> *juhvad* ] ;  
 1·110·31<sup>a</sup> [ K<sub>2.4</sub> B (except B<sub>6</sub>) D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>1</sub> G<sub>6</sub> M<sub>3</sub> *juhvad* ] ;  
 4·280<sup>x</sup>·7 ;  
*juhvantau*—1·201·8<sup>a</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>o. 1.3</sub> Ñ<sub>1</sub> D<sub>6</sub> TG<sub>3.4</sub> *juhvānau* ;  
 V<sub>1</sub> *kṛntantau* ) ;  
*praśāsantam*—3·61·89<sup>d</sup> ( G<sub>1</sub> *praviśantam* ) ;
- (B) *-ĀNA* for *-AT*  
*majjānāḥ*—5·74·17<sup>a</sup> [ D<sub>1</sub> *hy* āngāni ; D<sub>7.10</sub> S (except T<sub>2</sub>) *gātrāṇi* ] ;  
*muñcānāḥ*—3·704<sup>x</sup>·1 ( TG<sub>1-3</sub> M *vimuñcantāḥ* ) ;  
*vasānāḥ*—3·824<sup>x</sup>·1 ;  
*samāsajānāḥ*—4·5·28<sup>f</sup> [ BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>6-12</sub> C<sub>r</sub> (dev.) *samāsajyātha* ; D<sub>4</sub> *samāsajya* ] ;  
*samśprśānāḥ*—4·886<sup>x</sup>·2 ;

<sup>6</sup> Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan by Dr. KATRE, *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. II, pp. 220-29.

<sup>6</sup> WHITNEY *Sanskrit Grammar* 340 § 953.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid* 344 § 959.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid* 365 § 962.

## II. MASCULINE ĀTMANEPADA.

- (A) -AT for MĀNA<sup>9</sup> ;  
*arīhayān*—5·33·50<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2.4.5</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>s1</sub> D<sub>5.6.9.10</sub> T<sub>2</sub> anarcayan ;  
 K<sub>4</sub> B<sub>3</sub> nārcayan ; K<sub>5</sub> D<sub>3.4.7.3</sub> nāśrayan ;  
 T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1.3.5</sub> nārthayeta ; M nārthayīta ) ;  
*prārthayan*—1·3·146<sup>d</sup> ;  
*prārthayantah*—1·101<sup>x</sup>·3 ; 1·387<sup>x</sup>·2 ; 3·51·21<sup>b</sup> ; 5·62·26<sup>b</sup> ;  
*prārthayatah*—4·278<sup>x</sup>·1 ( D<sub>0</sub> prārthayase ) ;  
*prasamarthayan*—1·111·22<sup>d</sup> ( S<sup>o</sup>rthaye ) ;  
*abhipreksan*—5·58·3<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>4.5</sub> D<sub>5</sub> D<sub>1-4.7.10</sub> <sup>o</sup>preksya ) ;  
*aveksauām*—5·106·9<sup>b</sup> [ K<sub>4</sub> B ( B<sub>2</sub> missing ) D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>r</sub> D<sub>3.4.6-10</sub>  
 pracaksate ; G<sub>4</sub> avekṣitām ; K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>2</sub> samavekṣitāḥ ;  
 D<sub>1</sub> samavekṣyatām. ]  
*udikṣantah*—3·245·6<sup>e</sup> ;  
*udikṣatām*—4·18·32<sup>b</sup> [ Ś<sub>1</sub> B ( except B<sub>5</sub> ; B<sub>3m</sub>, as in text ) ;  
 D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>7.8.11.12</sub> C<sub>r</sub> udikṣyañ ; KD<sub>9</sub> udikṣitam ; S udikṣitum ] ;  
*nirikṣan*—3·264·69<sup>d</sup> [ BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>3-6</sub> G<sub>3</sub> didhaksuḥ ; TG<sub>1.2.4</sub> M  
 vi ( T<sub>1</sub> pra ) paśyan ] ;  
*nirikṣantam*—3·146·71<sup>a</sup> ; 3·281·9<sup>d</sup> ;  
*nirikṣatām*—1·203·15<sup>d</sup> [ K<sub>2</sub> V<sub>1</sub> B ( except B<sub>6</sub> ) D<sub>1.4</sub> divaukasām ;  
 N<sub>1</sub> nirikṣitum ] ;  
*parikṣantah*—1·132·12<sup>b</sup> ;  
*prekṣantah*—3·180·49<sup>d</sup> ( B<sub>4</sub> prekṣyamāṇāḥ ; S paśyantah ) ;  
 3·198·93<sup>c</sup> Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>c1</sub> D<sub>2</sub> TG<sub>2.4</sub> prekṣante ; D<sub>c2</sub> D<sub>1.5</sub> prekṣyante ;  
*prekṣatah*—3·163·53<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>3.4</sub> D<sub>1.3</sub> prekṣya- ( K<sub>3</sub> <sup>o</sup>kṣa- ) māṇasya ;  
 B<sub>4</sub> T<sub>1.2</sub> G<sub>1.5</sub> M paśyataḥ ] ;  
*pratīkṣan*—1·92·16<sup>c</sup> ( N̄<sub>2.3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> B D<sub>2.4</sub> paripsan ) ; 3·28·22<sup>c</sup> ; 3·515<sup>x</sup>·1 ;  
*pratīkṣantam*—3·512<sup>x</sup>·2  
*vikṣan*—5·141·32<sup>d</sup> [ N ( except K<sub>1.4.5</sub> D<sub>2.9</sub> ; D<sub>1 om.</sub> ) grasan ] ;  
*samīkṣatah*—4·11·1<sup>b</sup> ( B<sub>5</sub> D<sub>6</sub> nirikṣitum ; D<sub>6</sub> samikṣitum ) ;  
 3·176·30<sup>c</sup> ( B<sub>1</sub> udikṣamāṇāḥ ; B<sub>2.3</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1.6</sub> samudvikṣamāṇāḥ ) ;  
*samudikṣantah*—1·219·3<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> N̄<sub>2</sub> BD<sub>a</sub> D<sub>1.4.5</sub> samudaikṣanta ;  
 K<sub>4</sub> N̄<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> D<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1</sub> <sup>o</sup>dikṣanta ; G<sub>3</sub> samudikṣya ; T<sub>3</sub> G<sub>2-4</sub>  
 samudvikṣya ; G<sub>6</sub> samikṣyātha ) ;  
*eṣatah*—5·27·5<sup>b</sup> [ B ( except B<sub>1</sub> ) D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>3-5</sub> C<sub>a</sub> icchatām ;  
 D<sub>9</sub> D<sub>1.10</sub> C<sub>d</sub> icchatā ; T<sub>2</sub> eṣitām ; G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> eṣate ; C<sub>9</sub> anicchatā ] ;  
*akatthan*—5·560<sup>x</sup>·1 ;  
*kāmayan*—4·54·20<sup>c</sup> ;  
*prakāśadbih*—1·584<sup>x</sup>·1 ;  
*apṛakāśatā*—1·14·16<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1.6</sub> M<sub>1</sub> <sup>o</sup>kāśitam ) ;  
*kutsayan*—1·123·55<sup>d</sup> ; *kutsayantah*—3·1360<sup>x</sup>·1 ;  
*kramadbhiḥ*<sup>10</sup>—1·64·32<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>0.2.3</sub> krāmadbhiḥ ; N̄<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> B D<sub>a2</sub> D<sub>1.2.4.5</sub>  
 kramavidbhiḥ ) ;

<sup>9</sup> cf *mṛgayadbhiḥ* ( R 4·40·24 ) ; *anuvartatām* ( R 4·42·24<sup>e</sup> ) etc.<sup>10</sup> We get these forms owing to the confusion of root belonging to different classes



*vikramantah*—1·178·16<sup>a</sup>;

*vikramatā*—1·138·1<sup>a</sup> [  $\hat{N}_2$  V<sub>1</sub> BD (except D<sub>5</sub>) G<sub>8</sub> *vikramamāṇena* ]

*viparikraman*—5·131·10<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> °bhraman; T G<sub>1·2·5</sub> M<sub>4</sub> ( inf. lin )  
°kramāt; G<sub>3</sub> °kramāḥ; G<sub>4</sub> °kramah )

*grasan*—3·124·23<sup>a</sup>;

*ceṣṭan*—3·154·32<sup>b</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> ceṣṭah; B<sub>1</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>4·6</sub> pāpa-; B<sub>2-4</sub> D<sub>n</sub> pāpah; D<sub>3</sub>  
ceṣṭāḥ; T<sub>1</sub> śreṣṭhal )

*ceṣṭatsu*—3·1033×4 ( G<sub>1</sub> ceṣṭayet ) ;

*vicesṭantah*—1·217·8<sup>b</sup> ( T<sub>3</sub> G<sub>2-6</sub> vyaveṣṭanta ) ;

*vicesṭantam*—3·40·47<sup>c</sup> ; 3·256·13<sup>a</sup> : 4·36·47<sup>a</sup> ;

*jṛmbhatoh*—1·202·15<sup>d</sup> [ Ko.<sub>3</sub> jṛmbhitāḥ; K<sub>2</sub> vedhasah;  $\hat{N}_1$  V<sub>1</sub> B<sub>6</sub> D<sub>4</sub>  
dānavi(K<sub>2</sub> °ni) jṛmbhitāḥ (  $\hat{N}_1$  °noḥ);  $\hat{N}_{2·3}$  B<sub>1·3·5</sub> D<sub>2</sub> D<sub>n1</sub> D<sub>n2</sub> °dānani-  
rāktāḥ; D<sub>n3</sub> D<sub>1·2</sub> nirāktāḥ; S ca prabho (T<sub>1</sub> M<sub>3·5-7</sub> °bhoḥ ).] ;

*jṛmbhatām*—4·38·18<sup>b</sup> ;

*tapyatām*<sup>9</sup>—3·259·19<sup>b</sup> ;

*tarjayantam*—3·297·21<sup>d</sup> ; *titikṣatah*—1·82·7<sup>b</sup> ;

*vyapatrapan*—1·109·26<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>2·4</sub> °trapo;  $\hat{N}_2$  B ( B<sub>1</sub> m as in text )

*trapamāṇo* S apatrapābhi ( G<sub>2-6</sub> °pā hi ) bhūtātāt ( G<sub>2·5·6</sub>  
bhūtānām ) ]

*tvaran*—4·241×·2 ; 4·52·8<sup>c</sup> ;

*tvaratām*—5·149·48<sup>b</sup> ( D<sub>s</sub> D<sub>10</sub> caratām ) ;

*dīpyantam*—1·172·7<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>4</sub>  $\hat{N}_2$  V<sub>1</sub> BD ( except D<sub>5</sub> ) S ( except  
T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>2·3</sub> ) *dīpyamānam* ] ;

*vidīyatā*—1·53·6<sup>b</sup> ; 3·107·3<sup>b</sup> ; 3·280·29<sup>d</sup> ;

*plavan*—5·74·3<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>s</sub> plavaṁ; M<sub>3-5</sub> plavān ) ;

*plavatah*—3·148·3<sup>c</sup> ;

*upaplavantah*—4·57·6<sup>a</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> BD<sub>1-3·8·10</sub> C<sub>n</sub> upaplavante ;  
S udak prayāti ) ;

*bhartsayan*—4·63·44<sup>d</sup> ;

*bhartsayantam*—3·175·15<sup>d</sup> ;

*bhartsayadbhiḥ*—3·152·12<sup>f</sup> ;

*avabhartsayan*—3·238·26<sup>b</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1·2</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>1-3·5</sub> avasādayan; K<sub>3·4</sub>  
avasādaya; T<sub>1</sub> avanādayan; T<sub>2</sub> āhvaya svayam ) ;

*paribhartsayan*—3·262·8<sup>b</sup> ;

*bhāśantah*—1·1493×·3 ; 4·966×·1 ;

*bhāśatah*—4·34·10<sup>b</sup> ; 5·146·18<sup>b</sup> ( B<sub>3</sub> D<sub>6</sub> bhārata; D<sub>32</sub> M<sub>3-5</sub> bhāṣitam ) ;

*bhāśatām*—1·129·9<sup>b</sup> [ Ko.<sub>2</sub>  $\hat{N}_{1·2}$  V<sub>1</sub> BDT<sub>1</sub> jalpatām; T<sub>2</sub> G ( G<sub>4</sub> sup.  
lin. as in text ) sarvaśah ] ;

*samabhibhāśantau*—3·183·17<sup>c</sup>

*udbhāsan*—1·20·5<sup>a</sup> [ K ( except K<sub>1</sub> ) D<sub>2</sub> udbhāśah; D<sub>5</sub> ābhāśah ] ;

*bhikṣan*—3·1334×·1

*bhrājadbhiḥ*—1·96·17<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>0</sub> prakatā°; K<sub>1</sub> cara°; K<sub>2</sub> proccara°; K<sub>3·4</sub>  
prakira°; T G<sub>1·2·4·5</sub> M<sub>6-8</sub> pracalā°; G<sub>3</sub> pracara°; M<sub>3</sub> prajvalā° ) ;

*vibhrājatah*—3·233·8<sup>a</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> B<sub>1-3</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1·6</sub> G<sub>3</sub> vibhrājītān; D<sub>1-3</sub> G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>  
°jito ) ;

- avamanyataḥ*—3·236·2<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>3,4</sub> D<sub>c2</sub> T<sub>1</sub> °manyata ; D<sub>1,2</sub> ° jānataḥ ; D<sub>3</sub> °manyate ) ;
- mantrayantaḥ*—3·238·3<sup>d</sup> ( T<sub>1</sub> mantrayitvā ) ;
- mantrayataḥ*—3·465<sup>x</sup>·1 ;
- mantrayatsu*—1·15·11<sup>d</sup> ( N<sub>3</sub> mantrayitvā ) ; *mānayantaḥ*—5·81·66<sup>d</sup> ( S mānayanti )<sup>9</sup>
- mṛgayan*—1·93·29<sup>c</sup> ; 1·173·8<sup>b</sup> ; *mṛgayataḥ*—5·95·11<sup>d</sup> ;
- yatan*—5·91·6<sup>a</sup> ( S yatamāno ) ;
- yatantaḥ*—3·295·12<sup>c</sup> ( D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>2</sub> yattā ) ;
- prayatadbhiḥ*—5·20·7<sup>b</sup> ( T<sub>2</sub> prayacchadbhiḥ ) ;
- yudhyan*—1·1540<sup>x</sup>·1 ; 1·1938<sup>x</sup>·1.
- yudhyantaḥ*—5·50·11 ;
- yudhyantam*—5·17<sup>x</sup>·2 ; *yudhyataḥ*—4·980<sup>x</sup>·2 ;
- yudhyataḥ*—1·335<sup>x</sup>·2 ( K<sub>2,4</sub> sadā puṣyantu ; G<sub>1,2,4,5</sub> saha putrais tu )  
3·169·9<sup>b</sup> ; 4·32·14<sup>d</sup> ( B<sub>5</sub> D<sub>m2</sub> D<sub>11,12</sub> yudhyamānasya ) ; 4·603<sup>x</sup>·2 ;  
4·39·15<sup>b</sup> ; 4·781<sup>x</sup>·2 ; 5·155·28<sup>c</sup> ;
- yudhyatoḥ*—1·57·46<sup>c</sup> ; 5·10·18<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>1,3,5</sub> yuvayoḥ ; K<sub>4</sub> kruddhayoḥ )  
5·62·31<sup>c</sup> ;
- yudhyatām*—4·36·19<sup>d</sup> ; 5·29·29<sup>c</sup> ;
- ayudhyantam*—3·116·26<sup>b</sup> ;
- ayudhyataḥ*—5·151·25<sup>d</sup>
- pratiyudhyantam*—5·169·16<sup>d</sup> ; pratiyudhyataḥ—4·1029<sup>x</sup>·3 ;
- uman*—3·190·20 ( K<sub>4</sub> B<sub>4</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2,4</sub> M ramamāṇaḥ ; B<sub>1,3</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub> G<sub>3</sub> om. ;  
K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>3</sub> ramayan ; D<sub>c</sub> vasan ) ;
- ramataḥ*—3·155·55<sup>b</sup> ( T<sub>1</sub> nr̥patiḥ ; G<sub>4</sub> amṛtaḥ B<sub>2,4</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub>  
ra ( D<sub>m1</sub> bhra ) mamāṇān ; D<sub>5</sub> śikhinaḥ ) ;
- alabhantaḥ*—3·188·58<sup>c</sup> ;
- lambataḥ*—1·26·2<sup>c</sup> ;
- lambatām*—1·41·14<sup>a</sup> [ M ( except M<sub>1,5</sub> ) lambamānānām ] ;
- vilambati*—4·31·8<sup>d</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K vilambite ; B<sub>2</sub> D<sub>6</sub> avalambini ;  
D<sub>m2</sub> D<sub>1,3,8,11,12</sub> vilambini )
- udvijantaḥ*—1·189·4<sup>c</sup> ;
- prativedayantaḥ*—3·253·3<sup>c</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> °vedayante ) ;
- variantam*—1·42·12<sup>a</sup> : 1·48 25<sup>b</sup> [ T<sub>2</sub> G ( except G<sub>3</sub> ) vartamānam ]  
5·86·20<sup>a</sup> ; 5·175·1<sup>c</sup> ;
- vartatā*—3·176·17<sup>b</sup> ( D<sub>3</sub> tiṣṭhatā ; G<sub>2</sub> vartinā ),  
3·205·19<sup>b</sup> ( B<sub>4</sub> D<sub>m1,m2</sub> D<sub>1,3,5</sub> T<sub>2</sub> hi vartate ) ;
- vartataḥ*—1·1095<sup>x</sup>·2 ( M<sub>6,8</sub> vartate ) ;
- vartatām*—1·94·16<sup>b</sup> [ N<sub>2</sub> V<sub>1</sub> G ( except G<sub>1,6</sub> ) vartinām ] ;  
1·173<sup>x</sup>·8 ; 3·20·3<sup>b</sup> ( M<sub>2</sub> śikṣitaḥ ) ;
- anuvartatā*—1·143·13<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>0,3</sub> °vartate ; T<sub>1</sub> °paśyataḥ ; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>4,6</sub>  
°paśyatām : G<sub>1,3</sub> M °paśyatā ) ;
- vivartantam*—5·78·18<sup>c</sup> ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2</sub> vipannas tvam ; G<sub>3,4</sub> vipannastham ) ;
- vardhataḥ*—3·263·24<sup>f</sup> ( T<sub>1</sub> vartate ; K<sub>2</sub> parvataḥ ) ;
- vivardhatā*—1·107·35<sup>b</sup> [ S ( G<sub>1</sub> om. ) vardha ( G<sub>2</sub> °rta ) māne ] ;

- pravepātā*—1·43·31<sup>f</sup> [  $K_{3.4} D_n$  ( except  $D_{n3}$  )  $T_2 G$  ( except  $G_{3.6}$  ) *pravepītā* ] ; 3·281·10<sup>d</sup> (  $T_2 G_{2.4}$  *pravepītā* ) ;
- pravayathan*—3·1335<sup>x</sup>·1 ; *asahantaḥ*—3·17·9<sup>a</sup> ;
- sevataḥ*—1·19·13<sup>b</sup> (  $K_0$  *sevituh* ;  $V_1 D_{3.4}$  *dhimataḥ* ) ;
- āsevan*—1·1·198<sup>c</sup> (  $D_{6-12}$  *āśṛṇvan* ;  $G_6$  *kathayan* )
- spardhan*—1·355<sup>x</sup>·2 ;
- spandatām*—3·284<sup>x</sup>·6 ;
- smayan*—1·26·2<sup>b</sup> [  $\hat{N}_{1.2} V_1 BD$  ( except  $D_{2.5}$  )  $T_1$  *smayamāno* ;  $\hat{N}_3$  *samantāt* ;  $G_1$  *śākhām* ] ; 3·21·17<sup>b</sup> ; 3·44·26<sup>a</sup> (  $D_{1.3}$  *svayam eva* ) ; 3·71·24<sup>a</sup> (  $\hat{S}_1 K D_c D_{1-3.5}$   $T_1 G_{2.4}$  *M svayam* ) ; 3·77·17<sup>a</sup> ; 3·488<sup>x</sup>·1 ; 3·124·16<sup>a</sup> ; 3·147·17<sup>b</sup> (  $S$  *svayaṁ* ) ; 3·149·8<sup>b</sup> ; 3·164·19<sup>d</sup> [  $BD_c D_n D_{2-4.6}$  *gantavyaṁ phālguna* (  $D_{2.3}$  *pāṇḍava* ) *tvayā* ] ; 3·180·47<sup>b</sup> (  $T_1$  *mārkaṇḍeyaṁ for smayann iva* ) ; 3·240·35<sup>c</sup> (  $G_1$  *hasan* ) ; 3·286·19<sup>d</sup> ; 5·128·13<sup>d</sup> ; 5·172·4<sup>b</sup> ; 5·180·1<sup>a</sup> (  $K_4$  *smayamānaḥ* ) ; 5·180·22<sup>c</sup> ;
- smayantaḥ*—3·290·18<sup>d</sup> ; 5·186·5<sup>c</sup> ;
- abhisamayantaḥ*—3·99·18<sup>b</sup> (  $T_1$  °*prayātāḥ* ;  $T_2 G$  °*prayatnāt* (  $G_1$  °*prayuktāḥ* ) ;  $M_1$  °*pravṛttāḥ* ;  $M_2$  °*prayatnāḥ* ) ;
- abhyutsmayan*—5·186·34<sup>c</sup> ;
- utsmayan*—5·533<sup>x</sup>·1 ; 5·159·5<sup>c</sup> (  $D_{3.4}$  *saṁsmaran* ;  $T_2$  *bhartsayitvā* ) ; 5·164·31<sup>c</sup> ;
- vismayantaḥ*—1·186·12<sup>d</sup> ; *saṁsmayantaḥ*—5·129·4<sup>c</sup> ;
- vihvalan*—3·22·5<sup>b</sup> ;

(B)

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- adhīyataḥ*—1·98·27<sup>b</sup> [  $\hat{S}_1 K_1$  *adhītaḥ* ;  $K_0 2.4 D_2 S$  ( except  $G_6$  ) *adhīyata* ] ;
- adhīyataḥ*—1·1·191<sup>d</sup> (  $B_3$  *adhiya ca* ;  $B_4 D_a D_1$  °*yata* ) ;
- adhīyatām*—3·47·12<sup>d</sup> (  $T_2 G_{3.4}$  *adhīyinām* ) ;
- īśan*—5·66·14<sup>a</sup> (  $G_4$  *īśitā* ) ;
- īśantaḥ*—5·45·7<sup>b</sup> (  $D_s D_{7-10} T_1 G_{1-5} C_s$  *īśate* ;  $K_4 C_a d$  *icchantāḥ* )

(C)

—ĀNA FOR —MĀNA<sup>11</sup>

- prārthayānaḥ*—3·113·3<sup>b</sup> ; 3·286·12<sup>c</sup> ;
- prārthayānasya*—1·131<sup>x</sup>·1 ; 3·82·54<sup>a</sup> (  $B_1$  *pārtham āsādyā* ) ;
- prārthayāne*—5·182·16<sup>d</sup> [  $K_4 B_{1.3.4} D_n D_{3.4}$  *pratiyaṭe* (  $D_{n1}$  °*tam* ) ]
- kathayānaḥ*—3·72·17<sup>d</sup> (  $M_1$  *paṭhan yuktaḥ* ) ;
- kathayānam*—1·153·5<sup>d</sup> [  $\hat{N}_2 V_1 B D_a D_n D_{1.4}$  *kathayantam* ;  $D_2 TG$  ( except  $G_{3.4}$  )  $M_{3.5}$  °*yantaḥ* ] ;
- kāmayānaḥ*—3·213·48<sup>d</sup> · *kāmayānān*—5·33·32<sup>b</sup> ;
- kāmayānena*—1·2·92<sup>b</sup> (  $D_6$  *kāmayāmāsa* ) ;
- kāmayāneṣu*—5·33·72<sup>a</sup> ;
- akāmayānena*—3·139·6<sup>c</sup> ;
- kopayānam*—3·47·2<sup>b</sup> ;

<sup>11</sup> cf. *kāmayānasya* ( R. 5·22·42<sup>a</sup> ) etc.

- cintayānaḥ*—1.245<sup>×2</sup>; 1.1733<sup>×1</sup>; 1.224.1<sup>b</sup> (  $\hat{N}_1$  D<sub>1.3</sub> *cintayan*;  $\hat{N}_{2.3}$  BD<sub>a</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4.5</sub> *cintayāmāsa* ); 3.22.21<sup>b</sup>; 3.37.18<sup>b</sup>; 3.46.8<sup>c</sup>; 3.204<sup>×8</sup>; 3.242<sup>×1</sup>; 3.198.2<sup>a</sup>; 3.236.6<sup>a</sup>; 4.21.23<sup>d</sup> ( D<sub>6.7</sub> S *cintayan* ); 5.51.2<sup>c</sup>; 5.113.17<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>5</sub> *vicintayan* );  
*cintayānāḥ*—3.204<sup>×1</sup>;  
*cintayānam*—1.3.161 ( B<sub>4</sub> *vicintayantam*; T *cintayamānam* ); 3.186.111<sup>b</sup> ( S *cintayan* ); 5.33.7<sup>d</sup>;  
*cintayānasya*—3.58.26<sup>b</sup>;  
*samcintayānasya*—5.171<sup>a</sup> ( G<sub>3</sub> *samcintymānasya*; D<sub>5</sub> *cintayataḥ tasya* );  
*cetayānaḥ*—1.87.17<sup>a</sup> [ BD ( except D<sub>2</sub> ) *yatamāno* ]; 3.238.19<sup>c</sup> ( B<sub>1</sub> *cetanāvān* ); 5.37.26<sup>b</sup>;  
*darśayānam*—1.1.119<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>1.4</sub> D<sub>r</sub> ( except D<sub>r2</sub> ) G<sub>1.3</sub> M *darśayanam*; G<sub>7</sub> <sup>o</sup> *niyyam* ]; 1.1.124<sup>c</sup>;  
*nartayānam*—4.23.17<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> B<sub>2</sub> S *nartayanam* );  
*pālāyānaḥ*—1.69.20<sup>d</sup> (  $\hat{N}_1$  D<sub>5</sub> <sup>o</sup> *ya tvān*; S <sup>o</sup> *yethāḥ*;  $\hat{N}_2$  BD<sub>a</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1.2.4</sub> *pālayan* );  
*pūjayānaḥ*—1.1734<sup>×1</sup>; 3.907<sup>×1</sup>; 5.40.26<sup>b</sup> ( D<sub>m2</sub> G<sub>3.5</sub> *pūjyamānaḥ*; K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>2-4.7</sub> *pūjayitvā* );  
*pūjayānam*—3.287.11<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub> *pūjayā*; K<sub>2</sub> *pūjayāmāsa* );  
*mānayānaḥ*—3.189.5<sup>b</sup> ( S *mānayan* );  
*mṛgayānaḥ*—5.94.17<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>2</sub> S ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2</sub> om. ) *mārgamānaḥ* ];  
*vedayānaḥ*—5.141.22<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>3</sub> *vedamānāḥ* );  
*āhvayānaḥ*—5.180.10<sup>a</sup>; *āhvayānānam*—5.542<sup>×3</sup>;

(D)

—MĀNA FOR -ĀNA

- jñamānaḥ*—1.7.3<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>0.1.3</sub> D<sub>3.5.7</sub> *jñanan*; K<sub>2.4</sub> D<sub>1</sub> *jñanataḥ*;  $\hat{N}$  V<sub>1</sub> BD<sub>a</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>2.4</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>4.5</sub> *jñānāḥ* ); 1.7.4<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>0.4</sub> D<sub>6.7</sub> *jñanatopi*; K<sub>1.3</sub> D<sub>2.5</sub> *jñann* api; K<sub>2</sub>  $\hat{N}$  V<sub>1</sub> BD<sub>a</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1.3.4</sub> G<sub>4.5</sub> *jñānānopi* ); 1.11.5<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>0.2.3.4</sub>  $\hat{N}$  V<sub>1</sub> BD<sub>a</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1.4.6.7</sub> *jñānāḥ*; K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>3</sub> *jñanan*; D<sub>2</sub> *jānimaḥ*; D<sub>3</sub> *jānataḥ*; G<sub>2</sub> *jāyamānaḥ* ); 1.193.13<sup>a</sup> (  $\hat{S}_1$  K<sub>1</sub> *jñāyamānāḥ* K<sub>3</sub>  $\hat{N}_{2.5}$  V<sub>1</sub> B D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>2.4</sub> *jñānāḥ*  $\hat{N}_1$  *jānantu*; S *jānantaḥ* ); 3.136<sup>×3</sup> ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> *jñāyamānena*; G<sub>2.4</sub> *jñāyamānaḥ* ) 5.104.23<sup>a</sup> ( D<sub>1</sub>C<sub>n</sub> *jñānāḥ*; K<sub>4</sub> BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>5</sub> D<sub>3.4.6.9.10</sub> *jñanan* ) 5.156.4<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>3.4</sub> BD<sub>m1</sub> D<sub>5</sub> D<sub>1.3.4.6.8.10</sub> *budhya*<sup>o</sup> ); 5.158.25<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>4</sub> B<sub>1.2.4</sub> D<sub>m1</sub> D<sub>5</sub> D<sub>6.8.10</sub> *jñānāḥ*; B<sub>2</sub> *jñanan* );

## III. FEMININE PARASMAIPADA.

(A)

 WITHOUT NUM<sup>12</sup>

- anarhaṭim*—3.118.19<sup>c</sup> ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3.4</sub> *suduhkhitām* );  
*apakarṣatī*—1.928<sup>×1</sup>;  
*kriḍatī*—1.8.14<sup>c</sup> ( G<sub>1.4.6</sub> M<sub>1.5</sub> *kriḍanti* );  
*krośatīnām*—5.145.28<sup>a</sup>;  
*gacchatī*—3.80.118<sup>a</sup>; 3.215.3<sup>d</sup> ( D<sub>m2</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2.4</sub> *gacchati* )

<sup>12</sup> cf. *bhavaṣi* ( 6.113.46<sup>a</sup> ) *bruvanti* ( 6.116.17<sup>a</sup> ) *bhrṛjanṭi* ( 6.6.113.50<sup>a</sup> )

- vinigūhati*—3·292·2<sup>b</sup> ( K °gūhya vai ; B<sub>3</sub> °grhyatām ) ;  
*vicarati*—3·61·9<sup>c</sup> [ S ( G<sub>1</sub> missing ) vicacāra ] ;  
*cintayati*—3·291·6<sup>b</sup> ( M *cintayanti* ) ; 5·187·10<sup>d</sup> ( T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub> *cintayanti* ) ;  
*tapati*—1·89·42<sup>b</sup> ;  
*paśyati*—3·208·6<sup>a</sup> [ K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>3</sub> *paśyanti* ; B<sub>1,3</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>m</sub> D<sub>1</sub> caturthi ;  
 S ( G<sub>1</sub> om. ) pañcamī ] ;  
*apaśyati*—1·224·4<sup>d</sup> ;  
*abhidhāvati*—1·224·5<sup>d</sup> [ K<sub>0,3,4</sub> B<sub>1,3</sub> D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>m1,n3</sub> D<sub>2</sub> S ( except T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> )  
 abhidhāvati ] ;  
*dhārayati*—3·65·17<sup>c</sup> ( D<sub>3</sub> *saṁdhārayanti* ) ;  
*nādayati*—1·114·28<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>3</sub> G<sub>2,3</sub> *nādayanti* ) ;  
*pūjayati*—3·288·4<sup>b</sup> ( B<sub>4</sub> saṁpūjayet ; T<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1</sub> pūjayati ; T<sub>2</sub> °yasi ;  
 G<sub>2,4</sub> °yitum ) ;  
*bhavati*—1·3·99 ; 3·68·12<sup>c</sup> ; 5·88·91<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>5</sub> B<sub>4</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>6,9</sub> G<sub>6</sub> bhavati ) ;  
 5·133·2<sup>d</sup> ; 5·133·21<sup>a</sup> ; 5·134·12<sup>c</sup> ; 5·143·1<sup>c</sup> ; 5·144·5<sup>c</sup> ;  
 5·175·14<sup>d</sup> ( D<sub>7</sub> enām ) ;  
*bhavatyah*—3·219·6<sup>a</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>3,4</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1,3,5</sub> G<sub>4</sub> *bhavantyah* ; 3·219·15<sup>a</sup> ;  
*bhavati*—5·88·97<sup>a</sup> ; 5·130·3<sup>c</sup> ;  
*bhavatibhiḥ*—3·219·18<sup>b</sup> ; 3·219·20<sup>d</sup> ;  
*bhavatyāḥ*—1·73·19<sup>a</sup> ; 1·1029<sup>x</sup>·2 ; 5·130·4<sup>b</sup> ;  
*bhavatīnām*—3·219·15<sup>b</sup> ; 3·219·15<sup>d</sup> ;  
*pralapati*—1·810<sup>x</sup>·6 ;  
*vilapati*—3·61·52<sup>a</sup> [ S ( except M<sub>2</sub> ; G<sub>1</sub> om. ) *vilapanti* ] ; 3·61·86<sup>a</sup> ;  
*vadati*—3·51·4<sup>b</sup> ;  
*vasati*—1·147·18<sup>c</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> satī ) ; 3·62·36<sup>c</sup> ;  
*vasati*—4·483<sup>x</sup>·1 ;  
*vāhayati*—1·57·56<sup>b</sup> ( Ũ<sub>1,2</sub> V<sub>1</sub> BD ( except D<sub>6</sub> ) *vāhayanti* ) ;  
*abhivarṣati*—3·265·18<sup>d</sup> ( B<sub>2</sub> D<sub>1</sub> °varṣati ) ;  
 5·80·43<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>5</sub> D<sub>5</sub> D<sub>7</sub> G<sub>3,5</sub> M<sub>2</sub> °varṣati )  
*śocati*—1·2145<sup>x</sup>·2 ; 3·252<sup>x</sup>·3 ;  
*suśyati*—5·142·29<sup>d</sup> ;  
*prasādayati*—1·189·45<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>3,4</sub> *prasādayanti* ) ;  
*upasarpati*—1·1522<sup>x</sup>·3 ;  
*tiṣṭhati*—1·732<sup>x</sup>·1 ; 4·382<sup>x</sup>·4 ( D<sub>5</sub> satī ) ;  
*tiṣṭhati*—4·22·4<sup>d</sup> ;  
*hasati*—1·65·14<sup>c</sup> ( T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>5</sub> sudati ) ;

(B)

WITH NUM

- kurvanti*—3·65·10<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>3,4</sub> B<sub>2,4</sub> D<sub>1,4,6</sub> M<sub>2</sub> *kurvati* ; D<sub>c</sub> *kurvati* ) ;  
 3·108·12<sup>b</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>2,4</sub> B D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1,5</sub> G<sub>4</sub> M *kurvati* ) ;  
*kurvantyah*—1·2040<sup>x</sup>·1 ; 1·2040<sup>x</sup>·4 ;  
*kurvantiyā*—1·203·22<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>0</sub> Ũ<sub>2,3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> B ( except B<sub>6</sub> ) D<sub>a</sub> *kurvatiyā* ) ;  
*nyakkurvanti*—1·930<sup>x</sup>·5 ;  
*grhṇantiḥ*—1·209·9<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>0,1,4</sub> Ũ<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3,5</sub> D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>m1,n3</sub> T<sub>1</sub> *grhṇatiḥ* ;  
 K<sub>2</sub> *grhṇitam* ; V<sub>1</sub> B<sub>6</sub> D<sub>1</sub> *grhṇatiḥ* ; G<sub>2,3,5</sub> M<sub>6,3</sub> *grhṇanti* ) ;  
*pratiḥgrhṇantiyā*—5·111·14<sup>c</sup> ;

- vicinvantī*—3·122·8<sup>c</sup> ( M *pracinvānā* );  
*jānantī*—1·24·7<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>0</sub> D<sub>6</sub> *jānati* ; K<sub>1,4</sub> *jānānā* ); 4·341<sup>x</sup>·2 ;  
*ajānantī*—1·73·6<sup>c</sup> ;  
*ajānantyā*—3·278·11<sup>c</sup> ( B<sub>2-4</sub> T<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *ajānatyā* );  
*vijānantī*—3·288·8<sup>a</sup> ( T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>2,4</sub> *vijānānā* ; T<sub>2</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *vijānāmi* ;  
     G<sub>1</sub> *dvijanmānam* );  
*bruvantī*—1·143·8<sup>c</sup> [  $\hat{N}_1$  *bruvatī* ;  $\hat{N}_2$  V<sub>1</sub> B D ( D<sub>6</sub> om. ) *bravīmi* ] ;  
     3·291·1<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>4</sub> B<sub>3</sub> *bruvatī* );  
*bruvantyaḥ*—1·63·8<sup>a</sup> ;  
*bruvantīm*—1·221·11<sup>c</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> *vadantīm* ; K<sub>2</sub>  $\hat{N}_{2,3}$  B D *bruvāṇām* );  
     3·1237<sup>x</sup>·1 ;  
*bruvantyaḥ*—3·74·14<sup>a</sup> ;  
*avibruvantī*—1·78·25<sup>c</sup> ;  
*pratibruvantīm*—1·157·12<sup>a</sup> [ T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2,3,5,6</sub> M ( M<sub>7</sub> om. ) *prati* ( G<sub>3</sub> iti )  
     —*bruvāṇām* ( T<sub>2</sub> <sup>o</sup>*ṇā* ) ;  $\hat{N}_2$  V<sub>1</sub> B D T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>4m</sub> *ekam icchāmy*  
     *ahaṁ deva* ]  
*parimārjanantī*—3·13·111<sup>a</sup>  
*rudantī*—1·1506<sup>x</sup>·4 ; 3·261<sup>x</sup>·2 ; 4·338<sup>x</sup>·11 ; 5·136·22<sup>b</sup> ;  
*rudantyaḥ*—3·66·11<sup>c</sup> ;  
*rudantyaḥ*—1·1292<sup>x</sup>·3 ; 3·170·57<sup>a</sup> ( B<sub>2-4</sub> D<sub>n1</sub> *rudatyāḥ* ); 3·268·14<sup>b</sup>  
     ( K<sub>1,2</sub> D<sub>n3</sub> D<sub>6</sub> *rudatyāḥ* );  
*rudantīm*—1·41<sup>x</sup>·2 ; 3·65·31<sup>a</sup> ( M<sub>2</sub> *rudatīm* );  
     3·137·6<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> B<sub>2,3</sub> D<sub>e1</sub> D<sub>n1</sub> D<sub>4-6</sub> M<sub>2</sub> *rudatīm* ) 3·253·9<sup>c</sup> ; 5·29·31<sup>d</sup>  
     [ BD ( except D<sub>2,8,10</sub> ) G<sub>2</sub> M *vrajantīm* ; G<sub>5</sub> *praśāntāḥ* ] 5·83·7<sup>d</sup>  
     [ K ( K<sub>3</sub> missing ) D<sub>n2</sub> D<sub>1,2,5-7,10</sub> G<sub>3,5</sub> *rudatīm* ]  
*rudantyaḥ*—3·67·11<sup>a</sup> ; 3·72·20<sup>a</sup> ; 4·339<sup>x</sup>·2 ;  
     4·15·37<sup>b</sup> ( D<sub>2</sub> *rudatyāḥ* ; B<sub>1,3-5</sub> D<sub>n2</sub> D<sub>3,6,11,12</sub> *ruditāyāḥ* D<sub>10</sub>  
     *ruditā* ; D<sub>8</sub> *ruditoparamam* );  
*samvr̥navrantyaḥ*—3·143·17<sup>b</sup>  
*śr̥navantī*—1·169·6<sup>d</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>0,2,4</sub>  $\hat{N}$  V<sub>1</sub> BD ( except D<sub>n3</sub> D<sub>2,5</sub> ) M<sub>3-7</sub>  
     *śr̥navatī* ; K<sub>1</sub> *śr̥navate* );  
*śr̥navantyaḥ*—3·125·13<sup>b</sup> (  $\hat{N}_3$  D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1,4</sub> *śuśruvuh* );  
*aśr̥navantyaḥ*—1·145·29<sup>b</sup> ;  
*niḥśvasantī*—5·173·12<sup>c</sup> ;  
*stuvantī*—4·625<sup>x</sup>·4 ;  
*ghnavantyaḥ*—3·170·57<sup>c</sup> ;

(C)

-AT FOR-MĀNA.

- anveṣatī*—3·61·9<sup>d</sup> ;  
*avekṣatī*—3·280·33<sup>d</sup> [ K<sub>1,4</sub> *avekṣata* ; K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>3</sub> *avaikṣata* ;  
     D<sub>5</sub> *avekṣya ca* ; T<sub>1</sub> *avekṣya sā* ; M ( except M<sub>2</sub> ) *pratiksate* ]  
*udīkṣatī*—4·19·26<sup>d</sup> [ D<sub>1,3</sub> *udīkṣata* ; S ( T<sub>1</sub> torn ) *bhimasyorah*  
     *samāśritā* ] ;  
*nirīkṣantī*—4·12·10<sup>b</sup> ( D<sub>7,9</sub> *vīkṣamāṇā* );  
*prekṣantyaḥ*—1·140·7<sup>d</sup> [ K<sub>2</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G ( G<sub>3</sub> om. ) *paśyantyaḥ* ] ;  
     1·173·17<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>3</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>2,3</sub> *paśyantyaḥ* );

- prekṣatīnām*—3·217·4<sup>a</sup> (D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>1-3,5</sub> *prekṣamānānām* ;  
T G<sub>1,2,4</sub> *preṣitānām*) ;  
*pratīkṣanti*—3·280·14<sup>b</sup> ; 5·142·28<sup>d</sup> ;  
*pratīkṣantīyāh*—5·80·40<sup>b</sup> ( D<sub>3,4,9</sub> *praticchanyāh* ) ;  
*avabharisayanāṅi*—3·252·22<sup>b</sup> ; *paribharisayanāntim*—4·307·<sup>x</sup>6.  
*manyatī*—3·209·22<sup>d</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> *manyutivṛā* ; G<sub>3</sub> *manyante* ) ;  
*pratimodantyāh*—1·168·15<sup>a</sup> ( S<sup>o</sup> *nandantyāh* ( G<sub>3</sub> *°nandanti* ;  
*mrgayanti* —3·190·79<sup>e</sup> ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2,4</sub> *gāyanti* ) ;  
*ārabhanti*—1·948<sup>x</sup>·1 ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1,2</sub> *āharanti* ) ;  
*anurudhyatī*<sup>9</sup>—3·183·4<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> *anurudhyate* ; D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub> *°tanvati* ;  
BD<sub>e</sub> D<sub>1,2,5</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2-4</sub> *anu* ( B<sub>1-3</sub> *°va* ) *rundhati* ) ;  
*anurudhyantīyāh*—4·15·32<sup>a</sup> [ Ś<sub>1</sub> B D<sub>3,6,8-12</sub> ( except D<sub>10,12</sub> ) C<sub>a, c</sub>  
*anurundhantīyāh* ] ;  
*vantanti*—3·197·21<sup>c</sup> ;  
*avartantīyāh*—3·149·33<sup>a</sup> [ K<sub>3,4</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>1-3</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M *hyati* ( K<sub>4</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub>  
*hyadhi*— ; D<sub>3</sub> *svasti* ) *ṣṭhantīyāh* ; D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub> T<sub>2</sub> ( after corr ) G<sub>3,4</sub> *hy*  
*avartinyo* ] ;  
*anuvartatī*—1·6·6<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>0</sub> T<sub>1</sub> M<sub>4</sub> *anuvartini* ; D<sub>2,4</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>4-6</sub> *°vartma*  
( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>6</sub> *°rtya* ) ; G<sub>2,3</sub> M<sub>2</sub> *°varti* ; M<sub>2</sub> *°yānti* ; M<sub>3,5</sub> *°mārgam* ;  
3·280·33<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> *anuvartī* ; K<sub>4</sub> B<sub>2,3</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>3-6</sub> ) G<sub>3</sub> *anuvrajanti* ; T<sub>1</sub>  
*anuvartamānā* ; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1,2,4</sub> *āvarjanti* ) ;  
*parivartantīyāh*—1·203·24<sup>a</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> N<sub>1</sub> *parivartinyāh* ;  
T<sub>1</sub> *gacchanyām* ) ;  
*vepanṭi*—3·144·4<sup>d</sup> ;  
*vepantīyāh*—4·19·29<sup>d</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> KBD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1-3,11-12</sub> *vai patnyāh* ; D<sub>10</sub> *patnyās tu* )  
*pravepatī*—5·144·23<sup>b</sup> ( T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub> *pravepitā* ; G<sub>4</sub> *duḥkhāśruvepitā* ) ;  
*pravepanṭi*—4·338<sup>x</sup>·10 ;  
*anusevatī*—3·222·26<sup>b</sup> ( T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1,2,4</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *anusevini* ; T<sub>2</sub> *duḥstrisevana-*  
*varjitā* ) ;  
*utsmayanti*—1·179·22<sup>d</sup> ;  
*vismayanti*—4·23·15<sup>a</sup> [ S *sā* ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2</sub> *so* ) *pahāsam tu* ] ;

(D)

-ĀNA FOR -MĀNA

- kāmāyānā*—1·92·21<sup>c</sup> [ V<sub>1</sub> B ( except B<sub>5</sub> ) D<sub>2,4</sub> *kāmāyamānā* ] ;  
*kāmāyānayā*—1·206·13<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> N<sub>1,3</sub> B<sub>3m,5</sub> D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>2,4</sub> *kāmāmānayā* ;  
*cintāyānā*—1·221·7<sup>c</sup> ( N<sub>1</sub> D<sub>1,2</sub> *cintayanti* ) ;

IV. PRESENT PARTICIPLES WITH MIDDLE VOICE<sup>13</sup>.

(A)

MASCULINE

- aṭamānaḥ*—3·45·9<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>4</sub> *bhagavān* ) ; 3·57·22<sup>c</sup> ;  
*aṭamānau*—3·51·11<sup>c</sup> ; 3·59·4<sup>b</sup> ; *necchamānāḥ*—1·1629<sup>x</sup>·1 ;  
*kāṅkṣamānaḥ*—1·110·35<sup>c</sup> ( S *sevamānaḥ* ) ; 3·15·11<sup>d</sup> ; 3·225·16<sup>b</sup> ;  
4·437<sup>x</sup>·1 ; 4·56·2<sup>c</sup> ;  
*kāṅkṣamānau*—1·142·14<sup>c</sup> ;

<sup>13</sup> cf. *paśyamānaḥ*—( R 7·31·19<sup>a</sup> ) ; *varsamānaḥ*—( R 7·7·2<sup>a</sup> ) etc.

- kañkṣamāṇebhyaḥ*—1.118.11<sup>c</sup>; *ākāñkṣamānāḥ*—5.22.19<sup>c</sup>;  
*ākāñkṣamāṇam*—4.315<sup>x</sup>.2;  
*kriḍamānān*—1.78.12<sup>c</sup>; 1.119.16<sup>a</sup>; 1.1321<sup>x</sup>.1;  
*ākriḍamānaḥ*—3.146.29<sup>c</sup>;  
*kroṣamāṇam*—1.165.40<sup>c</sup>; *kroṣamānān*—1.224.19<sup>d</sup>;  
*vikroṣamānaḥ*—3.188.84<sup>c</sup>; *vikroṣamānān*—3.189.6<sup>c</sup>;  
*gacchamānaḥ*—1.116.9<sup>d</sup> [  $\hat{N}_2$  BD (except  $D_5$ ) anvagacchat ];  
*gacchamāṇam*—4.759<sup>x</sup>.2;  
*garjamānaḥ*—3.134.6<sup>a</sup> (  $\hat{S}_1$   $K_{1-3}$  BD (except  $D_{1,2}$ ) *garjan*;  $D_6$  hi rājan );  
*garjamānau*—1.995<sup>x</sup>.5; 1.142.12<sup>b</sup> [  $T_2G$  (except  $G_3$ ) *garjantau* ];  
3.40.25<sup>b</sup> (  $B_1$   $D_n$   $D_{4,6}$  rāja<sup>o</sup> );  
*garjamāṇam*—1.212.32<sup>a</sup>; 3.185.39<sup>d</sup> (  $\hat{S}_1$   $K_{1,2}$  gaccann iva );  
*garjamānaiḥ*—1.1823<sup>x</sup>.2 (  $G_6$  garjitānām );  
*gāyamānāḥ*—3.75.2<sup>d</sup>;  
*gāyamānaiḥ*—1.1254<sup>x</sup>.1  
*gharṣamāṇasya*—3.1358<sup>x</sup>.4; 3.295.8<sup>c</sup>;  
*jighramānaḥ*—[ BD (except  $D_{1-3,5}$ ) *ājighran* ];  
*caramāṇaḥ*—1.513<sup>x</sup>.8;  
3.136.8<sup>b</sup> (  $B_{1-3}$   $D_n$   $D_{4,6}$  vyacarat ); 3.182.4<sup>a</sup>;  
*caramāṇāḥ*—3.92.18<sup>a</sup>;  
*caramāṇam*—3.154.33<sup>a</sup> (  $K_4$  *carantam*;  $B_{1,2}$   $D_n$   $D_{4,6}$  T G rama-  
māṇam );  
*vicaramāṇānām*—4.175<sup>x</sup>.28;  
*jīvamānaḥ*—3.190.64<sup>b</sup> [  $\hat{S}_1$   $K_{1,2}$  sañjīvayāmi;  $K_{3,4}$   $B_1$   $D_{1,2,3}$  ( marg.  
sec. m. as in text ),  $\hat{S}_6$  ājīvayāmi ];  
3.190.66<sup>d</sup>; 4.656<sup>x</sup>.2;  
*jīvamānān*—3.10.23<sup>b</sup>;  
*jīvamāne*—3.154.26<sup>a</sup>; 3.241.26<sup>d</sup> (  $T_2$  vartamāne );  
*jīvamāneṣu*—3.238.2<sup>d</sup>;  
*sañjīvamāṇasya*—3.256.4<sup>a</sup> (  $T_2$   $G_2$  punaḥ sa jīvam āsādyā );  
*jvalamānaḥ*—1.224.16<sup>a</sup> [  $K_2$   $\hat{N}_{2,3}$  BD (except  $D_{1,2,5}$ ) *prajvalan*;  
 $V_1$  prajvalitaḥ ];  
*jvalamāṇam*—4.1028<sup>x</sup>.1;  
*tarjamānaḥ*—3.135.36<sup>d</sup> (  $D_{m2}$   $G_2$  ramamāṇaḥ;  $M_2$  tvaramāṇaḥ )  
*dīvyamānaḥ*—5.2.11<sup>a</sup> (  $K_{1,2,5}$   $D_6$  pratidivya ); 5.14<sup>x</sup>.1;  
*dīvyamāṇam*—3.56.10<sup>d</sup>  
*paśyamānaḥ*—1.207.8<sup>b</sup> (  $\hat{S}_1$   $K_{6,1,4}$  *prapaśyan* ); 3.122.11<sup>a</sup>;  
3.155.69<sup>b</sup> (  $G_4$  *paśyan*;  $K_4$   $T_1$  vikṣamāṇaḥ );  
3.806<sup>x</sup>.8; 3.213.47<sup>c</sup>; 5.146.23<sup>b</sup>;  
*paśyamānāḥ*—1.221.18<sup>c</sup> [  $T_3$  G (except  $G_1$ ) paśya mātār ];  
3.161.4<sup>c</sup>;  
*apaśyamānaḥ*—1.65.2<sup>a</sup>; 3.153.8<sup>c</sup>;  
*saṃpaśyamānāḥ*—3.173.22<sup>d</sup>; 3.174.9<sup>d</sup>;  
*dhyāyamānāḥ*—1.183.1<sup>c</sup>;



- pradhyāyamānaḥ*—5.146.26<sup>c</sup> ;  
*nandamānam*—5.49.7<sup>b</sup> [D<sub>1.10</sub> (sup. lin.) vandyamānam];  
     T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>4.5</sub> vandamānāḥ);  
*nardamānāḥ*—1.1824<sup>x.2</sup><sup>i</sup> (N<sub>1</sub> vardhamānāḥ); 1.185.11<sup>a</sup>;  
*vinardamānaḥ*—3.146.40<sup>e</sup> [S jalā (M<sub>2</sub> jītā)-valambo];  
*ṇṭyamānam*—3.185.39<sup>c</sup>;  
*apacamānebhyaḥ*—3.2.51<sup>c</sup> [K<sub>3</sub> (sup. lin.) apacatsu;  
     G<sub>1</sub> ayāca<sup>o</sup>; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3.4</sub> api ca mānebhyaḥ];  
*patamānaḥ*—1.84.20<sup>c</sup>; 3.205.16<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>1-3</sub> G vartamānaḥ);  
*patamānam*—1.83.6<sup>b</sup>; *patamānaiḥ*—3.169.10<sup>d</sup> (S *patadbhiḥ*)  
*bhramamānaḥ*—3.212.20<sup>d</sup>  
*mārgamānaḥ*—1.73.27<sup>d</sup>; *mārgamānāḥ*—4.24.11<sup>c</sup>; 4.814<sup>x.3</sup>  
*mārgamānānām*—4.42.8<sup>a</sup>;  
*parimārjamānaḥ*—3.44.24<sup>a</sup> (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1.2.4</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *parimārjan*);  
     T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> *parimrjya*; M<sub>2</sub> *parimārjayan*);  
*vyāyacchamānāḥ*—1.178.11<sup>c</sup>;  
*rakṣamānaḥ*—1.152.13<sup>b</sup>; 3.90.8<sup>c</sup>; 3.131.9<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>1.3.4</sub> D<sub>3.5</sub> M<sub>2</sub> *rakṣan*);  
     3.215.20<sup>d</sup>; 4.52.10<sup>d</sup>; 4.59.44<sup>d</sup>;  
*rakṣamānāḥ*—1.476<sup>x.9</sup>; *rakṣamānasya*—5.145.28<sup>c</sup>;  
*rakṣamānānām*—4.20.26<sup>c</sup>; *parirakṣamānāḥ*—4.61.24<sup>d</sup>;  
*samrakṣamāneṇa*—3.106.8<sup>c</sup>;  
*rodamānaḥ*—3.132.17<sup>c</sup> (BD<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4.6</sub> sobhigamya; D<sub>1.2</sub> M<sub>2</sub> sotha  
     rājan; D<sub>3</sub> sobhivādyā; TG sotha vipraḥ);  
*ārohamānāḥ*—1.133.1<sup>c</sup> (G<sub>3.6</sub> prayāsyantaḥ);  
*vilapamānasya*—5.146.19<sup>c</sup> (G<sub>5</sub> lipsamānasya); *vilapyamāne* 1.233<sup>x.3</sup>  
*vivadamānaḥ*—5.17.11<sup>a</sup> · *vivadamāneṣu*—5.33.72<sup>c</sup>;  
*lalamānaḥ*—1.76.5<sup>c</sup> (G<sub>1.2</sub> lajja<sup>o</sup>);  
*āvalgamānam*—4.12.15<sup>c</sup> (D<sub>1.3</sub> āhūyamānāḥ);  
*vasamānaḥ*—3.39.16<sup>d</sup>; 3.336<sup>x.2</sup>  
*vasamānam*—1.109.24<sup>c</sup> (S<sub>1</sub> vartamānam);  
*vasamāneṣu*—3.241.1<sup>a</sup> (S<sub>1</sub> K D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>1-3.5</sub> TG<sub>1</sub> vartamāneṣu);  
     G<sub>2.4</sub> M evam gateṣu); 4.13.1<sup>a</sup> (D<sub>1-3.7.9</sub> *vasatsu*);  
*viśamānam*—3.213.26<sup>d</sup> (G<sub>1.2.4</sub> *praviśantam*);  
*niviśamānān*—3.269.1<sup>a</sup> (T<sub>1</sub> nivartamānān);  
*praviśamānaḥ*—3.137.18<sup>a</sup>;  
*varṣamānaḥ*—4.55.16<sup>d</sup> (S vṛṣṭimān);  
*varṣamānāḥ*—3.186.72<sup>a</sup>;  
*varṣamānam*—1.215.18<sup>d</sup>; 4.54.1<sup>d</sup>; 4.972<sup>x.4</sup>;  
*śocamānaḥ*—5.105.2<sup>c</sup>; *śocamānau*—3.238.35<sup>d</sup>;  
*śocamānāḥ*—1.133.6<sup>c</sup> [N<sub>2</sub> B D (except D<sub>3</sub>) T<sub>1</sub> dinān dṛṣṭvā];  
     3.49.3<sup>e</sup>; *śocamānasya*—3.238.34<sup>c</sup>;  
*śvasamānāḥ*—3.179.6<sup>b</sup> [S (except T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M) *śvasantah*];  
*samsīdamānam*—4.60.10<sup>c</sup>; *visarpamānāḥ*—3.234.19<sup>c</sup>;  
*pratiṣṭhamānānām*—3.297.36<sup>c</sup> (M *pratiṣṭhatām*);  
     3.297.37<sup>c</sup> (M *pratiṣṭhatām*);  
     4.123<sup>x.3</sup>; 4.125<sup>x.1</sup>; 4.43.18<sup>c</sup>;

*praspḥuramānoṣṭhaḥ*—1.43.21<sup>c</sup> ;  
*viṣpḥuramānoṣṭhaḥ*—3.46.28<sup>a</sup> ;  
*viharamānāḥ*—3.146.1<sup>c</sup> ; *hr̥ṣyamānāḥ*—5.55.4<sup>d</sup> ;

(B) FEMININE.

*kāṅkṣamānā*—3.251.21<sup>c</sup> ; *kāṅkṣamānām*—1.1640<sup>x</sup>.3  
*atikramamāḥābhiḥ*—3.191.18 ;  
*vikrośamānāyāḥ*—1.173.14<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>0.2.4</sub> lālapyamānāyāḥ ) ;  
*gāyamānā*—1.810<sup>x</sup>.5 ;  
*anugāyamānā*—1.71.24<sup>c</sup> ( B<sub>3m.5</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1.4</sub> *gāyanti* ) ;  
*paśyamānā*—3.122.8<sup>b</sup> ( B D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4.6</sub> S *paśyanti* )  
*apaśyamānā*—3.60.2<sup>a</sup> [ T<sub>2</sub> G ( G<sub>1</sub> missing ) M<sub>1</sub> *apaśyanti* ]  
*palamānām*—3.108.4<sup>e</sup> ;  
*majjamānā*—3.187.11<sup>c</sup> [ Ś<sub>1</sub> K ( except K<sub>1.4</sub> ) B<sub>4</sub> D<sub>1-3.5</sub>  
*nimajjati* ; ( K<sub>4</sub> *°jjanti* ) ; M<sub>1</sub> *°jjanti* ]  
*mārgamānā*—3.62.33<sup>a</sup>  
*nivasamānāyām*—4.221<sup>x</sup>.1 ;  
*śocamānāḥ*—3.170.56<sup>d</sup> ;  
*tiṣṭhamānām*—1.1.120<sup>b</sup> ;

(C) NEUTER.

*dravamānāni*—3.263.24<sup>d</sup>.

V PRESENT PASSIVE PARTICIPLES<sup>14</sup>.

(A) MASCULINE IN-*at*

*udīryantam*—3.134.21<sup>d</sup> ; *udīryataḥ*—4.59.35<sup>d</sup> ( D<sub>1-3.5.7.8</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *udiryate* ) ;  
*kathyataḥ*—3.16.1<sup>d</sup> ;  
*kathyatām*—3.182.1<sup>d</sup> ; 3.261.1<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>3</sub> *tattvataḥ* ; K<sub>4</sub> *kāraṇam* ) ;  
*saṁkīryantah*—3.188.18<sup>b</sup> ( D<sub>c</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *saṁkirantah* ) ;  
 D<sub>5</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2-4</sub> *saṁkiryante* ; M<sub>2</sub> *saṁsarantah* ) ;  
*kṣīpyatām*—3.682<sup>x</sup>.1 ( K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>3</sub> *patatām* ) ;  
*ākṣīpyataḥ*—1.16.15<sup>b</sup> ;  
*khānyadbhiḥ*—1.3.115.  
*gr̥hyantah*—5.42.11<sup>c</sup> ;  
*upacīyadbhiḥ*—3.169.10<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>2.5</sub> *upacinvadbhiḥ* ) ;  
*jīryataḥ*—1.840<sup>x</sup>.5 ; 3.2.35<sup>b</sup> ;  
*parijīryataḥ*—1.1373<sup>x</sup>.1 ( D<sub>5</sub> *°te* ) ;  
*parijīryatām*—1.122.4<sup>b</sup> ( D<sub>a1</sub> *°te* ; D<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2.5</sub> *°ta* ) ;  
*dahyantam*—3.63.1<sup>c</sup> ; *dahyataḥ*—5.49.20<sup>c</sup> ;  
*dahyatā*—2.213.33<sup>a</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> *dahatā* ; K<sub>0.4</sub> *dahyamānena* ) ;  
*dahyataḥ*—1.216.34<sup>a</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> M<sub>3.5</sub> *dahataḥ* ; T<sub>3</sub> G<sub>2-4</sub> *dahyamānasya*  
 N<sub>1</sub> *dahanasya* ) ; 3.261.50<sup>c</sup> ( D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>1.2</sub> *dahyamānasya* ; T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub>  
*dahyate* ) ;  
*dahyatām*—1.48.12<sup>d</sup> ; 1.217.13<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> B<sub>5</sub> D<sub>1</sub> *sahasātha* ;  
 N<sub>2.3</sub> D<sub>n</sub> *saṁghaśaḥ sma* ; B<sub>1.3</sub> D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>4</sub> *saṁghaśoṭha* ; B<sub>6</sub> *sahas-*  
*rotha* ) ; 4.53.34<sup>f</sup> ; 4.54.4<sup>c</sup> ; 4.973<sup>x</sup>.5 ;

<sup>14</sup> cf. *bhr̥ṣyati*—( R. 6.101.6<sup>b</sup> ) etc.

- dr̥ṣyatoḥ*—1·57·58<sup>c</sup> [  $\hat{N}$  V<sub>1</sub> BD ( except D<sub>6</sub> ) *dr̥ṣtayoh* ; G<sub>2</sub> *dr̥ṣyayoh* ] ;  
*adr̥ṣyadbhiḥ*—1·202·19<sup>a</sup> (  $\hat{S}_1$  *adr̥ṣyaiḥ* ; K<sub>0.3</sub>  $\hat{N}_1$  *adr̥ṣyau* ) ;  
*sam̐pradr̥ṣyatām*—4·43·11<sup>d</sup> ( G<sub>2</sub> °*dr̥ṣyate* ) ;  
*vidh̥ṛyatā*—3·44·17<sup>d</sup> ( S *vijitam* ) ;  
*pacyatām*—1·48·13<sup>d</sup> ;  
*abhip̐tyatām*—3·99·4<sup>d</sup> [ K<sub>4</sub> T<sub>2</sub> ( after corr. ) G<sub>3</sub> °*pātitaḥ* ;  
T<sub>2</sub> ( before corr. ) G<sub>2.4</sub> °*pātinām* ] ;  
*pr̥iyatā*—5·55·14<sup>b</sup> ;  
*preṣyatām*—3·238·44<sup>d</sup> ;  
*prabhajyantam*—3·47·48<sup>d</sup> [ S ( except G<sub>4</sub> ) *prabhajyamānam* ]  
*mathyataḥ*—1·217·13<sup>d</sup> ( D<sub>1.2</sub> *manthane* ) ;  
*vadhyantam*—4·20·23<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>4</sub> *manasā* ; B<sub>4</sub> D<sub>6</sub> *vadhyarṇ tu* ; D<sub>3</sub>  
*vadhyarṇ te* ; D<sub>5.7</sub> *vadhyarṇ hi* ; T<sub>1</sub> *vidhyarṇ tu* ; G<sub>3</sub> *vadhyarṇ*  
*tvām* ; Ca *vadhyarṇ* ) ;  
*uhyantaḥ*—1·124·24<sup>d</sup> [ TG ( except G<sub>2.6</sub> ) *uhyante* ] ;  
*praviśīryataḥ*—1·218·49<sup>d</sup> ;  
*vyatiśīryatām*—4·43·11<sup>b</sup> ;  
*hanyatām*—4·33·6<sup>b</sup> ;  
*hriyataḥ*—3·154·31<sup>a</sup> ( D<sub>1-3</sub> *apahr̥tān* ; TGM<sub>1</sub> *hr̥tān* ) ;

(B) FEMININE.

- upāsyantīm*—3·265·2<sup>a</sup> ;  
*parikliśyantīm*—3·13·105<sup>c</sup> ;  
*viśīryantīm*—3·254·19<sup>a</sup>

VI. CAUSAL PRESENT PARTICIPLES.

—AT FOR —MĀNA.

- bhīṣayan*—1·28·10<sup>d</sup> ;  
*vibhīṣayan*—5·155·10<sup>c</sup>.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS.<sup>15</sup>

(A) CHANGE OF CONJUGATION.

- kūṭamānaiḥ*—3·186·46<sup>a</sup> ;  
*gr̥dhyan*—5·33·14<sup>d</sup> [ G<sub>1.4</sub> M<sub>1</sub> ( sup. lin. as in text ) <sub>3.4</sub> *gr̥dhnan* ]  
*sam̐ghr̥ṣyantaḥ*—1·16·21<sup>b</sup> ( D<sub>a</sub> G<sub>1.2.6</sub> *sam̐ghuṣyantaḥ* ;  
T<sub>1</sub> *sasvajantaḥ* ; T<sub>2</sub> *samsr̥jantaḥ* ; G<sub>2.3</sub> *sam̐gharṣāt tu*  
M<sub>2.4</sub> *sam̐gharṣantaḥ* ) ;  
*vitarkantam*—4·233<sup>x</sup>·3 ; *vitarkamānasya*—4·185<sup>x</sup>·13 ;  
*anudhyāntaḥ*—3·245·2<sup>c</sup> ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1.2</sub> °*prāptāḥ* ) ;  
*mardamānaḥ*—3·146·39<sup>b</sup> ;  
*pramathan*—4·997<sup>x</sup>·7 ;  
*pramr̥ṣyataḥ*—5·352<sup>x</sup>·2 ;  
*anurundhati*—1·1552<sup>x</sup>·6 ;

<sup>15</sup> A separate paper will be shortly published, in which I have discussed this point in detail.

*vāśantyah*—3·128·2<sup>e</sup> ( G<sub>2,4</sub> *vāśyanta* ); 3·866<sup>x</sup>·1 ;  
*snāyantih*—3·213·42<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> patibhiḥ ; K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>2,3,5</sub> snātāḥ ; B D<sub>n</sub> G<sub>3</sub>  
 svapatih ; D<sub>c</sub> *snātiḥ* );

(B) CHANGE OF CONJUGATION AND PADA.

*ākruśyamānah*—1·82·7<sup>a</sup> ; 5·36·5<sup>a</sup> ;  
*taṇyamānah*—1·110·30<sup>b</sup> ; 3·104·10<sup>a</sup> ; 3·135·24<sup>b</sup> ;  
*taṇyamānah*—3·142·24<sup>d</sup> ;  
*taṇyamānam*—3·78·22<sup>b</sup> ; 3·574<sup>x</sup>·1 ; 3·135·25<sup>a</sup> ;  
*paribhartsantih*—3·264·48<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>1,2</sub> D<sub>1</sub> paribhartsya ;  
 B<sub>3,4</sub> *bhartsyamānā* ) ;  
*avalokayanti*—4·8·6<sup>c</sup> ;  
*vṛidamānā*—1·1131<sup>x</sup>·6 ; 3·290·21<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>3,4</sub> D<sub>c2</sub> D<sub>1,2</sub> vepamānā ;  
 TG<sub>1,2,4</sub> tridaśān ) ; 4·34·11<sup>c</sup> ; 5·190·14<sup>d</sup> ( D<sub>3,4</sub> vṛiḍitā ) ;

(C) PARTICIPLES HAVING PASSIVE SENSE

*vikṣobhayamānam*—1·25·23<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> *vikṣobhya* ),  
*paśyamānah*—3·4·5<sup>b</sup> [ N ( K<sub>1,4</sub> missing ) vandyamānah ]  
*apaśyan*—5·119·3<sup>b</sup> ;  
*apaśyamānān*—1·48<sup>x</sup>·2 ( D<sub>11</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> *adrśyamānān* ;  
 D<sub>0-11</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>2,4,6</sub> *ajñāyamānān* ) ;  
*prapaśyamānah*—5·26·14<sup>d</sup> ( D<sub>1</sub> G<sub>3,4</sub> M<sub>3</sub> *pradrśya*<sup>0</sup> ; T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>1,3,4</sub>  
<sup>0</sup>darśya<sup>0</sup> ; G<sub>1</sub> <sup>0</sup>budhya<sup>0</sup> ; G<sub>5</sub> <sup>0</sup>dahya<sup>0</sup> ) ;  
*yuñjātām*—4·936<sup>x</sup>·14 ;  
*pravrajāmānām*—3·224·8<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> B<sub>1,3</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>1,3</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> pravrajā<sup>0</sup> ;  
 T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>2</sub> *pravrajya*<sup>0</sup> ) ;

(D) PASSIVE PARTICIPLE HAVING ACTIVE SENSE.

*vicintyamānah*—1·444<sup>x</sup>·2 ;

(E) PASSIVE PARTICIPLES LACKING IN—*ya*.

*majjamānah*—3·191·28 ( T<sub>1</sub> *pacyamānah* ) ;  
*majjamāneṣu*—5·137·21<sup>c</sup> ;  
*nimajjamānam*—3·282·43<sup>a</sup> ;  
*asajjamānah*—1·185·3<sup>a</sup> ( B<sub>3m</sub> D<sub>2,4</sub> sa bhājya<sup>0</sup> ; D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>1,3</sub> asahya<sup>0</sup> ;  
 G<sub>2</sub> atarkya<sup>0</sup> ) ; 5·40·1<sup>a</sup> ( D<sub>1,8,9</sub> G<sub>1,2,4</sub> M ( M<sub>4</sub> inf. lin. as in text )  
*asajya*<sup>0</sup> ; G<sub>7</sub> atarjya<sup>0</sup> ) ;  
*sajjamānāmanodrṣtiḥ*—3·150·24<sup>a</sup> ( B<sub>4</sub> sahya<sup>0</sup> ) ;  
*vyapohamānāḥ*—1·137·7<sup>a</sup> ( G<sub>1,2</sub> *vyapohya*<sup>0</sup> ) ;

(F) PASSIVE PARTICIPLES WITH NASAL RETAINED.

*vañcyamānam*—1·56·8<sup>d</sup> [ Ñ<sub>2,3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3,4</sub> D<sub>n</sub> bādhyamānā ;  
 B<sub>1,3,6</sub> D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>2,4</sub> bā ( D<sub>a1</sub> va ) dhya<sup>0</sup> ] ;

(G) CAUSATIVE FOR SIMPLEX

*kārayantah*—1·5819<sup>a</sup> *tāryamānah*—1·99·8<sup>a</sup> ;  
*dāryamānah*—3·105·20<sup>d</sup> [ B ( B<sub>4</sub> om. ) D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>m1,m2</sub> D<sub>3</sub> *dīryamānah* ] ;

*vidāryamāṇām*—3·522<sup>x</sup>·1

*veṣṭayantah*—1·41·21<sup>b</sup>;

*ahāpayan*—5·70·80<sup>b</sup>; 5·71·32<sup>b</sup>; 5·75·15<sup>d</sup>;

5·91·19<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> avāpyārtham ; K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>8</sub> avāpyāham ) ;

(H) MISCELLANEOUS.

*adhyāsati*—1·4·7<sup>a</sup>;

*anviṣyamāṇāḥ*—4·24·14<sup>a</sup> ( B<sub>1</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>2,10-12</sub> anveṣyamāṇāḥ ;

B<sub>3</sub> D<sub>5</sub> "nveṣa"<sup>0</sup>; D<sub>7-9</sub> *anveṣa*<sup>0</sup>; S *anviccha*<sup>0</sup> )

*anviṣadbhiḥ*—3·1370<sup>x</sup>·7;

*niṣkramanti*—5·173·1<sup>a</sup> ( BD<sub>n1</sub> D<sub>8</sub> D<sub>6,8,10</sub> *niṣkrāmantē*;

*adhikṣiyantau*—1·3·60<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>0,3</sub> M<sub>4</sub> "kṣayantau" );

*ādāyamānaḥ*—1·1828<sup>x</sup>·4;

*dhriyamāṇakau*<sup>16</sup>—3·1328<sup>x</sup>·1;

*paribhujan*—( for paribhuñjan ) 5·73·8<sup>b</sup> [ K<sub>1,1,5</sub> B<sub>1</sub> D ( except D<sub>8</sub> D<sub>1</sub> )

T<sub>2</sub> C<sub>a</sub> *parirujan*; K<sub>2</sub> *pravirujan*; T<sub>1</sub> G M *paribhavan* ] ;

*vibhajan*—( for vibhañjan ) 3·160·27<sup>a</sup>, 3·830<sup>x</sup>·1; 3·160·37<sup>x</sup>;

( B<sub>1,2,4</sub> D<sub>c</sub> *viṣṛjan*; G<sub>1</sub> *bhagavan* );

*mahīyamānaḥ*—( for mahyamānaḥ ) 3·184·7<sup>b</sup> [ Ś<sub>1</sub> K D<sub>1-3,5</sub> *pragīya-*  
*mānaḥ* ( K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>2,3,5</sub> "nāḥ" ) ]

*vimṛṣan*—( for vimṛśan ) 3·1371<sup>x</sup>·1;

*rodamānā*—3·60·14<sup>d</sup> [ Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> *rudatī* sma; K<sub>3</sub> *ruditvā* sma; K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>1</sub>

*rudatī* sã; D<sub>c</sub> *rudatiti*; D<sub>n</sub> *rudaty* atha ( D<sub>m2</sub> *rudaty* ittham ] ;

*rodantyaḥ*—( for rudatyah ) 5·139·51<sup>c</sup> ( D<sub>3,4</sub> G<sub>3</sub> *rodanti*;

T<sub>1</sub> *tāvantyah* );

*saṁsarpamānakam*<sup>16</sup>—( for saṁsarpantam ) 3·292·20<sup>b</sup>;

*śatamānam*—( for śiyamānam ) 3·134·14<sup>a</sup> [ T<sub>2</sub> G ( except G<sub>1</sub> )

*yatamānān*; G<sub>1</sub> *pratimānam* ] ;

*ujjihataḥ*—5·134·10<sup>c</sup>; ( K<sub>3,4</sub> B D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>8</sub> D<sub>2-1,6,10</sub> *jihirṣataḥ* C<sub>a</sub>

*ucchrayataḥ* )

PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLES<sup>17</sup>

(A) SET FOR ANIT

*prāṣita*—3·154·18<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> *piyasi* tvatiṁ narādhipa );

*kṣubhitah*—3·221·31<sup>b</sup>;

*bheditāḥ*—5·148·9<sup>d</sup>

*yatitāḥ*—5·126·15<sup>a</sup>;

*ruṣitah*—1·9·21<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>0,2</sub> *duḥkhito*; B<sub>3,5</sub> D ( except D<sub>3,1,6,7</sub> ) T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1-6</sub> M<sub>1</sub>  
kupl<sup>0</sup>; G<sub>2,3</sub> *dūṣi*<sup>0</sup> ] ; 3·189·18<sup>c</sup> ( B<sub>1-3</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1-6</sub> *kupito*; D<sub>2</sub>

*api ruṣā*; 5·186·8<sup>a</sup>;

*ruṣitāḥ*—5·159·2<sup>b</sup>;

<sup>16</sup> We find only two instances of participles suffixed with *-ka* as in *bahuvrih* compound.

<sup>17</sup> cf. *viśvastāḥ* ( R. 5·11·41<sup>b</sup> ); etc.

*uṣṭam*—1.89.38<sup>a</sup> [Ś<sub>1</sub> puṣṭam; Ṇ<sub>1.2</sub> BD (except D<sub>a</sub>) T<sub>1</sub> tam āsane  
 copaviṣṭam (T<sub>1</sub> samāviṣṭam); Ṇ<sub>3</sub> uṣṭam; T<sub>2</sub> G M ceṣṭam;  
 (G<sub>2</sub> jyeṣṭam; G<sub>3</sub> śreṣṭho)];  
*vyāmsitah*—5.155.14<sup>c</sup>;  
*śakitāh*—5.20.7<sup>c</sup> (T<sub>2</sub> śaktāh);  
*praharṣaharita*—1.1945<sup>x.5</sup>

(B) ANIT FOR SET

*udirṇānām*—5.67.18<sup>a</sup>; *klptam*—1.43.6<sup>a</sup>;  
*japtajapyāh*—5.177.22<sup>c</sup> (D<sub>3</sub> japyaparāh);  
*paribhāṣṭah*—3.126.28<sup>b</sup> (B D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4.6</sub> bhāṣite; T<sub>2</sub> G bhāṣitam);  
*paryāsvasta*—3.190.20; *viśvastah*—3.261.48<sup>c</sup> (T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1.2.4</sub> viśrabdhah);  
*pariviśvastān*—3.154.1<sup>a</sup>; 3.180.2<sup>a</sup>; *pratyāsvastān*—1.187.18<sup>c</sup>;  
*agastyāśāstām*—5.141.41<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>9</sub><sup>o</sup> śāntām; S<sup>o</sup> kāntām;  
 K<sub>3</sub><sup>o</sup> ācaritām);  
*abhiviśvastam*—3.165.1<sup>a</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1.2</sub> D<sub>c</sub> abhitisthantam);  
 3.171.1<sup>a</sup>; 3.284.7<sup>c</sup>;  
*āsvastah*—1.1.160<sup>c</sup> (G<sub>7</sub> āśvasya);  
*āsvastau*—3.281.8<sup>a</sup>;  
*āsvastam*—3.49.31<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>5</sub> āsane); 5.90.1<sup>a</sup> (T<sub>1</sub> āśvāsyā; M<sub>3.5</sub> āsinam);  
*viśvastam*—1.2.28<sup>c</sup> 1.134.15<sup>c</sup>; 3.13.74<sup>a</sup>; *viśvastān*—1.2.181<sup>a</sup>;  
 1.132.16<sup>a</sup>; 1.136.1<sup>c</sup>; 1.1515<sup>x.12</sup>  
*viśvastasya*—5.37.11<sup>a</sup>; *viśvasteṣu*—3.154.13<sup>b</sup> (T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3.4</sub> vinasteṣu)  
*aviśvastāh*—1.135.20<sup>b</sup>; *viśvastavat*—1.135.20<sup>a</sup>;  
*viśvastā*—1.139.20<sup>d</sup> (K<sub>2</sub> viśrabdhā)  
*samāśvastah*—4.697<sup>x.2</sup>; 5.185.15<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>1.2</sub> samāśvasan);  
*samāśvastāh*—3.221.42<sup>b</sup>;  
*samāśvastān*—3.96.14<sup>c</sup> (B<sub>1.2.4</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1.4.6</sub> samastān; D<sub>6</sub> samāsinān)  
*suviśvastam*—3.180.41<sup>a</sup>; *suviśvastān*—1.136.3<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>2</sub> suviśrabdhūn);  
 1.136.13<sup>c</sup>;  
*aspaṣṭah*—3.36.7<sup>b</sup> (K<sub>1</sub> asphuto; B D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>c</sub> saṁsprṣṭah; D<sub>6</sub> saṁsprṣṭe);  
*viśpaṣṭam*—4.120<sup>x.81</sup>; 4.122<sup>x.1</sup>;

(C) CAUSAL FOR SIMPLEX

*avighāṭitayā*—3.190.20 (D<sub>1.5</sub> avigha<sup>o</sup>);  
*vyāditāsyāh*—3.146.46<sup>c</sup>;  
*dāritā*—3.106.20<sup>d</sup>;  
*ānāyitā*—5.158.7<sup>b</sup> (G<sub>3</sub> avamatā);  
*pāvitaḥ*—3.212.30<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>3</sub> yācitah; BD<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4.6</sub> G<sub>3</sub> arcitah;  
 D<sub>1</sub> edhitah; G<sub>1.2.4</sub> M pāvakah);  
*yājitaḥ*—3.128.11<sup>c</sup>  
*praveṣṭitaḥ*—3.111.19<sup>b</sup>;  
*abhiṣecitaḥ*—5.110<sup>x.4</sup>;  
*visarjite*—3.170.47<sup>d</sup> (K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>3.5</sub> vijrmbhite; B<sub>4</sub> prayojite);

(D) SIMPLEX FOR CAUSATIVE

*vyāśasampannām*—1.53.28<sup>c</sup> (G<sub>2.3</sub> M<sub>1.5</sub><sup>o</sup> samproktām; T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>6</sub> saṁ-  
 proktāh)

## (E) MISCELLANEOUS

- nikṛtāḥ*—5·53·3<sup>d</sup> [ D<sub>n1</sub> D<sub>3.4</sub> vañcitāḥ ; S ( except G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>5</sub> nikṛtyā ] ;  
*abhigṛdhnah*—4·13·16<sup>a</sup> ( B<sub>3</sub> D<sub>7</sub> Ca °bhigṛddhah ; TG °bhilāsi ;  
 M °vrttis tu ) ;  
*paricṛyāḥ*—3·204·27<sup>d</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1.2</sub> T<sub>2</sub> paripūrṇās tu ) ;  
*vitastām*—( for vitatām ) 3·638<sup>x</sup>·1 ; 3·932<sup>x</sup>·1  
*prativindhyataḥ*—3·36·15<sup>d</sup> ;  
*nāṣṭamāsikī*<sup>18</sup>—5·187·35<sup>b</sup> ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2</sub> naṣṭa<sup>o</sup> ] ;  
*prahīṇāsoko*—5·38·6<sup>b</sup> [ S ( except T<sub>2</sub> ) prakṣṇa<sup>o</sup> ] ;  
*aparihīṇam*—1·3·86 ( K<sub>0.4</sub> D<sub>5</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> °hīyamāṇam ;  
 B<sub>4</sub> D<sub>1</sub> parihīyamāṇam ) ;

## ACTIVE PAST PARTICIPLES

- kāritavān*—3·1307<sup>x</sup>·2 ( causative for simplex ) ;  
*visarjilavati*—3·197·18<sup>d</sup> ( set for anit ) ;

## GERUNDIVES

## (A) SET FOR ANIT

- krodhitavyaḥ*—4·180<sup>x</sup>·152 ;  
*ānayitavyaḥ*—1·143·18<sup>c</sup> ( S ānetavyaḥ ) ;  
*āhvayitavyā*—1·77·15<sup>c</sup> ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>6</sub> āhvayanīyā ; G<sub>1</sub> āśvāsītavyā ) ;

## (B) ANIT FOR SET

- eṣṭavyāḥ*—5·114·8<sup>c</sup> ( D<sub>2.4.9</sub> vividhāḥ ) ;  
*jāgartavye*—1·138·30 [ B ( except B<sub>3</sub> ) D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>2.4</sub> jāgrtavye ] ;  
*ajayyam*<sup>19</sup>—1·20·14<sup>c</sup> 1·216·9<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1.5.6</sub> ajeyam ) ;  
*ajeyah*—1·193·12<sup>a</sup> [ K<sub>0.2</sub> BD<sub>a</sub> S ( except G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>3.6</sub> ) ajayyah ] ;  
*ajeyau*—1·164·5<sup>b</sup> ;  
*prayattavya*—3·68·15<sup>c</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>2</sub> B<sub>2</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1-3</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1.4.5</sub> prakartavyam ;  
 K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>e2</sub> D<sub>4</sub> °pattavyam ; K<sub>3</sub> mantavyam ; K<sub>4</sub> B<sub>4</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> M °vaktavyam ) ;

## (C) MISCELLANEOUS

- līpsitavya*—5·10·23<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> S īpsitavya ) ; 5·10·23<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>10</sub> S  
 īpsitavya ) ;  
*aśāṣyān*—5·96·21<sup>a</sup> ( TG<sub>1.2.4</sub> aśiṣṭān ; G<sub>5</sub> aśiṣyān ) ;

PERFECT PARTICIPLES<sup>20</sup>

## (A) LACK OF REDUPLICATION

- eyivat*—3·41·23<sup>d</sup> [ B ( except B<sub>2</sub> ) D<sub>n1</sub> D<sub>4</sub> īyivat ( D<sub>n1</sub> °vān ) ] ;  
*sameyivān*—1·29·12<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>2.4</sub> B<sub>1</sub> samīyivān ) ; 1·1025<sup>x</sup>·1 ;  
 3·269·9<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>e2</sub> B<sub>4</sub> samī<sup>o</sup> ) ; 3·275·38<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>1.2</sub> samuṣeyivān ) ;  
 4·6·4<sup>c</sup> ( K D<sub>3.6.10</sub> C<sub>a</sub> samīyivān ) ; 4·7·8<sup>c</sup> ( K B<sub>2</sub> D<sub>6</sub> C<sub>c</sub> samīyivān ) ;  
 tattvārthadarśivān—4·26·1<sup>b</sup> [ ( D<sub>5</sub> ( by corr. ) . ; ( m as in text ) .<sub>9</sub>  
 °darśanaḥ ; G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>3</sub> °tattvavī ; M<sub>1.2.4.5</sub> sūksmārthadarśanaḥ ; ]

<sup>18</sup> Probably a metrical lengthening.

<sup>19</sup> *ajayya* and *ajeya* are indiscriminately used in the Mahābhārata ; I have not given an exhaustive list of references but have referred to a few for our purpose.

<sup>20</sup> cf. *eyivān* ( R. 6·12·17<sup>b</sup> 6·59·134<sup>d</sup> ) etc.

dharmadarśivān—1.146.15<sup>d</sup> [ S<sup>o</sup>darśanaḥ (T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1.3.4</sub> °na ; G<sub>3</sub> °ne ) ] ;  
 pratyakṣadarśivān—1.54.18<sup>b</sup> ( Devp. °darśanaḥ ) ;  
 ūhavān—5.33.28<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> B<sub>2.5</sub> D<sub>5</sub> ūhāvān ; D<sub>5</sub> jñānavān ;  
 C<sub>d.n.s.</sub> ūhaḥ ; D<sub>6</sub> anubhāvavān ).

#### FUTURE PARTICIPLES.

- (A) eṣyat—5.149.33<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>3</sub> gatam eṣyaṁ ca ; K<sub>4</sub> BD<sub>m1</sub> D<sub>5</sub> D<sub>2-4</sub>  
 °6.8.10 matam eṣām ca ; K<sub>4</sub> gatam ekasya ; D<sub>1</sub> gatam caiva  
 janārdanaḥ ) ( aniṭ for seṭ and -at for -māna ) ; •  
 paṭiṣyamāṇe—1.15.16<sup>a</sup> ( with middle voice ) ;

#### DESIDERATIVE PARTICIPLES.

##### I MASCULINE

- (A) -AT FOR -MĀNA

samjighṛkṣantaḥ—1.180.11<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>2</sub> Ñ<sub>2.3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> B D G<sub>1</sub> jighāmsantaḥ  
 ( K<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1</sub> sam<sup>o</sup> ) ] ;  
 jijñāsantaḥ—5.75.5<sup>a</sup> ;  
 jijñāsadbhiḥ—1.1469<sup>x.1</sup> ;  
 didṛkṣantaḥ—5.81.67<sup>d</sup> ;  
 yuyutsatām—5.56.52<sup>b</sup> ;  
 viviṭsan—1.1891<sup>x.4</sup> ;  
 śuśrūṣan—3.238.47<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>4</sub> B<sub>1</sub> D<sub>1.3</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>2.4</sub> śuśrūṣaḥ ;  
 G<sub>1</sub> śuśrūṣām )  
 śuśrūṣantaḥ—5.389<sup>x.1</sup> ;

##### II FEMININE

- (A) WITHOUT NUM.

abhīpsai—1.158.31<sup>d</sup>  
 cikīrṣati—1.18.6<sup>b</sup> ( G<sub>1</sub> jihmacikīrṣayā ; B<sub>4m</sub> cikīrṣitum ) ;  
 3.68.21<sup>d</sup> [ S cikīrṣati ( G<sub>1</sub> varisyati ) ] ;

- (B) -AT FOR -MĀNA

jighṛkṣati—1.2009<sup>x.3</sup> ( T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1.2</sub> śucismitā ) ;  
 jijñāsantiyā—5.134.6<sup>b</sup> ;  
 śuśrūṣanti—4.225<sup>x.2</sup> ; 4.13.2<sup>b</sup> ;

##### III PARTICIPLES WITH MIDDLE VOICE.

##### MASCULINE.

abhīpsamānāḥ—4.49.7<sup>d</sup>  
 īpsamānaḥ—1.212.28<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>2</sub> Ñ<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3.5</sub> D<sub>1</sub> īpsan ; Ñ<sub>2</sub> B<sub>1.6</sub> D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4</sub>  
 icchan ; 5.47.84<sup>d</sup> ;  
 īpsamānāḥ—3.964<sup>x.2</sup> ;  
 parīpsamānaḥ—3.255.8<sup>c</sup> ; parīpsamānān—1.88.7<sup>b</sup> ;  
 pradidhaksamānaḥ—3.113.15<sup>c</sup>  
 jighāmsamānāḥ—1.180.14<sup>c</sup> ; 3.230.27<sup>c</sup> ;

#### FREQUENTATIVE PARTICIPLES.

rorūyatīm—( for rorūyamānām ) 3.116.22<sup>c</sup> ;  
 lālapyataḥ—( for lālapyamānasya ) 1.232<sup>x.1</sup>



**A DESCRIPTIVE HANDLIST OF THE ARABIC, PERSIAN  
AND HINDUSTHANĪ MSS BELONGING TO THE  
SATARA-HISTORICAL MUSEUM AT PRESENT  
LODGED AT THE DECCAN COLLEGE  
RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA**

By

C. H. SHAIKH.

[There are described in this paper 18 volumes, consisting of twenty-five books, of which one is in Arabic, two in Hindi, two in Urdū and the rest in Persian.

Wherever necessary the present writer has thrown additional light on the value—historical, artistic or literary—of the MSS, and has thus contributed his quota of research. Special mention of *four* works might be made in this connection ; one is the well-known collection of Abu'l-Faḍl's Letters (*Inshā-i Abu'l-Faḍl*), at the end of which there is a *Khāṭima* to Vol. III of *Akbar Nāma* by Abu'l-Faḍl, to which attention has been drawn by the present writer ; the second is the *Khawān-i-Ni'mat* of Ni'mat Khān-i-Āli, which is being considered as a separate work by him on the art of Cookery, probably owing to W. Pertsch, *Berlin Cat.*, and also owing to Ethé's attempt to identify part of a volume with the so-called Ni'mat Khān's work on Cookery. The present writer has shown that Ni'mat Khān had given the title *Khwan-i-Ni'mat* to the volume of his prose and poetic works which he himself had collected and to which he had appended an Introduction or (*Khutba*). In the latter he states in unmistakable terms that he was naming this collection *Khawān-i-Ni'mat* ; the third which also has been brought to notice is a complete copy of Faiḍī's Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata*, about which scholars were in doubt. Ethé, for instance, went so far as to doubt Faiḍī's having ever translated more than the first two Parvas. Attempt has been made to show that Faiḍī *did* translate the complete *Mahābhārata*. The Fourth and the most important work that has been noticed for the first time is the revised edition of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari*, which the author of the work himself brought out in his own life time.

Lastly it must be owned that but for the guidance and help of my tutor, *Khān Bahādur* Professor SHAIKH 'Abdu'l-Qādir-i-Sarfarāz. M.A., I.E.S., this paper would not have seen the light of publication.]

### I. Religious.

1. *Dalā'ilu'l-Khairāt*—a popular devotional work in Arabic, in the introductory remarks of which the author Abū 'Abdī'l-Lāh Sulaimān Al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465, see BROCKELMANN, *Gesch. de. Arab. Lit.*, Vol. ii, p. 252) points out the importance of الصلاة على النبي عليه السلام and adduces evidence for his assertions from the traditions of the Prophet.

The work is divided into an *Introduction*, fol. 1b : *Hizbu'l-Jum'a* (Section for Friday), fol. 14b ; *Hizbu's-Sabt* (Section for Saturday), fol. 22b ; *Hizbu'l-Aḥad* (Section for Sunday), fol. 30b : *Hizbu'l-Ithnain* (for Monday), fol. 39b : *Hizbu'th-thalāthā* (for Tuesday), fol. 48b : *Hizbu'l-Arbā'a* (for Wednesday), fol. 58b : *Hizbu'l-Khamis* (for Thursday), fol. 67b. At fol. 83b, the MS ends. There is, however, new matter added by a later

writer. It is on an inferior sort of paper and starts on fol. 84b, leaving 84a blank.

Our copy is a fine specimen of illuminated works and was probably copied in the eighteenth century. On the fly-leaf is the following matter :—  
 « علامت دلائل الخيرات را دين عمر ابن سلطان محمود بدرالدین » which means that the work of decorating the MS. was done by *دین عمر ابن سلطان محمود بدرالدین*. It is in the same hand as the later addition on foll. 84b-86a, and might induce one to remark that the addition was made by the above-named *Dīn 'Umar b. Sultān Maḥmūd Badru'd-Dīn*, probably a gentleman from the Punjab. The work has been printed a number of times in India and abroad and a number of commentaries have been written on it. It begins :—

« صل الله على سيدنا و مولانا محمد الخ »

Ex. No. 1 ; foll. 86 ;  $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$  ; ll. 13, each  $2\frac{1}{2}''$  long. There is inter-linear gold work throughout the text, while its frontispiece as also the beginning of every section (*Hizb*) is illuminated. Gold *Jadwals*. Beautiful *Naskh*, probably eighteenth century.

## II. Translations from the Sanskrit.

### 2. *Mahābhārata in Persian.*

With a view to (i) bringing about a better understanding between the Hindūs and the Muslims, (ii) showing to the Hindūs that many of their superstitions and beliefs had no real foundation in their ancient authoritative works and finally, (iii) convincing the Muslims that the world had been in existence from a longer time than they imagined, the Mughal Emperor Akbar ordered a Persian translation of the most ancient epic of India, the *Mahābhārata*, to be made in 990/1582. For this purpose four great scholars were engaged : (1) Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, the celebrated author of the *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh* ; (2) Ibn 'Abdi'l-Laṭīf al-Ḥusainī, famous as Naqīb *Khān* ; (3) Muḥammad Sultān Thānesarī, and (4) Mullā *Shirī*. The work when completed was named the *Razm Nāma*. It was prepared under the general supervision of Abu'l-Faḍl, the Prime Minister of Akbar, who contributed his famous introduction to it in 995/1587.

In addition to the above version, there are to be found *three* more versions in Persian of the *Mahābhārata*, one by Abu'l-Faḍl's brother, *Faiḍī*, who brought about a more ornate and highly embellished version of the above two years later (completing the 1st Parva 1st Rabi' I, 997/Jan. 18, 1589), and the two others by Prince Dārā *Shukūh* and *Hājī Rabi' Anjab* (who flourished about 1157/1744).

Our copy is *Faiḍī*'s version of the 1st Parva (*Ādī Parva*) and begins :—

آبروی بغش چشمه سار سخن آشنای محبط بی سرو بن

MSS of Faiḍī's version are not rare; Ethé<sup>1</sup> describes three copies of this work, Nos. 1945, 1946 and 2922, of which the first and the second contain only the first two Parvas. The last (i.e. 2922), Ethé<sup>2</sup> considers to be the work of Naqīb Khān on the ground that it does not possess poetical pieces and that in the beginning of Parva XIII the text of that MS. agrees with that of Parva XIII of No. 1944 (Vol. I, Col. 1087). Ethé<sup>3</sup> goes a step further and even doubts Faiḍī's having ever made the translation of more than the first two Parvas. Ivanow,<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, describes a MS. No. 1697, which contains Faiḍī's translation of the XII Parva; Rieu, *iii*, 1042 b, asserts that the MS, Or. 2014, contains on foll. 112-118: "Abstract of the translation of the third Parva of the Mahābhārata by Faiḍī." The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society<sup>4</sup> possesses a good and complete copy containing eighteen Parvas of Faiḍī's version which begins as our copy, although there is nothing at the end to indicate the name of the translator. If Ethé's No. 1944 is the work of Naqīb Khān, then the Copy of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (ZZ. b. 21) is not evidently of Naqīb Khān, for their beginnings of Parva XIII do not agree at all. In view of all these things, I am inclined to think that in all probability Faiḍī *did* translate the *whole* work and that the copy of the BBRAS is the complete copy of Faiḍī's version. Its first *Parva* agrees entirely with our copy.

Our copy was transcribed in Shawwāl, A.H. 1232/August, 1817, and is written partly in Nasta'liq and partly in Shikastaāmīz, apparently by one and the same scribe whose name has not been mentioned. On the last folio of our copy (fol. 244 a) occurs the name of Faiḍī:—

یا فضی ای کامیاب سخن که در جوش داری شراب سخن

Ex. No. 13; foll. 244; 10" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ "; ll. 15. each 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " long. Condition good.

### 3. *Yogavāsishtha* (ترجمہ جوگ داشت)

Vālmiki's *Yogavāsishtha* is too well known a work on Hindū gnosticism to need an introduction here. Suffice it to say that realising its importance the Mughal Emperor Akbar had it translated into Persian in 1006/1597-98. Finding the above translation to be rather lengthy, and thus devoid of much utility, Prince Dārā Shukūh had it retranslated in an abridged form. This abridged version was completed in 1066/1656.

Our copy contains Dārā Shukūh's version and has been already described by me in the *BDCRI*, Vol. *iii*, p. 397. It begins:

سپاس و ستایش تمام نبایش تبار حضرت است که ذرات الخ

It was transcribed on Sunday the 21st of Muḥarram in the forty-third

<sup>1</sup> *Cat. of Ind. Off. Lib.*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., i, col. 1588.

<sup>3</sup> *Des. Cat. of Pers. Mss. of Royal As. Soc. Bengal*, p. 771.

<sup>4</sup> We are obliged to the Society for lending us this MS.

year of Awrangzeb's reign (1111/1700) at Barhampūrī by a scribe named Jiwan Rāma. It formerly belonged to Lt. Ramsay.

Ex. No. 4 ; foll. 110 ;  $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$  ; ll. 22, each three inches long.

Beautiful *Shikasta* ; proper names and 'Unwāns in red ink. On the fly-leaf is written in half Modī half Bālbodh " *Diwān-Urfī* ".

### III. History of India.

#### A. GENERAL.

##### 4. *Khulāṣatu'l-Tawārikh*.

A general history of India from the earliest times to the death of 'Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb) by Munshī Sujān Rāy Kāyath of Patiāla, completed evidently after Aurangzeb's death (1118/1707).

The contents of this work have been fully given by Rieu (i, pp. 230-231), Morley (p. 69), Elliot (*Hist. of India*, viii, pp. 5-12) and Ethé (i, Nos. 362-364 and 3012). Comp. also N. Lees, *JRAS.*, New Series, Vol. iii ; Garcin de Tassy, *JA.*, 5<sup>e</sup> Serie, Vol. iii, p. 366 and *Hist. de la Litt. Hind.*, i, p. 31 ; *Biblioth. Sprenger.*, No. 221.

Ours is a complete copy and ends with the death of Awrangzeb (1118/1707), which took place at Aḥmadnagar, Deccan. It begins :

” نقاش نگارخانه کابلات و مصور کارگام ممکنات الخ ”

On the fly-leaf is an oval seal of one Ghulām Raḍā, who styles himself as the owner of it, probably in his own writing. He states that this copy was entered into the register of his books on the 17th of Ṣafar 1197/Jan. 22, 1783.

There is a rectangular label of Mr. Willian Blane on the cover of the volume. There are also marks in pencil :—

G/O/seel. No. 13.—2/15/-, the last figure probably denoting the price at which Mr. BLANE purchased it.

Ex. No. 11 ; foll. 357 ;  $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$  ; ll. 19, each 4" long. 'Unwāns in red ink. Condition good. Early eighteenth century. *Shikasta* ; scribe's name not given.

#### B. HISTORY OF MINOR DYNASTIES.

##### MUGHALS.

5. *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, a part of the third volume of *Akbar Nāma*, but really an independent work, by Abu'l-Faḍl b. Mubārak Shāh (d. 1011/1602), the celebrated prime minister of Akbar. The work is too well known to the students of Indian history and has been published and translated into English.

Our copy of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* is defective both at the beginning and at the end. Probably only one folio is missing in the beginning, while there are various lacuna throughout the copy. On the fly-leaf is written in addition to " آئین اکبری جدول ندارد " the following :—

” آئین اکبری تصنیف شیخ ابوالفضل وزیر اکبر شاه، مشتملبر قوانین سلطنت ”

و تزك لشكر و ترتيب صوبجات هند مع پيائش زمين و در بيان علوم هند و  
و بعضى از رسميات ايشان "

There is, on fol. 2a, with which our copy begins, a rectangular seal of one 'Ibādu'llāh, to whom it probably belonged some time. There is at the back of the cover the label of Mr. W. BLANE, whose pencil marks, G/O/sal. No. 9. 2/5/- appear to indicate that most probably he purchased the copy for £2/5/- Begins :—

" یمتاکي و بی آرامی و آبروش و ستمگاری و بیوفائی و دزدی "

corresponding to p. 2, line 20, of BLOCHMANN'S printed edition, Vol. i, Calcutta, 1872.

Ex. No. 15 ; foll. 340 ;  $10\frac{3}{4}" \times 8"$  ; ll. 20, each  $5\frac{1}{2}"$  long. Clear *Shikasta-āmiz* ; probably late 18th century.

#### 6. *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngirī*. ( اقبال نامه جهانگیری )

The *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngirī* consists of three volumes, the first two of which, containing the history of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar, are extremely rare ; while the third, devoted to the reign of Jahāngir, is very common. The author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* was a native of Persia, by name Muḥammad Sharīf, and received in the third year of Jahāngir a military command and the title of Mu'tamad Khān, by which title he is generally known. He was later on attached to Prince Khurram as *Bakhshī* and followed him in his Deccan campaigns. In the seventeenth year of Jahāngir, he was appointed to carry on the work of the Emperor's *Memoirs*. In the tenth year of Shāh Jahān he was promoted to the post of Mir Bakhshī and died in the thirteenth year, A.H. 1049/A.D. 1639-40.

This copy and the following one are the third volume of the *Iqbāl-nāma*. The work has been printed in the *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta, 1865 and in Lucknow, A.H. 1286. It begins :—

" شایسته سریر سلطنت و فرمانروائی و زینده افسران "

The transcription of this copy was completed on the 10th of Ramaḍān, thirtieth year of Shāh 'Ālam's reign by Aḥsanu'llāh. The beginning is illuminated and fol. 1b possesses the signature of Mr. William BLANE, who seems to have purchased it for £3, s. 3.

Ex. No. 2 ; foll. 244 ;  $8\frac{1}{2}" \times 5\frac{1}{4}"$  ; ll. 11, each  $3\frac{1}{8}"$  long. Red and azure *Jadwals*, while 'Unwāns are given in red ink.

#### 7. *The Same*.

This copy is written on a rather inferior paper, in different hands, *shikasta-āmiz*, *shikasta* and finally in *nasta'liq*, probably by one and the same man. The text is not as clear as in the preceding copy, but is complete in every respect. Neither the name of the scribe nor the date of transcription has been mentioned. It bears the names of Lt. Ramsay and

Mr. W. BLANE. The pencil marks show that the copy was purchased most probably by Mr. BLANE for £1, s. 1. There are marginal notes also.

Ex. No. 9; foll. 192;  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$ ; ll. 15, each  $3\frac{1}{4}''$  long. No *Jadwals*, 'Urwāns in red. Probably nineteenth century.

#### BAHMANIDS.

#### 8. *History of the Bahmanī Dynasty in Verse.*

This is a translation in Urdū verse of the fourth chapter of the Persian work *Ta'rikh-i-Amjadīyya*, which latter was published at Ellichpūr in 1287/1861 by the author, Abu'l-Fath Diyā'u-d-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Sayyid Amjad Ḥusain. The translation in Urdū verse was made by a *second-rate* local poet who calls himself by his poetic name Suhail. From the introductory remarks made by him in the poetic version, it is evident that at the time of writing he had passed through the prime of his youth, that grey hairs had already begun to appear in his head, that he had travelled extensively, that he had been disappointed in life as a consequence of which he had taken to seclusion and that, he had been devoting his retired life to scholarly pursuits and to the composition of poetry.

The *Ta'rikh-i-Amjadīyya*, from which this poetic narrative is derived, is apparently based on the famous *History of Firishṭa*, and as such, from the historical point of view there is hardly any importance attached to it. Although the language is simple, it is doubtful whether one could consider it as a "good specimen" of the last century's Urdū poetry. Notwithstanding its inferior literary character the version is valuable from two points of view, first, because it is by itself an independent and complete account of the Bahmanid dynasty and secondly, because it incorporates in itself actual and relevant compositions of other writers which have been quoted by Firishṭa. These pieces relieve the monotonous tension of the account and make the narration interesting reading.

The Anjuman-i-Taraqī-i-Urdū, Delhī, has recently brought out a lithographed edition of this work solely based upon our copy. It is, unfortunately, not free from defects, for the editor, in his haste to put it through the press, seems to have omitted the most important work of collating the text with that of the so-called autograph copy which is preserved in the Osmania University Library. He has, besides, not cared for the orthographic peculiarities of the Urdū language practised in the last century and has invariably given *modern* forms to such words as the following :

For اوس , اون (readings found in our MS) he gives ان , اس ; for ہونچے , ہونچی , ہونچا etc. he gives ہونچے , ہونچی , ہونچا . It was part of the editor's duty to adhere strictly to the orthographic and such other philological peculiarities of the text, for these, along with many others, are milestones in the development of a Language, and, as such, must be retained.

Be that as it may, our copy begins :—

“ دلاکر رقم حد رب کریم الخ ”

The metre employed is the usual Mutaqārib :—

| ۛ - - | ۛ - - | ۛ - - | ۛ ۛ |

On the fly-leaf is the following remark :—

“ تاریخ منظوم - ملاطین بهمنی که پای تخت ایشان در گلبرگه ویدر بود در ملک دکن ”

The MS. seems to have been compared with the original from which it was copied, as it bears corrections and variants in the margin. This also appears to have been once the property of Mr. W. BLANE, whose pencil marks are clearly visible on the fly-leaf.

Ex. No. 7 ; foll. 55 ; 10" × 6" ; ll. 19 each 3" long. 'Uwāns in red ink. Condition good.

#### HISTORY OF GUJARĀT.

##### 9. *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*.<sup>5</sup>

A fine copy, though defective in the beginning and also in the middle (about 60 to 70 folios seem to be missing) of the celebrated work of Shaiikh Sikandar b. Manjhū, who is said to have completed it in 1020/1611 (or in 1022/1613, according to a copy in the Bodleian Library, *Hunt*. 230) while he was in Jahāngīr's employ. It deals with the history of Gujarāt from the foundation of the monarchy to the suicide of Sultān Muẓaffar III (1000/1591-92). The contents of the work have been fully described by Ethé and Rieu.

There is a very interesting and instructive copy<sup>6</sup> in the BISM (hereinafter denoted by B1) which has been described by Dr. M. A. CHAGHATAI in *BDCRI*, 4, pp. 127-34. It is a very valuable MS. but unfortunately it is incomplete. On comparing it with our copy and on a careful consideration of all that has been said about other copies of the work in Rieu, Ethé and Ivanow, I am led to believe that in all probability there were two versions of the work, an earlier and a later, but revised by the author himself. Space does not permit me to go into the details of the facts which force upon me the above belief. I intend to deal with this question in a separate article

<sup>5</sup> The *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* is a mine of information about the political, cultural, religious and literary history of Gujarāt. It contains a complete and authentic account of the Gujarāt Muslim dynasty. For the literary history of the Gujarāt province this work has ample material, which, as far as I know, does not seem to have been fully utilized.

<sup>6</sup> I am much indebted to the authorities of the Mandala for having lent me this remarkably important MS.

later on. It is a pity, however, that the *BI* is not complete, as no less than 15 to 16 folios seem to be missing from it (after fol. 55 b).

On fol. 24a of our copy, after the sentence (ll. 4-5)

... چنانچه از نقش جزیره مذکوره (i.e. the island of DIEU) که ثبت نموده شد  
حقیقتش معلوم میشود“

a 1/3 page-size space has been left blank, evidently for the map of the island of DIEU, as stated in the above sentence. This map was possibly present in the original copy from which our *MS* has been copied. This map, if traced, would certainly prove of great value, for the earlier maps we possess are by Portuguese writers, whose main interest had been with the port and the land adjoining it; they do not give sketches of the land beyond the port area.

Our copy, though defective in the beginning and in the middle, is in some ways valuable for its good and clear text and is likely to prove of considerable importance in bringing out a CRITICAL EDITION of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari*.

Our *MS* bears two seals, one of Aḥmad Baig *Khān* and the other of his son, Muḥammad Aṣḡhar, an officer in the service of 'Ālamgīr. Of the legend in the seal I could read this much :

محمد اصغر قول عالم گیر بادشاه ۱۲

Under the seal is written مالک فقیر حقیر محمد اصغر ابن احمد بیگخان

The above owner seems to have given some of the sectional marks and catch-words in his own hand. The *MS* appears to be fairly old, probably seventeenth century. It has been recently repaired and its folios mounted on a bordering inferior paper, in comparison with which the original paper appears to be of a far superior quality and thicker. The volume has been recently bound and on its cover appear the pencil marks of Mr. W. BLANE. R/O/Sal., No. 15, 15/.

Ex. No. 18; foll. 164;  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ ; ll. 16, each 3" long. Beautiful but small *Nasta'liq*; gold *Jadwals*. Probably seventeenth century.

#### IV. LETTERS, ORNATE PROSE, ETC.

10. *Inshā-i-Abu'l-Faḍl* (also called مکاتبات علامی) the well known official and private letters of Abu'l-Faḍl b. Mubārak *Shāh*, the Prime Minister of Akbar, compiled by his nephew, 'Abdu's-Ṣamad b. Afḍal Muḥammad, who contributes in embellished prose a preface to it. The date of this compilation is to be found from the chronogram „مکاتبات علامی“

The volume is divided into three *Daftars* : *Daftar I*, containing Political letters and *Farmāns* written on behalf of the Emperor to various officers.



and contemporary rulers ; Daftar II contains Abu'l-Faḍl's private letters to the Emperor, his friends, relations, patrons and scholars, and Daftar III contains Abu'l-Faḍl's notes and comments upon works of other writers and poets. The work has been published a number of times in India.

The Daftar III comes to an end with Abu'l-Faḍl's "*Khātima*" (Epilogue) to his *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III. In this *Khātima*, written in a highly embellished prose mixed with poetry, a detailed account of his family is given.

Our copy contains (i) 'Abdu's-Samad's preface, beginning with

گو نا کون نیایش مر داوردی را که وجود بشر الخ (fol. 1b);

(ii) Daftar I, on fol. 3a, beginning with

خطاب کیهان خدیو ... بعید الله خان اوزبک

(iii) Daftar II, fol. 57b, beginning with :—

عرضه داشت کترین بندها ابوالفضل ... بتوجه شاهنشهی و نایات الهی شامل حال الخ

(iv) Daftar III, fol. 158b, beginning with

خطبه تفسیر بعضی از آیات سورة فتح

یا فاتح ابواب عاوم و حکم یا رافع اعلام ایادی و نعم

The *Khātima* to the *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, fol. 224 b, beginning with :

والله الحمد سر انجام یافت کنجنامه شاهنشاهی الخ

Its last lines are :—

شناسنده گر نیست شوریده مغز بنهره شناسد ز دینار نقر

هنر تابد از مردم کومری چون نور از مه و تابش از مشتری

The colophon seems to have been cut by some interested person. On the fly-leaf there are two partially illegible seals, one rectangular and the other oval. The legend on the rectangular seal appears to be 'The other seal seems to belong to his predecessor (علی نقی) and cannot be deciphered by me. On fol. 259 is written : این کتاب از ان محمد جعفر ابن دلبقی (علی نقی) who has also scribbled a Persian distich in Shikasta.

Ex. No. 8 ; foll. 259 ; ll. 15, each 2½" long. Beautiful Nasta'liq, probably eighteenth century.

#### 11. *The Same.*

On fol. 1b, 'Abdu's-Samad's preface ; on fol. 3a, Daftar I begins with Akbar's letter to 'Abdu'l-Lāh Khān Ūzbek, possesses occasional notes written in between the lines and on the margin ; on foll. 64b, Daftar II begins with Abu'l-Faḍl's '*Arḍadāsh*t to the Emperor, found second in the preceding volume. Begins :—

عرضه داشت کترین بندها ابوالفضل حقیقت روانه شدن بعزیت سجود الخ

Daftar II was transcribed by a copyist by name Zainu'l-Ābedīn (evidently the same gentleman that also copied Daftar I in 1263/1846-47).

Daftar III, fol. 167b, begins :

در تفسیر آیات بعضی از سوره فتح و تهنیت فتح ملک بنگاله مرقوم شد

یا فاتح ابواب علوم و حکم یا رافع اعلام آبادی و نعم

in clear Nasta'liq, by the same scribe that copied Daftar II. On fol. 264a begins the *Khātima* of the *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III :—

الحمد سر انجام یافت کنجنامه شاهنشاهی الخ

Evidently the copy is defective at the end, as it abruptly comes to a close, on fol. 279b, with the following lines :—

حتی از خود میگوید و دلی خالی میکند و سخن را آبی میدهد و زبان بندی  
میکشاید - نفس قدسی مرا با بدن عنصری در سال چهار صد و هفتاد دوم جلالی (۹۰۰)  
مطابق نهد و پنجاه و هفت - تمام شد کتاب ابوالفضل در وقت چاشت در ماه  
ذی الحجه در یوم پنجشنبه سنه ۹۹۶ اتمام گردیده یافت والله اعلم بالصواب

The last two lines of the above passage seem to have been written by the copyist and require a little explanation. As we have already pointed out, the letters of Abu'l-Faḍl were compiled by his nephew in A.H. 1015 (Cf. the chronogram (مکاتبات علامی)). Evidently, therefore, the original from which the present MS. was copied, could not have been transcribed earlier than A.H. 1015. The date 996 is, therefore, misleading and might have been a mistake for 1096 (?).

Ex. No. 10 ; foll. 297 ; 11½"×7" ; 11.15 & 16, each 4" long

12. *Inshā-i-Barhaman*, also called ; منشآت چندر بهان برهمن , رقعات برهمن (a collection of his letters.)  
رقعات چندر بهان برهمن or منشآت برهمن

Chandrabhān (poetically called *Barhaman*), the son of Dharamdās, a Brahmin of Patiala, was born at Lāhore. After studying Persian under Mullā 'Abdu'l-Karīm, he became secretary to Mullā Shukru'l-Lāh Shīrāzī, entitled Afḍal Khān, who was appointed in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign as *Wazīr-i-Kull*. On the death of his master in 1048/1638-39, Chandrabhān was appointed *Wazīr-i-Kull*. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambūh, author of the *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, mentions him among the important poets and prose writers of Jahāngīr's court. Chandrabhān was later sent on a mission to Bijāpūr by Shāh Jahān. The celebrated author and Prince Dārā Shukūh, for whom he acted as Munshī for some time, was a great admirer of his literary genius. Chandrabhān retired to Benāres after the death of the above prince and died, according to the *Tadhkira-i-Lodī* (quoted in *Rieu, Cat.*), in 1073/1662-63 ; but others place his death in 1068/1657-58.

Chandrabhān was a prolific writer and states in the introduction to this work that he was the author of a number of works, among which are : (1) کارنامه , (2) مجمع الوزراء , (3) تحفة الوزراء , (4) محفة الفقهاء , (5) دیوان (7) and , (6) چهارچرخ , (6) گلدسته (5).

Our copy is complete and bears the title انشای برہمن چندر بہان. It was found in Scindia's camp by Mr. William Blane in 1782. On the cover, however, the title slip fixed by the clerk of the Museum is 'Jahāngīr's autobiography, collected from Scindia's Camp by William Blane'.

Begins:— "چون از عنوان نواب این برہمن عقیدت کیش را الخ"

Ex. No. 17 ; foll. 184 ;  $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$  ; 11.9, each  $2\frac{1}{8}''$  long. Clear *Shikasta-āmir*. Probably early eighteenth Cent.

13. *Inshā-i-Khalīfa* (or *Jāmi'ul-Qawānīn*). *Khalīfa Shāh Muḥammad* is mentioned by Āzād in the *Ma'āthirul-Kirām* as the author of the above work, which was much used in schools, although its style has no great merit. He adds that *Khalīfa Shāh Muḥammad* spent some time in Belgram, where he studied under *Shāikh 'Abdu'l-Ghāfur* and Sayyid *Khairu'l-Lāh* (who died in 1144/1731-32). Āzād gives extracts from letters to the above two scholars, which are included in the present collection.

These letters were written by the author while he was studying at Qannūj and were collected by him at the request of some of his friends. They are addressed, for the most part, to scholars and men of learning, whose names are found in their respective superscriptions. The date of composition, as fixed by the following chronogram, is 1085/1674-75 :—

در سلك شر چون دُر نا سفته سفته شد      مجموعه فضایل تاریخ گفته شد

The work contains an (1) introduction, fol. 1b, (2) Faṣl I, comprising 26 letters (each called مکتوب, fol. 4b ; (3) Faṣl II containing 43 Ruq'āt, fol. 28a ; (4) Faṣl III, further divided into two *Qisṁs* letters of (i) Congratulatory and (ii) Condolence ; (5) Polite Forms and Titulature fol. 46b, and a (6) *Khātima*, in which the author sets out certain principles or rules (each called قانون), six in number, for the art of epistolography.

Our copy was transcribed on the 12th of Muḥarram, year twenty-two of Shāh 'Alam II's reign, i.e. 1195/1780. The name of the scribe is not mentioned. The work has been lithographed several times in India. It begins :—

"ستایش و نیایش مرا حدی را که کاتب فصاحت الخ"

Ex. No. 12 ; foll. 54 ;  $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$  ; ll. 12, each  $2\frac{1}{4}''$  long. Written in cursive *Nasta'liq*. Condition, partly worm-eaten. Sticky ink. Paper ordinary. Needs immediate repair.

## V. Persian Poetry.

1. *Khamsa-i-Nizāmī* (also called *Panj. Ganj.*), the collection of the famous five *mathnawīs* of, Nizāmī of Ganja (b. 1140-41. d. circ. 1202. 1203) :—

(1) *Makhzanu'l-Asrār* (for date of composition and other details see

Rieu, ii, 564 sq., Ethé, i, p. 595 sq.), contains 20 *Maqālas*, and begins on folio 1b :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . هست کلید در کنج حکیم

Transcription completed on Sunday, 4th of Rabi' II, A.H. 1234/A.D. 1819, Jan. 31.

(2) *Khusrāw wa Shīrīn*, composed in 576/1180-81, is the most famous of Nizāmi's romantic *mathnawīs*. It contains praises of Sultān Sa'īd Tughril bin Arsalān (who came to the throne in 573/1177-78), the Atābek Abū Ja'far Muhammad, and his brother and successor, Qizil Arsalān (1186-1191). It begins on fol. 23b :

خداوندا در توفیق بکشای نظامی را ره تحقیق بنمای

The work of transcription was completed on Thursday, the 2nd of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1234/A.D. 1819, Sept. 2 (which is given in Pillai's *An Indian Ephemeris* as Wednesday and not Thursday).

(3) *Haft Paikar* (or *Bahrām Nāma*), composed in 593/1197, seems to have been dedicated to Atābek Nūru'd-Dīn Arsalān (589/1193). The poem is called in our copy دیوان شاه بهرام شیخ نظامی and begins on fol. 88b :—

ای جهان دیده بود خویش از تو هیچ بودی نبود پیش از تو  
Transcription finished on Sunday, 9th of Rajab, A.H. 1235/A.D. 1820, April 22, (which is a Saturday according to Pillai, *Loc. cit.*).

(4) *Lailā wa Majnūn*, composed in 584/1188, is dedicated to Sultān Abu'l-Muzaffar *Shirwānshāh*. It begins on fol. 137b :—

ای نام تو بهترین سر آغاز بی نام تو نامه کی کنم یاز

Transcription completed on Saturday, 7th Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1235/A.D. 1820, Sept. 15. (This is Friday according to Pillai.)

(5) (A) *Sikandar Nāma* (or *Iskandar Nāma-i-Barī*), the famous Alexander Book, written in the same metre as Firdawsi's epic, was probably composed in 597/1200-1201 and dedicated to Nuṣratu'd-Dīn, the successor of Atābek Qizil Arsalān. It begins on fol. 180b :—

خدا یا جهان پادشاهی تراست ز ما خدمت آید خدائی تراست

The work of transcription was completed on Thursday, 21st Jumāda I, A.H. 1237/A.D. 1822, Feb. 13 (Pillai puts this to be Wednesday).

(B) *Sikandar Nāma-i-Bahri*, also called *Khīrad Nāma* or *Sharaf Nāma* (here called (کتاب شرف نامه جلد ثانی اسکندر نامه) was dedicated to 'Izzu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd and begins on fol. 248b :—

بیا ساقی از خم دهقات بپر بدست ده یکی ساغر و دست گیر

It may be pointed out that the verse in the beginning of our copy differs from that given in Ethé's No. 972.

Our copy was transcribed in Shawwāl, A.H. 1237/A.D. 1822, June-July, by Sayyid Mīrzā Muḥammad Kāzīm, known as Mīrza Āqāsī Nād-i-'Alī al-Ḥusainī, at Shīrāz.

For the life and works of Nizāmī of Gunja, please see Khān Bahādur Professor A. K. Shaiikh's *Descriptive Cat. of Ar. Per. and Hindustani MSS. in the University Library of Bombay*, 1934, pp. 296-299.

Our copy appears to be a loan-copy lent by its former owner, Mr. Alfred Huth (who wrongly entitles it *Khulāṣatu'l-Khamsa of Nizāmī*). The MS is valuable as a fine specimen of Muslim calligraphy and book-binding. Its binding is superb and on the outside and inside of it there are floral designs, with verses from Nizāmī's *Makhzan* on all the borders of it.

Ex. No. 6; foll. 285;  $10'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ ; ll. 25, two couplets in one line, each measuring  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches long. Gold and azure jadvāls. Text in clear small *Nasta'liq*. Frontispiece and beginnings of all the poems illuminated.

#### 15. *Yūsuf Zulaikḥā of Jāmī*.

Mawlānā 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī, one of the greatest poets of Persia, has been generally considered to be the "last great classical poet". He was an encyclopædic writer and his works, which are as popular to-day as they were during his lifetime have been printed a number of times in Persia, India and Europe.

Jāmī's *Yūsuf Zulaikḥā* is written in imitation of Nizāmī's *Shīrīn wa Khusrāw*, and has been translated into English also.

Begins :—

الهي غنچه توفيق بکشی گلی از روضه جاوید بنهای

Our MS is a fine copy written in between lines illuminated throughout and possesses on its frontispiece a rectangular seal which is not very clear. So far as I could make out, the following seems to be its legend

"عبدالعجل حسین خان ... الدوله نظام الملک ... جنگ بهادر" (۱۹) (۱۹). Above the seal is written "مالک ابن کتاب"

In addition to its importance as a fine specimen of calligraphy, the MS is valuable for its 50 half-page illustrations of miniature painting of the late eighteenth century.

Ex. No. 14; foll. 143;  $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ ; ll. 17, each  $2\frac{3}{4}''$  long. Gold ruled *jadvāls*, half an inch wide. Small clear *Nasta'liq*. Transcription completed on the 11th of Jumādā II, A.H. 1206/A.D. 1792, Feb. 5, by a scribe named Quṭb'u'd-Dīn.

#### VI. Miscellaneous.

16. A Volume, containing the following *three* works :—

(A) The *Minā Bāzār*, generally attributed to the authorship of Zuhūrī Turshīzī (d. 1024 or 1025/1614 or 1615 in a Deccani rising). Zuhūrī's works have been fully described by Rieu, Ethé, Ivanow, and Khān Bahādur Prof.

Shaikh and need not be given here. The *Minā Bazar* is a good example of ornate prose and begins on folio 1b :

”عصمتیان رو بوش جا پرور و خواتیان عفت کوش الخ“

Foll. 1-36 ; 6"×3½" ; ll. 9, each 3" long. Cursive *Nasta'liq*. Transcription finished in the fifteenth year of Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh's accession at Allahābād by a scribe whose name is not mentioned.

(B) *Naẓm-i-Kāghadh* or *Kāghadh Nāma*, an Urdu poem by Luṭfu'l-Lāh Khānsāhib, who adopts the *takhalluṣ* of Luṭfī. It is in praise of paper and is divided into a number of stanzas. It is a crude attempt at versification and does not observe the laws of rhyme and measure. It begins :—

ای کہ از حسن تو مرقوم شدہ بر کاغذ ابن چہ سوزست کہ شد همچو منور کاغذ

There is a copy of this work in the Bombay University Library (vide K. B. Shaikh, *Des. Cat.*, p. 188), but the line with which the poem commences in that volume, i.e.,

بر تاہم چو در فشان کاغذ تابا (دل من، in our copy) انتظار آن کاغذ

occurs as the seventh line of the first stanza in our copy.

Foll. 37-45 (numbered separately), size and description as above. No name of the scribe nor the date of transcription.

(C) *Mathnawī-i-Daryā-i-'Ishq* (here called a *Mathnawī* by Mīr Taqī Mīr) of the famous Urdu poet, Mīr Taqī Mīr. It begins :—

عشق ہے تازہ کار تازہ خیال ہر جگہ اوسکی ایک نئی ہے چال

(corresponding to page 583 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Mīr*, *Newalkishore* edition, Cawnpore). There are 215 *bayts* in our copy (in the printed ed. there are 265 *bayts*), the last ones of which are

کتنی قدرت تیری زبان میں ہے کتنی طاقت تیرے بیان میں ہے

لب پر اب مہر خاموشی بہتر یہاں سخن کی فراموشی بہتر

The text is written, more or less, on half the page.

Foll. 46-60 (marked separately as 1-14) ; size and writing as above. Copied on the 24th of Rajab (year not given).

Ex. No. 5 ; foll. 60, size and writing as above.

17. *The Collected works of Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī*.

(Mīrzā) Muḥammad (so in our copy) or Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Shīrāz, famous in Persian literature as Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī, was born in India. A poet of no mean order, Ni'mat Khān practised medicine in the earlier part of his career. Hence it was that he had adopted *Hakīm* as his *takhalluṣ*, but changed it later to 'Ālī, at the suggestion of his tutor, Nawwāb Dānishmand Khān (see our copy, foll. 154b-155b). In 1104 or 1105/1692-94, he received from Awrangzeb the title of *Ni'mat Khān* and was appointed, we are told, the *darogah* (Superintendent of

the Royal Kitchen). Later he also received the title of Muqarrab Khān from the same Emperor. On this occasion, he was promoted to the post of Keeper of the Royal جواهر خانہ. During the reign of Shāh 'Ālam he received the additional title of Dānīshmand Khān and was ordered to write a history of Shāh 'Ālam's reign, which work was never completed, as the author died in 1121/1709; he had hardly written before his death an account of the first two years. He was buried, according to one account, at Hyderābād, and according to another in Delhī.

Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī was a prolific writer and has been credited with the following works :—

- (1) *Waqā'i-i-Hyderābād*, his most famous account of the events of eight days during the siege of Golconda-Hyderabad, written in a most satirical vein. This work has been published a number of times.
- (2) *Jang Nāma*, an account of the war between the sons of Awrangzeb.
- (3) *Shāh Nāma*, *Bāshāh Nāma* or *Bahādur Shāh Nāma*, incomplete account of the first two years of Shāh 'Ālam's reign, mentioned above.
- (4) *Risāla Dar Hajw-i-Hukamā*.
- (5) *Kadkhudā'i-i-Husn wa 'Ishq* (or *husn wa 'Ishq*), in mixed prose and poetry.
- (6) A *Diwān* comprising Ghazals, Qasīdas, etc.
- (7) Letters.
- (8) A *Commentary* on the *Qur'ān* in Persian, extremely rare.
- (9) *A Treatise on the Science of Medicine* (see below).

In addition to the above, Ni'mat Khān has been credited with another work, called *Khawān-i-Ni'mat* (a book on Cookery). But, I think, there is probably some mistake in the note of W. Pertsch, *Berlin Cat.*, p. 343, on the strength of which even *Ethé* has been tempted to connect part of a volume described by him (see, Vol. I, 792, vii) with the alleged work of Ni'mat Khān, the so-called *Khawān-i-Ni'mat*. The fact appears to be this that while the author lived under the patronage of Awrangzeb, whatever works he had written by that time he collected together in one volume and wrote an Introduction (*Khutba*) to it in ornate prose, mixed with poetry (called in our copy : خطبہ دیوان عالی مخاطب بہ نعمت من کلامہ). In this *Khutba* he names this collection *Khawān-i-Ni'mat* (خوان نعمت). Comp. the statement "مخاطب بآنت مجموعہ نظم و نثر را خوان نعمت نام کردہ توقع از لذت شناسان مایده این" (our copy, foll. 150b and 151a). "معنی آنکہ حق نیک سخن را کہیدارند الخ". Sprenger, however, did not fall into this trap and rightly called this collec-

tion *Khwān-i-Ni'mat*, containing prose and poetic works, of the author composed up to the time when he was the bearer of the title of Ni'mat Khān.

Our Volume contains the following works :—1. *WAQĀ'Ī* (No. 1 mentioned above), foll. 1b-94b ; 2. *Kadkhudā'i-i-husn wa 'Ishq*, No. 5 above, foll. 94b-118b ; 3. *A Treatise on Medicine* (در اظهار صنعت طبابت), No. 9 above, foll. 118b-124b ; 4. *Letters* to, and on behalf of, friends, probably the same as No. 7 above, foll. 124b-135b (fol. 136a. blank.) ; 5. *Extracts* from the collection of his works, entitled *Khwān-i-Ni'mat* (see above) :— (A) *Khutba-i-Di'wān*, beginning :—

” بار افزای نقد سخن اکسیر است که چون بر فلذات معدن لفظ طرح شود الخ ”

This covers foll. 136b-156a. At the end the author states why he changed his *Takhalluṣ* from Ḥakīm to 'Ālī. This portion was transcribed on the 5th of *Dhu'l-Qa'da*, A.H. 1201/A.D. 1787, August 19.

Then occurs on fol. 156 a *Qit'a* beginning with :

بار دیگر که خدا شد خان والا منزلت با کمال عزو تکبر و وقار و ذب و ذین

Then follow prose pieces and chronograms. On fol. 166a there is an *Urdū-Persian* chronogram, which gives the birthdate of Mufaḍḍal Khān. Then follow selections from *Mathnawī* beginning with :

اول الحمد خوانم از اخلاص (foll. 178b-180a). Then other chronograms, prose-pieces and smaller poems (foll. 180b-191b). On fol. 191b occurs an elegy in *mathnawī* form on the death of Awrangzeb, composed by a poet here called Ja'far. Begins :

بنال ای عندلیب گلشن هوش بکن آنجان خود از غم فراموش

The MS ends abruptly with another chronogram on the death of Awrangzeb (fol. 192b).

Ex. No. 16 ; fols. 192 ;  $10\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7''$  ; 11.10, each  $4\frac{3}{4}''$  long. Bold *Nasta'liq*. Prob. nineteenth century.

## VII. Hindi Poetry.

18. A volume containing two works in *Hindī* poetry :—

(1) Sūrdās's poem, praising the glory and deeds of *Shrī Krishna*. Begins :—

सुरी कनिश अिन्हे ( श्री गणेशायनमः )  
सुरी करुन किशुकरनाकर सरप कुब कन आर

It contains 122 *bayts* and ends thus :—

सुर दास प्रभु प्रभु नन्दन प्रिय भक्त दिगी मन्दानन्दन  
अिनी सुरी नाम मालसी करुन सियोक कब सुर दास स्यामिक

Foll. 7 ;  $7'' \times 5''$  ; 11.10, each  $3''$  long. Clear *Nasta'liq*, probably of the eighteenth century.



(II) *Shrī Krishna's adventures* described in Hindī verse. Comp. foll. 11a (marked as leaf 4) :

سنو کتھا اب تھین سناؤں نرمل کن کوہال کے گائوں

The poem is divided into a number of Adhyāyas and begins :—

سروں آو نرنجن دیوا جیکو دیو نجات بھیوا

On the cover, which seems to have been recently put, the title of the volume is given in English as *Bhupatkirat*. Foll. 298 (i.e. 8-305, marked separately from the preceding); size and writing the same as above. Transcribed by a person whose name has been erased by a later hand, on Monday, the 7th of Rabi' II, A.H. 1198/A.D. 1784, Feb. 29 (which is a Sunday according to Pillai), corresponding to Phālgun Shud 9, Shaka 1706.

Ex. No. 3 ; foll. 305 ; size and other details given above.

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# TOTALITY

By

C. R. SANKARAN and M. G. VENKATESIAH.

[This paper based on SAPIR's Totality (*Lang. Mono.*, No. 6, 1930) deals with quantity with reference to Kannaḍa—an important language of the Dravidian family. This paper as that of SAPIR is for the eventual use of all those who are interested in fundamental problems of language structure and the approach from the Dravidian, it is hoped, will be found interesting as it gives rise to certain new ideas on the subject of Totality. The materials are classified and arranged in the same order as found in SAPIR's monograph with special comments wherever new ideas are indicated. A table of totalizers is given at the end of the paper.]

For the glossary of technical terms used in this paper, the reader is referred to SAPIR's monograph (p. 6). These terms are illustrated by the following four Kannaḍa sentences :—

1. *Nāḷkuḷana baruttidāre* (Four men are coming) *jana*—quantifiable ; *nāḷku*—quantifier ; *nāḷkuḷana*—quantificate.
2. *Ondu hiḍi akki* (A handful of rice) *akki*—quantifiable ; *ondu hiḍi*—quantifier ; *ondu hiḍi akki*—quantificate.
3. *Ellā haṇṇū nanage koḍu* (Give me all the fruits) *haṇṇu*—quantifiable ; *ellā*—quantifier ; *ellā haṇṇū*—quantificate.
4. *Avuḡaḷellavannū nanage koḍu* (Give me the sum total of those) *avuḡaḷellavannū*—quantificate.

Nos. 1 and 2. *Direct quantifiers*—quantifiers directly apprehended without the necessity of arriving at the intended quantity by going through one or more parenthetical operations, e.g., *nāḷku*, *ondu hiḍi*. No. 3. *Totaliser*—quantifier whose function it is to emphasize the fact that in the given context the quantifiable is not to be thought of as capable of increase. No. 4. *Calculated quantifier*—a quantifier which is apprehended mediately, with the necessity of arriving at the intended quantity by going through one or more mathematical operations e.g., *the sum of*.

## I. Whole—Part relation.

*ella*—indicates inability to proceed after count. (all).

*ella*—indicates unwillingness to break up into smaller objects. (whole).

In many languages these two types of objects tend to be differently totalised. But in Kannaḍa *ella* and *aṣṭu* are used for both.

e.g. *ella mēḷuḡaḷū* = all the tables.

*ella mēḷū* or *mēḷella* = the whole table.

*mēḷuḡaḷaṣṭū tyagaḍa maraḍavuḡaḷu* = all the tables are made of teak.

*mēḷaṣṭū tyagaḍa maraḍu* = the whole table is made of teak.

*Quantifiables* are divided into (1) *Individualised*—e.g. *Tuppa* (Ghee), and (2) *Totalizable*, e.g. *mēḷu* (Table), *kuri* (Sheep) – susceptible of various kinds of aggregation either direct, or based on some previous operation of disintegration.

## II. Six Types of Totalizables.

(1) *The whole existent*—*mēḷella* (the whole table).

(2) *Summated existent*—*mēḷinabhāḡavella* (the parts of the table).

- (3) *Persistently whole existent*—*mējīnabhāgagāḷella*. This is also called the *Reassertedly whole existent*—a compound of (1) and (2) —meaning all the parts of the table—(the whole of the table).  
 (4) *Simple aggregate*—*mējūgaḷella* (all the tables).  
 (5) *Whole aggregate*—*mējūgaḷagumpella* (the whole set of tables).  
 (6) *Reasserted aggregate*—*mējūgaḷagumpugaḷella* (all the sets of the tables).

The use of the plural suffix *-gaḷu* may be noted here.

### III. Singularised Totaliser.

'Each' individualises more clearly than 'every'. But in Kannaḍa we have *prati* or *ondondū* for "each". To give the meaning of every (all accumulating by increments of one) there is a tendency to repeat the word, e.g. *mane manegū dīpa-gaḷive* (every house has lights).

### IV. Definite and Indefinite Totalizers.

*ella*—cannot be ambiguous or indefinite (all); *halavu* (some) is indefinite; *kelavu* (some) is indefinite but gives sometimes a sense of minority, e.g. *kelavaru bandiddaru* (only some had come).

In Kannaḍa there is no corresponding term for 'both'. There are terms like *nāvibbaru* (we two); *nīvibbaru* (you two); *avaravaru* (they five) &c.

There is a class of Totalizers in Kannaḍa which is in one way definite and yet indefinite. This is more abstract than simple non-evaluated *direct totalizer* and less abstract than general calculated evaluated *modified totalizer*. In our opinion, this forms a link between *general* and *specialised totalizers*.

*āru* (six) is definite. But in the following combinations.

*Nālkāru* is indefinite but means a number of one digit.

*Hattāru* is indefinite but means a number of two digits.

*Nūrāru* is indefinite but means a number of three digits.

*Sāvīrāru* is indefinite but means a number of four digits.

*Kōtyāru* is indefinite but means a number of eight digits.

*Kōtyānukōḷi* is indefinite but means a number of innumerable digits.

### V. Direct and calculated Totalizers.

Direct—*ella*, *aṣṭu* (whole).

Calculated—*oḷṭu*, *motta* (the sum total).

### VI. Universal statements.

*Huṭṭidavareḷla sāyalēbēku* (All that are born must die). Here *ella* is not a *totalizer* but *class indicator*.

*Prati māṇṣyanū sāyabēku* (Every man has to die). Here *prati* is *class indicator*.

### VII. Evaluated Totalizers.

*tumba*, *pūrā* (full); *sākādaṣṭu*, *lakkaṣṭu*, (sufficient); *tṛṭṭiyāguvaṣṭu* (enough); *pūrā* (complete); *bharti* (entire); *apūṣa*, *sampūrṇa*, *nirḍōṣa* (perfect).

### VIII. Modified Totalizers.

(1) Distributive e.g. *ondondāgi*; (2) limitative; e.g. *konca konca*, *aṣṭaṣṭu*, *svalpasvalpa*, (3) Exclusives, e.g., *kaṭṭu kaṭṭē*, *mūṭe mūṭē*. (The whole set or bag and not one or two pieces or parts).

IX. *Negated Totalizers.*

(1) *ellarū alla* (not all); (2) *ēnū illade hōgaṭalla* (not without anything); (3) *Baradē iddavarē ilka* (not one that did not come); (4) *ella akkiyē* (nothing but rice)—emphatic.

X. *Specialised totalizers.*

(1) Collective nouns, e.g., a flock of sheep. Collective nouns of this type do not exist in Kannada. The general terms *hinḍu*, *guṁpu*, are applied to all. (2) *Direct specialised totalizers*: (a) *Non-evaluated, simple—jāminella*; *modified—avanige sērida jāminu mattige*. (b) *Evaluated, simple—kuriya hinḍu* (a flock of sheep); *modified—ondu hiḍi akki* (a handful of rice). (3) *Calculated specialised totalizers*. (a) *Non-evaluated simple—oṭṭu aḷeda jāminella*; *modified—aḷedu mikka jāminella*. (b) *Evaluated simple—pūriti hōda jāminella*; *modified—Bēkāgu-vaṣṭū jāminu*.

XI. *Quantificates involving totalization.*

(A) Totalised quantificates which determine existents or occurrents :

1. Totalised selection quantificates ; *ivella, iveraḍu*.
2. Totalised order quantificates ; *uddakkū, prationdarallū*.
3. Totalised Space quantificates ; *allalli, ellellū*.
4. Totalised time quantificates ; *yāvāgalū*.
5. Totalised condition quantificates ; *ellāshṭiyalliyū*.
6. Totalised purpose quantificates ; *tāṭṭarya, uddeṣa*.
7. Totalised cause quantificates ; *kāraṇa*.
8. Totalised requirements quantificates ; *pūrtiyāgi*.
9. Totalised manner quantificates ; *ella terada, ella vidhada*.
10. Totalised value quantificates ; *apūṭā, nirdōṣa*.

(B) *Total quantificates which are existents or occurrents :*

11. Totalised existent quantificates ; *iḍi prapaṇca*.
12. Totalised occurrent quantificates ; *pūrti kaṭṭalu*.

Sometimes *quantifiers* pure and simple are often really disguised as *quanto-quantifiers*, e.g., *nanage ellā iṣṭa* means *nanage ellā vastugaḷū iṣṭa* (I like all things). *Totalised calculated quantificates.*

1. Selection ; *ivaṣṭū* (all these).
2. Order ; *ondondū sṭhalaḍallū* (in each place).  
Space ; *jāmināṣṭū* (the whole land).  
Time ; *tingaḷu pūrti* (the whole month).
3. Condition ; *ellā sṭhiti*.
4. Purpose ; *samagravāgi*.
5. Cause ; *kāraṇagaḷigellā* (to all causes).
6. Requirement ; *bēkāda guṇagaḷigellā* (to all the characteristics required).
7. Quality ; *ati kappu* (very black).
8. Value ; *apūṭā, appaṣa* (pure).
9. Existent ; *naṛagaḷalellā* (in all nerves).
10. Occurrent ; *ritigamuṣāravāgi* (according to the method laid down).

Theoretically every quantificate may become a specialised quantifier.

Positive.	Negative.	Partial.	Negated Unitiser.	Totalised Negative.
<i>janarella</i>	<i>janarella-alla</i>	<i>kelavu jana</i>	<i>obbanalla</i> <i>paiki obbanalla</i> <i>yāvanū alla</i> <i>paiki yāvamū alla</i>	No word for 'none' <sup>1</sup> <i>paiki yārū alla</i> <i>yārū alla</i>
<i>adella</i>	<i>adella-alla</i>	<i>konca<sup>2</sup> svalpa</i> <i>ondondu</i>	<i>koncavū alla</i> <i>svalpavū alla</i>	<i>yāva svalpavū</i> <i>alla</i>
<i>mējella</i>	<i>mējella-alla</i>	<i>mējina konca</i> <i>bhāga</i>	<i>mējina konca</i> <i>bhāga-alla</i>	<i>mējina yāva bhā-</i> <i>gavū alla</i>
<i>pratiyobba</i>	<i>pratiyobba-alla</i>	<i>yārō obba</i> <i>yāvanobba</i> <i>halavu</i> <i>yārō kelavaru</i>	<i>obbanū alla</i> <i>obbanāvanū alla</i> <i>yāvanū alla</i>	<i>yārū alla</i>
<i>avaribbaru</i>	<i>avaribbarū-alla</i>	<i>avaribbarallo-</i> <i>bhanu</i>	<i>avaribbarallo-</i> <i>bbarū alla</i>	<i>avaribbaralli yārū</i> <i>alla</i>
<i>yāvāgalū</i>	<i>yāvāgalū-alla</i>	<i>āgāga</i> <i>ondonduvē<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>yāvāgalū-illa</i> <i>yāvākālādallū-illa</i>	<i>yāvāgalū illa</i> <i>yāvākālakkū-illa</i>
<i>sākaṣṭū</i>	<i>sākaṣṭilla</i>	<i>svalpa</i>	<i>sākaṣṭilla</i> <i>ēnū illa</i>	<i>sālada.</i>

Note :—(1) There is no single word for 'none'.

(2) *Konca*—one word for 'some of it'.

(3) The use of *ondondu* and *agāga* as partial negatives.

TABLE OF TOTALIZERS

General (Abstract)			Specialised (Concrete)		
Direct	{ Non-evaluated	{ Simple	.. <i>ella</i> (all) <i>aṣṭu</i> (whole) <i>ondundu</i> (each) <sup>1</sup>		
		{ Modified	.. <i>pūrtiyāḡi</i> (the whole of) <i>ēnuillade</i> (none at all)		
		{ Simple	.. <i>bharti</i> (full) <i>pūrti</i> (complete) <i>sākaṣṭu</i> (enough)		
		{ Modified	.. <i>bēkādaṣṭu</i> (quite enough)		
	{ Evaluated	{ Simple	.. <i>oṣṭu</i> (the sum of) <i>motta</i> (sum tota' of)		
		{ Modified	.. <i>ivagala motta maṭṭige</i> (just the sum of)		
		{ Simple	.. <i>eṣṭu bēkō aṣṭu</i> (a calculatedly sufficient amount of)		
		{ Modified	.. <i>eṣṭu bēkō aṣṭu maṭṭige</i> (just a calculatedly sufficient amount of)		
Calculated					
Totalizers					
hatlāru—a number of two digits nūlāru—a number of three digits, &c.					
Direct	{ Non-evaluated	{ Simple	.. <i>hiṇḍu</i> (group) <sup>2</sup>		
		{ Modified	.. <i>ekaregala motta mātra</i> (only the total acreage c:)		
		{ Simple	.. <i>hiṇḍella</i> (the complete herd of)		
		{ Modified	.. <i>sākādaṣṭu kuriya hiṇḍu</i> (an ample flock of sheep)		
	{ Evaluated	{ Simple	.. <i>kelage sērisiruva ekaregala motta mātra</i> (the whole computed acreage of)		
		{ Modified	.. <i>mikkaṇanara paṭki mukḷālu pāhu</i> (absolutely all the remaining people) <sup>3</sup>		
		{ Simple	.. <i>aṣṭu eṇisiruva jana</i> (the completely counted people)		
		{ Modified	.. <i>eṣṭu bhāga bēkō aṣṭara maṭṭige</i> (a merely sufficient quota of)		
Calculated					

No corresponding terms for 'both' and 'none'.

*Mukḷālu pālu* literally means three-fourths; in usage it also means 'almost all'.<sup>2</sup>No specialised collective nouns like, *flock* of sheep.

## V. S. SUKTHANKAR MEMORIAL VOLUME OF THE BULLETIN

The sudden and tragic demise on 21st January, 1943 of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR has removed a figure of international repute from the world of scholars. The loss is almost irreparable and particularly so to India as it was the Critical edition of the Mahābhārata on which he was engaged for the last 17 years and which he had made his life-work which helped to put India on the map of the scholarly world. He was connected in one capacity or another with several learned Societies and Academies in Europe, America and India (he was incidentally the second Indian to be elected Honorary Member by the American Oriental Society) but with the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute he was closely connected in more capacities than one, as Member of the Reorganization Committee, Member of the first Council of Management and the Committee of Direction.

The staff of this Institute have, therefore, decided to pay their humble tribute to the memory of the departed savant by bringing out the fifth volume of its Bulletin as a Memorial Volume in his honour on the first anniversary of his death—a volume which in the fitness of things is devoted mainly to Mahābhārata studies. The staff and the students as well as Members of the Council of Management of the Institute, have offered their co-operation by contributing articles on themes connected with the Great Epic of India. The printing of the Volume will commence sometime in October, 1943, so that the Volume may be ready for publication on the 21st January, 1944, the first anniversary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S death.

## THE 'SPOKEN WORD' IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

by

V. M. APTE

§ 1. THE STORY OF the discovery of Sanskrit Literature to Europe towards the closing decades of the 18th century has all the ingredients of a first class 20th century thriller! The mere accident of the 'Ezour-Vedam' so enthusiastically welcomed by Voltaire, turning out later to be a forgery, brought on a reaction which led a philosopher like Dugald STEWART and a Dublin Professor to advance in all seriousness the proposition that not only Sanskrit literature but also the Sanskrit language was pure fiction! But truth is sometimes stranger than fiction and when once the truth dawned on the scholarly circles in Europe and America, the study of Sanskrit literature (especially Vedic) was taken up and is still being carried on by them with an energy and enthusiasm which may be equalled but, with difficulty surpassed even in the land of its birth.

§ 2. Among the distinctive characteristics of ancient Indian literature, the one that intrigued these scholars most, was the *manner of its transmission*, because Vedic literature which belongs to the very oldest period of Indian literary history was originally nothing but a *series of orally transmitted texts*! As early as 1882, Max MÜLLER observed,<sup>1</sup> 'This may sound startling, but what will sound still more startling and yet is a fact that can easily be ascertained by anybody who doubts it—at the present moment, if every MS. of the R̥g-Veda were lost, we should be able to recover the whole of it from the memory of the Śrotriyas in India. These native students learn the Veda by heart and they learn it from the mouth of their Guru, never from a Ms., still less from my printed edition,—and after a time they teach it again to their pupils. I have had such students in my room at Oxford, who not only could repeat these hymns, but who repeated them with the proper accents (for the Vedic Sanskrit has accents like Greek) nay who, when looking through my printed edition of the R̥g-Veda could point out a misprint without the slightest hesitation. I can tell you more. There are hardly any various readings in our Mss. of the R̥g-Veda, but various schools in India have their own readings of certain passages, and they hand down those readings with

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<sup>1</sup> *India—What can it teach us?* Collected works, XIII India, 208-9.



great care. So instead of collating Mss., as we do in Greek and Latin, I have asked some friends of mine to collate those Vedic students, who carry their own Ṛg-Veda in their memory, and to let me have the various readings from these living authorities.'

§ 3. What is said here of the Ṛg-Veda is, of course, true of the other Sāṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras of all the Vedas, in all their Śākhā variations and this gives us a rough idea of the formidable mass of literary material preserved and transmitted by word of mouth. The various intricate devices employed to preserve all these texts intact have ensured a faithfulness of oral tradition unsurpassed in any other ancient literature of the world.

§ 4. Since thus, the history of Indian literature does not begin with actual writings, western scholars naturally turned to the very interesting problem as to when (the art of) writing came to be first used in India either for commercial purposes or for the recording of literary productions. This unfortunately led to much confusion of thought because, *absence of the evidence of such use was taken as proof of the absence of the knowledge of writing in India* and in this connection the *argumentum ex silentio* was used with devastating effect! MÜLLER wrote,<sup>2</sup> 'If writing had been known to Pāṇini some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which *presupposes the existence of writing*' (italics mine). Although this has been put down as one of the exploded theories of that great scholar, that same argument—the so-called absence of any positive proof of the knowledge of writing in Vedic literature—driven under-ground, has been playing tricks in a more subtle manner with the judgment of some scholars. For example, because the *spoken* and not the *written* word has been the foundation of literary activity in India from the oldest times till lately, it has been tacitly assumed that writing must have been introduced (!) at some later date into India and numerous theories have been advanced to explain how, when and whence the borrowing took place. Although the most widely-known theory regarding the manner of this borrowing is that of Dr. BÜHLER<sup>3</sup> who thinks that the origin of the oldest Indian script—the Brāhmī—is to be traced to the oldest North Semitic characters as found in Phœnician inscriptions, a

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<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 507.

<sup>3</sup> *Indische Palaeographie* in the 'Grundriss' I.2, and *On the origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet*, Strassburg, 1898.

résumé of the various theories<sup>4</sup> will be useful, if only to show how these theorists under the influence of the *argumentum ex silentio*, could not see the absurdity of the proposition that the Vedic Āryans who could speak<sup>5</sup> in terms of high numerals and in terms of minute fractions were ignorant of the art of writing although it is universally recognized that *the knowledge of a highly developed numerical notation is inseparable from the knowledge of writing*.

§ 5. (1) PRINSEP followed by Otfried MÜLLER and SENART assert for the alphabet of the Aśokan inscriptions, a Greek parentage. The theory has collapsed as the Brāhmī *lipi* has now been proved to be of earlier origin than the Aśoka period.

(2) The theory of a Semitic origin was put forth as early as 1806 by Sir William JONES and has now a wide vogue among Indian palæographers. Whereas, however, DEECKE,<sup>6</sup> Wickram SINGHE<sup>7</sup> and Isaac TAYLOR derive the Indian alphabet from that of the Southern Semites in South Arabia, WEBER (*ZDMG* 10:389 ff.), BÜHLER and CUST<sup>8</sup> maintain that it originated from the alphabet of the Northern Semites, the Phœnician alphabet. It is interesting in this connection to note that the theory of a South Semitic origin was challenged by BÜHLER on the ground that the resemblance of characters between the Brāhmī alphabet and the alphabet of the Southern Semites was rather fanciful and involved the assumption of fitful changes in the phonetic values of the signs—an assumption unwarranted in the case of the Hindus who were rather pedantic in this respect. And BÜHLER'S theory of a North Semitic origin of the Brāhmī alphabet stands or falls according as the possibility is proved or

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<sup>4</sup> For a lucid statement and critical discussion of most of these theories, see 'The Alphabet' vol. II, by Isaac TAYLOR, Dr. BÜHLER'S exhaustive survey in his 'Indian Studies' No. III, and the article entitled 'Origin of the Indian alphabet' by Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR in the *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Jubilee Volume*, 3-1. For the above re'sumé, I have drawn principally upon these sources among others.

<sup>5</sup> See the references to the RV., Kāṭhaka, Taittiriya, Vājasaneyi and other Saṁhitās and to the Śatapatha and other Brāhmaṇas, given hereafter.

<sup>6</sup> *ZDMG* 31:589 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *JRAS* 1895, 895-8; *ibid.* 1901, 302 ff.

<sup>8</sup> 'Origin of the Indian Alphabet' *JRAS*, N. S. 16:325-59, and *ibid.* 1897, pp. 49-80.

not, of a direct intercourse between the Indians and the Northern Semites who were responsible for the epigraphic document of Mesa on the borders of Palestine. But, as Rhys DAVIDS (*Buddhist India*) points out, such intercourse has *not* been historically established in the 7th or 8th century, B. C.

- (3) An indigenous origin for the Indian alphabet was first suggested by LASSEN.<sup>9</sup> Edward THOMAS<sup>10</sup> following in his wake, thought it to be a Dravidian invention. Sir A. CUNNINGHAM<sup>11</sup> contends that it is to be traced to a primitive type of Indian picture-writing and he was followed by DOWSON.<sup>12</sup>

§ 6. The whole question will have to be re-examined now in the light of the markings on pottery dug out of the prehistoric cairns excavated in 1917 in the Nizam's dominions<sup>13</sup>—markings which are not ownershipmarks but alphabetical signs, bearing, several of them, a close resemblance to some characters of the Brāhmī alphabet. This Hyderabad pottery has affinities with Megalithic structures which cannot be later than 1500 B. C. and the prehistoric pottery exhibited in the Madras Museum on which similar markings had been noticed belongs to the Neolithic age which cannot be later than 3000 B. C. The writing (in some as yet undeciphered script) on the seals found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa must also come into the picture. Although, it must be conceded, these discoveries came later, it is surprising that not many scholars should have even suspected that the Brāhmī alphabet—nay, all alphabets—could well be a prehistoric invention! The contention of the writer is that the following general consideration alone should have brought home to these theorists the absurdity of their position. What I mean is that they pay a left-handed compliment to the genius of the ancient Indian, when they credit it with such a lopsided development as to render it capable on the one hand, of producing a literature of the subtlety, magnitude and refinement of the RgVeda—a literary activity spread over a whole age—and on the other hand, of remaining absolutely innocent for

<sup>9</sup> *Indische Alterthumskunde*. I, 1009.

<sup>10</sup> Edition of Mr. James PRINSEP'S *Essays*, 2-48 (1858).

<sup>11</sup> *Corpus inscriptionum indicarum*, 54 (1877).

<sup>12</sup> *JRAS* 13-102 (1881)

<sup>13</sup> The credit of this discovery goes to Mr. G. YAZDANI, Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Hyderabad (Dn.)

centuries, of even the invention of an indigenous alphabet which ( modern research has now established ) may originate, not merely from hieroglyphics ( though R̥g-Vedic Society was advanced enough even for this stage ) but also from such symbols and horizontal or vertical lines as primitive man is expected to use for the expression of his thoughts ! Dr. WINTERNITZ<sup>14</sup> makes the bold statement, ' And the chief reason for the fact that writing was for so long not used for literary purposes is probably to be found in the fact that the Indians only became acquainted with the art writing at a period when they had already since a long time possessed a rich literature that was only orally transmitted.' No parallel instance in the history of any people in any part of the world is adduced, where we can witness the production of a literature of the subtlety and polish of the R̥gVeda without any acquaintance with the art of writing, in the long course of their development from the primitive stage to that stage of civilization and culture which is reflected in the literature of the R̥g-Veda ! Though this is not the occasion to go into the whole question, I must draw attention to a few facts which should constitute adequate evidence of an acquaintance with the art of writing in all periods of the Vedic age—early or late.

§ 7. This evidence is of two kinds. As Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR observes,<sup>15</sup> ' Two of the principal features of writing are : (1) numerical notation and (2) alphabet.' We will, however, cite here only such passages from Vedic literature as betray the knowledge on the part of Vedic Indians of numerical symbols or rather numeration of such an advanced character as to imply this knowledge of numerical figures because that will be enough proof of our proposition that Vedic Indians ( may even the R̥g-Vedic Aryans ) were acquainted with the art of writing.

§ 8. The R̥g-Veda uses the word ' *ayuta* [ IV. 26. 7 ; VII. 1, 5; 2, 41 ; 21, 18; 34, 15; 46, 22 ] in the specialized sense of 10,000. Why any scholar<sup>16</sup> should consider that it has a vague sense passes comprehension, when it is noted that on the one hand it occurs in several of these passages by the side of *sahasra* ( 1000 ) and *śata* ( 100 ) and on the other, the RV. has the phrases *śatāni śahasrāṇi* (IV. 29,4) and *śatā sahasrāṇi* [ II. 1, 8 : IV. 30, 15 : 32, 18 ; VI. 63, 10. VII. 32, 5 ; VIII. 32, 18 ; 45, 12 ] denoting the next higher figure, ten forming the basis of the numerical system of the Vedic Indians. In

<sup>14</sup> *History of Indian Literature* ( English Translation ) 1-36, ( 1926 ).

<sup>15</sup> 'Origin of the Indian Alphabet', 497. ( See Fn. 4 above ).

<sup>16</sup> ZIMMER, *Altindisches Leben*, 348.

fact, THIBAUT<sup>17</sup> has remarked that whereas 1000 was the highest limit of the knowledge of numerals possessed by the Āryans generally, the Vedic Āryans have a long series of names for very high numerals at a very early period. As for the fractions, the RV. has *ardha* =  $\frac{1}{2}$  ( VI. 30, 1, etc. ), *pāda* =  $\frac{1}{4}$  ( a sense derived from that of the 'foot' of a quadruped ), *tripād* =  $\frac{3}{4}$  ( X. 90. 4 ), *śapha* =  $\frac{1}{8}$ , a sense suggested by 'the divided hoof or foot' which is the original meaning of the word and *kalā*<sup>18</sup> =  $\frac{1}{16}$ . In RV. VI. 69. 8<sup>cd</sup>, Indra and Viṣṇu are said to have split up 1000 into three parts.

§ 9. Turning to the other Saṁhitās, we find that the Taittiriya Saṁhitā ( IV. 4, 11, 4; VII. 2, 20, 1 ) and the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā ( XVII. 2, cf. also xxii. 34 ) have the following list: 1, 10, 100, 1000, 10000 (*ayuta*); then follow in a regular ascending order *niyuta*, *prayuta*, *arbuda*, *nyarbuda*, *samudra*, *madhya*, *anta* and *parārdha*, the lastnamed going up to 1,000,000,000. The Maitrāyaṇī ( ii. 8, 14 ) and Kāthaka ( xvii, 10 ) Saṁhitās have almost identical lists with the change that *prayuta* instead of *niyuta* comes next to *ayuta*. The latter Saṁhitā in another place ( xxxix. 6 ) inserts an additional new figure *badva* after *nyarbuda*, thus raising *parārdha* to 10,000,000,000, ( Compare AV. viii. 2, 21; 8, 7; x. 8, 24 ). As for fractions, the AV. ( vi. 96, 3; xix. 57, 1 ) and TS. ( vi. 1, 10 ) mention *kalā*, the latter Saṁhitā ( ii. 5, 1, 4; v. 2, 6, 2 ) mentioning *ṛtīya* in the sense of  $\frac{1}{3}$ . The Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā ( iii. 7, 7 ) mentions *kalā* (  $\frac{1}{16}$  ), *kuṣṭha* (  $\frac{1}{12}$  ), *śapha* (  $\frac{1}{8}$  ) and *pad* (  $\frac{1}{4}$  ).

§ 10. Very nearly the same lists of high numerals with variations here and there are met with in the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Śrautasūtras ( Śatapatha Br. IX. 1, 2, 16; Pañcaviṁśa Br. vii. 14, 2; xiv. 13, 6; xxi. 18, 3, etc.; Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Br. 1, 10, 28, 29; Aitareya Br. vii. 21, 23; Aitareya Āraṇyaka, v. 3, 2; Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra xv. 11, 7 ).

§ 11. In a passage in the Pañcaviṁśa Br. ( xviii. 3 ), with which may be compared similar passages in the Lāṭyāyana ( vii. 10, 1 etc. ) and Kātyāyana ( xxii. 9, 1—6 ) Śrauta Sūtras, we come across a kind of arithmetical progression in connection with the enumeration of sacrificial gifts ( *hiranyam* ) in a certain order, so that each successive figure is double of each preceding one, the gifts being generally articles of personal property such as kine, horses, buffaloes, camels or ornaments etc., but rarely land, a cow being the *dakṣiṇā* in the

<sup>17</sup> *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, 70.

<sup>18</sup> Compare VIII. 47-17 ab, 'As we recover the whole debt, even the  $\frac{1}{16}$ th and  $\frac{1}{16}$ th part thereof.'

absence of any specification. The progression begins with 12, 24, 48 and goes on to 393, 216. In the Śatapatha Br. ( xii. 3, 2, 1 ), minute subdivisions of time are mentioned. A *muhūrta* is 1/15th of a day and each successive time sub-division in the series : *kṣipra*, *etarhi*, *idān* and *prāṇa* is 1/15th of the preceding. A similar table of time sub-divisions is found in the Taittirīya Br. (iii. 10, 1, 1). The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra XIV. 75 ( cf. Śāṅkhāyana Aranyaka, vii. 20 ) gives a table wherein from *muhūrta* onwards, each successive time-sub-division in the series : *muhūrta*, *nimeṣa*, *dhvaṁsi*, is 1/10th of the preceding. *We have here a rudimentary decimal system.* As for fractions, Taittirīya Br. ( i. 1, 6, 1 ; 1, 2 ) and Śatapatha Br. ( iii. 8, 4, 4, etc. ) mention *tṛtiya* in the sense of 1/3 and the Aitareya ( vi. 15 ) and Śatapatha ( iii. 3, 1, 13 ) Brāhmaṇas repeat the RV. verse which tells us that Indra and Viṣṇu divide 1000 by 3. The Śatapatha Br. ( iii. 3, 3, 1 ; xii. 8, 3, 13 ) mentions *Kalā* 1/16.

§ 12. In spite of this evidence, some scholars entertain doubts as to whether the Vedic Indians had any knowledge of numerical figures or signs. The authors of the Vedic Index of names and subjects declare<sup>19</sup>, ' There is no clear evidence that the Indians of the Vedic period had any knowledge of numerical figures, *though it is perfectly possible* ' ( italics mine ). It is fortunate that they keep an open mind and *concede at least the possibility*. If *aṣṭakarnī* in RV. X 62, 7 means ( as the writer believes ) ' having the figure 8 marked on the ears,' then the knowledge of numerical figures on the part of the Vedic Āryans would be definitely established<sup>20</sup> but the view<sup>21</sup> that *aṣṭa* is a past participle is entitled to a respectful hearing and so the point cannot be pressed. Nor need we press the evidence of the tell-tale word *akṣara* occurring in all periods of Vedic literature, from that of the R̥gveda downwards. A letter or syllable when scratched or engraved became *akṣara*, that is, indelible or imperishable. BUHLER takes the occurrence of this word in the Pāli canon as evidence of the *knowledge* of writing.

§ 13. For further evidence of the knowledge of writing on the part of the Vedic Indians on the ground of their knowledge of the two principal features of writing viz. numerical notation and alphabet and other views on the age of the art of writing in India may be consulted the writings of Shyamaji KRISHNAVARMAS<sup>22</sup>, R. B. Bishnu

<sup>19</sup> 1.344.

<sup>20</sup> The point is discussed by D. R. BHANDARKAR in his above-mentioned paper ' Origin of the Indian Alphabet ', 497-8.

<sup>21</sup> MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar*, 309 n.

<sup>22</sup> ' The use of writing in ancient India,' *Congres des Orientalistes* VI, Leyden (1883), 305 ff.

SVARUP<sup>23</sup>, BARTH<sup>24</sup>, A. C. DAS<sup>25</sup> and others listed in Louis RENOU'S *Bibliographie Vedique*, 304-6. Writings not included in this list but well worth a perusal are those by Ramprasad CHANDA<sup>26</sup>, R. C. MAJUMDAR<sup>27</sup> and Isaac TAYLOR<sup>28</sup>.

§ 14. How then to reconcile the knowledge of writing with the complete ignoring of it, in the transmission of their vast sacred literature by the ancient Indians? Various explanations of this *apparent* puzzle have been attempted and it will be worth while examining a few of them briefly here, as the correct explanation alone will unravel the supposed mystery and clear away the confusion of thought responsible for an insistence on the irreconcilability of the two propositions in all times and climes !

- (a) Want of suitable writing material or the prohibitive cost of it: This may be true of certain localities in later times but cannot explain the preference for the 'spoken word' as the foundation of all literature in the most ancient period because the slopes of the Himālayas are covered with extensive birch-forests and birch-bark was one of the two most ancient materials used for writing.
- (b) 'It was to the interest of the priests who were the bearers of the oldest literature that the sacred texts which they taught in their schools should not be committed to writing.'<sup>29</sup> It has been a fashion with certain Indologists to make scapegoats of the Indian priests and to heap unmerited abuse on their devoted heads when they fail to explain certain ( to them ) strange phenomena in the literary or social history of India. The fact, however, that this so-called priestly monopoly was going strong even long after the commitment to writing of nearly the whole of Vedic literature, is enough refutation of this hypothesis.

<sup>23</sup> 'The antiquity of writing in India,' *JBORS* VIII ( 1922 ) 1-46; 2-99 ; IX ( 1923 ) 347.

<sup>24</sup> *Oeuvres* II, 317 ff.

<sup>25</sup> 'The Art of writing in ancient India,' *Journal of the Department of Letters*, X, 173 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *JBORS* IX 262-5.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 419-20.

<sup>28</sup> 'The Alphabet', Vol. II.

<sup>29</sup> WINTERNITZ, *HIL* 1-35.

§ 15. The proper explanation to my mind is :—

- (i) Firstly, that the system of oral transmission with its elaborate and almost fool-proof devices for the avoidance of even the slightest error in pronunciation, guaranteed a more faithful preservation of the sacred texts than the copying and re-copying of Mss.
- (ii) Secondly, since the 'spoken word' was the earliest vehicle for the transmission of their sacred literature, the conservative instincts of the ancient Indians should constitute adequate explanation of their natural reluctance ( bordering almost on abhorrence ) to give that honour to the comparatively new-fangled art of writing.
- (iii) But the most potent ( and in my opinion, the chief ) reason was the *implicit faith of the ancient Indian in the unlimited-almost divine-power of Vāc or the 'spoken word'*. Vāc is the 'queen of the gods,' a 'divine creation.' RV. X. 125 is a hymn to Vāc ( or personified speech ) where she describes herself as the companion or the supporter of the gods and as encompassing all beings. This unique position, she continues to hold, not only in the Brāhmaṇas and Vedāṅgas<sup>30</sup> but also in the whole of the post-Vedic or Classical Sanskrit literature. Now Śabda or Word originally, was nothing, if not 'Sound'.<sup>31</sup> The whole theory of *sphoṭa* postulated and developed by the grammarians old and young,—grammarians who lived in an age when even the greatest sceptic will admit, writing was undoubtedly known—becomes a meaningless hypothesis if, in the philosophy of language of the ancients, Śabda or word was anything but an 'utterance.' The problem before the grammarian was, as to *how* the meaning of a word was conveyed. It is surely conveyed by the word as a whole ( they reasoned ) and not by its individual parts because the sound-symbols, a particular combination of which makes up a word—do not by themselves individually possess any significance apart from the word of which they are component parts. Now, as these sound-symbols cannot be simultaneously uttered and as they disappear as soon as uttered, no combination of them is possible ! The solution of the grammarians was that it was through *sphoṭa*

<sup>30</sup> *Naighaṇṭuka* v. 5

<sup>31</sup> *Mahābhāṣya* I. 1-1.



suggested by 'sound' (*dhvani*) that the meaning was conveyed by a word. This whole theory becomes absurd if a word were conceived as anything but a particular combination of sounds, or if the 'written word' were looked upon as respectable enough to insinuate itself into the ancients' philosophy of the meaning of meaning. *Pranava* (the combination of the three sound-particles *a, u, m*) which represents the mystic aspect of *Ṛc* has held such a unique place in the religious life and thought of India from the most ancient times, that the repeated utterance of it is supposed to be a means of self-realisation by concentrated minds.

§ 16. In the history of Vedic and post-Vedic magic in India again, the 'spoken word' by itself is credited with a magical effect in the form of a spell, a curse or an oath, although the utterance of magical formulæ is generally accompanied by some ritual act. An indirect but none the less convincing evidence of the value attached to the *spoken* character of a 'word,' is also forthcoming from the fact that the *Sāmaveda* (the *sung* or *chanted Veda*), which really is nothing but the *Rgveda set to music*, and naturally holds a secondary rank to that *Veda* and could be raised even by its adherents to a position of equality but never one of superiority to that of the *Rg-Veda*, steals a march at times over the latter in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Great Epic*! The statement in the *Gītā* (X 22<sup>a</sup>), 'I am the *Sāmaveda* among the *Vedas*,' is an instance in point. The proper explanation of this (to my mind) is that since *sound* was the essence of *Ṛc* (or literature), the *Sāmaveda* (*pari passu*) could score over the *Rg-Veda* by the *elaboration and charm of its sound-values*! No more facts need be cited to prove the all-powerful position that the *spoken word* has held in the religious life and literature of the ancient Indian, by the side of which, the *written word* paled into almost contemptible insignificance. This, indeed, is a peculiar characteristic of the genius of India because in the West, the *written word* did not take long to eclipse the *spoken word* in religious or secular life and literature. And this is precisely the cause of the misunderstanding which leads some Indologists to talk glibly of the Indians' late acquaintance (!) with the art of writing or the introduction of writing at a late stage in the literary history of India!

§ 17. The writer, therefore, advances the contention that even in these days, when every syllable in available Vedic literature is assured of immortality by being preserved in the written or printed form, it will be difficult for any one—even a scholar of the very

highest attainments—to enter into the true spirit of our sacred Vedic literature without an acquaintance with the traditional modes of Vedic recitation or the orthodox methods of orally transmitting the various Vedic texts. As the number of *śrotriyas*—those living libraries to whom Max MÜLLER paid such an eloquent tribute<sup>32</sup>—is fast dwindling, there is a danger that after some time, it will be impossible to cultivate such acquaintance. 'If to-day all the manuscripts and prints were to be lost that would by no means cause the disappearance of Indian literature from the face of the earth, for a great portion of it could be recalled out of the memory of the scholars and reciters.' Thus wrote Dr. WINTERNITZ<sup>33</sup> in 1926. The 'to-day' of the quotation threatens to become very soon a 'yesterday.' If the dying embers of what was once a blazing fire of oral tradition are to be revived into a flame, the proper remedy would be the establishment of a central Vedic school which by means of scholarships, endowments and other emoluments—modern forms of the ancient *dakṣiṇā*—should attract from all parts of India those living Vedic libraries—the Vaidikas, belonging to the various *śākhās* of each of the four Vedas and which through its system of oral instruction should maintain an unbroken continuity of the old methods of Vedic recitation, embracing on the one hand not only the *Saṃhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Vedāṅgas* but also the *gāthā nārāsaṃsiḥ*, *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*, mentioned by Aśvalāyana<sup>34</sup> in connection with one of the five daily sacrifices: the *brahma-yajña* and on the other, all varieties of *pāṭhas* of one and the same Veda, such as the *Saṃhitā*-, *pada*-, *krama*-, *jaṭā*- and *ghana-pāṭhas*.. The task is stupendous but should not be difficult of achievement, if the Central Government, the enlightened chiefs and other generous patrons of Vedic learning combine to institute such a model Vedic School of oral instruction. Until such hope is realised, something must be done to preserve at least representative specimens of each of the various orthodox modes of Vedic recitation for the use of students of Vedic literature and it behoves Vedic scholars attached to various Research Institutes, particularly those in India, to step into the breach by making sound- and film-records of these modes, before it becomes too late, *because Indian scholars have easier access to the exponents of Vedic oral tradition*. It is already becoming more and more difficult every year for any single scholar to trace adherents of all the *śākhās* of the four Vedas, confined as they are to particular localities in different parts of India. Their numbers are fast dwindling for want of encouragement or financial

<sup>32</sup> See quotation in paragraph 2 above.

<sup>33</sup> *HIL* (English Translation) 34.

<sup>34</sup> *Aśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra*, III. 3.1.

help, either from the state or from the public. It was partly this difficulty—all the greater for Western scholars—and partly a lack of faith in the surviving *śrotīyas* of India, that led to some prematurely pessimistic and inaccurate statements on the subject. Dr. Arnold A. BAKE hits the nail on the head when he says<sup>35</sup>, “There is a great drawback to all the theoretical treatises mentioned so far, namely that none of the scholars had had the opportunity of studying the matter in India, except BURNELL, of course . . . . Naturally that fact influenced the nature of their studies, and led to statements that would not have been made had the writers had the opportunity of intimate contact with the subject in the land of its birth. If, for instance, Dr. J.M. Van der HOOGT whose publication ‘The Vedic chant in its textual and melodic form’ must be definitely counted amongst the group of publications mentioned so far had been in India, he would never have written a sentence like the following “Though Sāmavedic science and Puṇḍit traditions on that subject are extinct in India” ... Sāmaveda and its science are still practised in India, and not until that which is living in nooks and corners has been carefully checked in all its divisions, a statement like the above can have any justification. Why is it necessary to suppose before-hand that the practice of a certain Brahmin in Kumbakonam—who has been taught by his father, who in his turn had been taught the tradition of singing Sāmans by his father and so on for thirty generations, which takes us back about a thousand years, a time when, certainly in S. India, Sāmaveda was not extinct by any means—why is it necessary to presume that the tradition of such a man is not sound until one has proved that it is false when compared with the text-books he professes to follow.” At the instance of the writer, a Professor of Sanskrit Literature at the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, the latter Institute has taken a step in this direction by making Gramophone records of six typical *sāmagānas* as sung by an adherent of the Rāṇyāniya śākhā of the Sāmaveda. The first choice has fallen on the Sāmaveda because that Veda holds a unique position in Vedic literature. If sound-recording is essential for preserving the various modes of reciting the ṚgVeda and other Vedas, Brahmaṇas and Vedāṅgas, it is absolutely and vitally necessary in the case of the Sāmaveda because the latter Saṁhitā is valuable not so much for its literary material, borrowed almost wholly as it is from the ṚgVeda, as for the light it throws on the history of Indian sacrifice, magic and above all Indian *music*, for the history of which, the study of the Samagānas is simply indispensable.

<sup>35</sup> ‘The Practice of Sāma Veda’, 143-4, a paper contributed to the Sanskrit-Vedic Section of the 7th All-India Oriental Conference, 1933.

# SOME PROBLEMS REGARDING SĀMAGĀNA THAT AWAIT INVESTIGATION : A STATEMENT

By

V. M. APTE

§ 1. The previous article entitled the 'Spoken Word in Sanskrit Literature' aims at establishing the utility of recording phonographically the ancient modes of Vedic recitations, especially the mode of Sāma-singing, not merely on the ground of indulging the antiquarian's interest in the preservation to posterity of a vocal tradition that must become obsolete in the days of printed editions but also on the ground of the irresistible plea that a study of these modes should become a vital part of the equipment of any Vedic scholar who wishes to enter into the true spirit of Vedic literature. In the present article, it is proposed to make a statement of some of the problems concerning Sāmagāna that await investigation. In this statement, the writer will certainly indicate his preference with reasons for that view of the problem which appeals to him most, but his own findings—the results of a patient investigation of the materials available and *to be made available by the Institute's programme of 'Sound-recording of Vedic Recitations'* must necessarily await the completion of this programme. Besides, such a statement is a necessary preliminary to the account of the Sāmagāna records made by the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, which follows this article.

§ 2. The six Sāmagāna records made by the Institute, demonstrate the *practical* side of the *gānas*—the *rūpāntara* form<sup>1</sup> of the melodies as recited by the Vaidikas individually but not *necessarily* in every case, the mode of chanting the Sāmans at the actual performance of the sacrifices or its *svarūpa* form. In very early times, the function of the *udgātṛ* though differentiated from that of the *hotṛ* and the *adhvaryu* was not probably a specialized one but when gradually the institution of the Sacrifice developed the most intricate

<sup>1</sup> This distinction of form—the *svarūpa* and the *rūpāntara*—has been drawn attention to, by SIMON in his introduction to the *Pañcavidha sūtra* (p. 2), by Dr. BAKE in 'The Practice of Sāmaveda', contributed to the 7th All India Oriental Conference, and by Mr. MULAY in his *Bhāratiya Saṃgīta*, Pt. I, 30 (a work in Marāṭhi on the history of Indian Music), Bombay 1940.

and elaborate ritual and when a bewildering variety of sacrifices of short and long duration became the order of the day, the singing of the Sāmans and the Stotras which required a certain proficiency in music could be entrusted only to a class of specialists, from among whom the selection of the *udgātr* or his assistants could be made. These specialists would naturally sing the Sāmans, outside the sacrifice by way of rehearsals and practice, in the beginning (probably to the accompaniment of the *Veṇu*), but later on, as the number of these specialists—the Sāmasingers—increased, the individual chanting of the Sāmans, which, in any case, was inevitable in the process of the oral transmission of the melodies from teacher to pupil even in the earliest of times, must have become fairly common. This paved the way for the origin of the later song-books or Gānas because the two parts of the SāmaVeda Saṁhitā give us the bare texts as they are recited. The Gāna texts give the melodies as they are learnt by the students individually and are concerned not with the way in which the verse-parts are divided over the different priests who among them share the five divisions of the chant in a sacrificial performance but rather with the musical notation of the melodies and the resulting *rūpāntara* or changed form of the Sāman-texts, effected by means of extensions, repetitions and interpolations of syllables and even of whole words — in other words, a form of the text adapted for singing. Naturally, the *svarūpa* form is of greater importance. This will be clear from a brief description of the arrangement of the Sāmaveda Saṁhitā. To the 585 single stanzas (१८) of the first part of the Saṁhitā—the PURVA ĀRCIKA—are assigned the Sāmans or melodies used at the sacrifice, the former (१८) being the *yonis* out of which the latter have originated. The relation between the Sāman or melody and the stanza is rather interesting. The melody arises from and is sung upon a particular stanza. One stanza could be sung to more than one melody and one and the same melody could be sung upon more than one stanza. Although thus, the number of Sāmans admits of being indefinitely increased, the 585 single stanzas of the Ārcika are to be sung to only about double the number of melodies, certain definite melodies being restricted to certain definite stanzas only. The Uttarārcika or the 2nd part is made up of the 400 chants from out of which are fashioned the *stotras* (groups of a varying number of stanzas from 1 to 12 each, which are all sung to the same tune) or the songs of the *Udgātr* and his assistant priests which are chanted in the (technical and) typical forms called 'stomas'. A large majority (287 out of 400) of these, however, consist of 3 verses each. The names are appropriate, the Uttara

(posterior or appendatory) *ārcika* consisting of verses, which are to be appended to the corresponding single stanzas of the *Pūrva* (anterior, prior or antecedent) *ārcika*. Whereas considerations of metre and deity determine the arrangement of stanzas in the *Pūrva-ārcika*, the order of the principal sacrifices is the principle governing the arrangement of chants in the *Uttarārcika*. The *Udgātr* and his assistants first learn the melodies from the *Ārcika* and then the *stotras* from the *Uttarārcika*.

§ 3. How the *Udgātr* and his assistants share in a sacrifice the divisions (usually five) of a chant among themselves may now be described briefly :

- ( i ) *Prastāva* ( or introductory ascription of praise<sup>2</sup> ) preceded by the syllable *hum*, sung by the *prastotr* ;
- ( ii ) *Udgītha*, preceded by *om*, sung by the *Udgātr* ;
- ( iii ) *Pratihāra* ( the 'joining in' ) preceded by *hum* sung by the *pratihatr* who joins in, at the last syllable of the *udgītha* ;
- ( iv ) *Upadrava*, ( the recession ) sung by the *Udgātr*. This is, in reality, a subdivision of the *pratihāra* formed out of the last few syllables of the *pratihāra* and as such, is not recognised as an independent division by certain authorities such as the Tāṇḍya Br. (IV. 9. 9) and Chāndogya Up. (II. 2. 1), which make up the five divisions by adding *hinkāra* which stands first in their list ;
- ( v ) *Nidhana* (the coda), consisting of one or at the most, two syllables, sung by all the three priests.

This five-fold division is turned into a seven-fold<sup>3</sup> one by prefixing *hinkāra* in the beginning and following up the *nidhana* by the *Omkāra*—as is sometimes done. It may be of some interest to note here that the Chāndogya Up. connects these seven divisions with the seven divisions of the day, such as *uṣaḥkāla*, *udayakāla*, *saṃgavakāla*, *mādhyāhna*, *aparā*, etc. Dr. BAKE<sup>4</sup> correctly describes the importance, the difficulty and therefore the urgency of recording this *svarūpa* form of the Sāmavedic chants, when he says, 'It stands to reason that in the study of the Sāmavedic chant, this so-called *svarūpa* form is of the greatest importance. This form presents

<sup>2</sup> See *The Music of Hindostan* by A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS (Oxford 1914), pp. 253-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Pañcavidha-Sūtra*, I, 7.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Practice of Sāmaveda', loc. cit. 149-50.

almost insurmountable difficulties, however, on account of the rarity of the offer-ceremonies, with which it is inseparably connected. I have, however, been assured by two Sāmavedins, connected with the Śrīraṅgam temple at Trichinopoly that Vedic sacrifices of the kind that necessitate the use of Sāmaveda, are being performed even to-day. This form of Sāmaveda then, is not yet quite extinct. This form or what is left of it ought to be properly recorded in detail and as soon as possible ; for there is no doubt that our present time is not in favour of the survival of these practices. The breaking down of orthodoxy has many beneficial effects but it cannot be helped that with the disappearance of much that is bad or has become bad, things that are important vanish also and are lost for ever, unless recorded before it is too late'. The writer can assure interested scholars that the Deccan College Research Institute will seize the first available opportunity to record this *svarūpa* form of the Sāmavedic chant on the rare occasion of the appropriate sacrificial performance but till then, the work of recording the *rūpāntara* form or typical *sāmagānas* as sung in the three well-known schools of the Sāmaveda—the Rāṇyānīyas, the Kauthumas and the Jaiminīyas—must go on.

§ 4. There are four 'Song-books' or Gānas extant, two attached to each division of the Sāmaveda Saṁhitā. The *Grāmageya-gāna* (to be sung in the *grāma* or village) and *Āraṇya-gāna* (forest-songs) are song-books attached to the Pūrvārcika. As W. CALAND<sup>5</sup> puts it, the latter consists of such melodies as could not be recited in the *grāma* owing to their dangerous character and had, therefore, to be studied in the forest. Attached to the Uttarārcika are two other 'song-books', the *Ūhagāna* and the *Ūhyagāna*, connected each, with the *Grāma-geya*-and *Āraṇya-gānas* respectively. In these, the Sāmāns are given in the order of their employment at the ritual.

§ 5. All these song-books give a musical notation of the melodies and the text appears in a revised form<sup>6</sup> suitable for singing the

<sup>5</sup> *Die Jaiminīya Saṁhitā*, 10.

<sup>6</sup> A very clear exposition of how this revision is effected is given by Śabara in his *Bhāṣya* on Jaiminī IX. 2-27 ff. See also the *Jñānakośa* (Marāṭhī) by S. V. KETKAR, 5-174. I can indicate here only the names of the devices employed with an illustration of each :—(1) when 'agna' becomes 'Ognāyi', it is *Vikāra*. (2) and (3) When 'Vītaye' becomes 'Voyitoyā 2 yi', *viśleṣa* is the name of the change of 'vī' to 'voyi' or of 'ta' to 'toyā' and *vikarṣaṇa* is the prolongation of 'ye' into 'yā 2 yi' (4) When the revised form 'voyitoyā 2 yi' receives the addition of 'toyā 2 yi' by the repetition of a part thereof, it is called *abhyūsa*. (5) If, in the singing of '*grāṇāno havya-dātaye*' there is a pause after 'ha', it is the mode called *virāma*. In the Science of Poetics, this would be accounted as a fault called *yatibhaṅga*. (6) When 'tsi' in a *ṛc* is changed to *tsā 2 yi* the device is called *stobha*. There are other minor devices also such as 'lopa', 'āgama', etc.

melodies, indicating not only the prolongation or extension and repetition of syllables but also the insertion of syllables like *om* and *hum*, of the *anirukta-gāna* and of whole words or *stobhas*, such as *hoyi*, *hūva*, *hōi* etc. The oldest notation is probably that by means of letters such as *ta*, *ca*, *na* etc. BURNELL<sup>7</sup> points out the difficulties in this connection, 'The notation varies exceedingly, according as the Mss. come from different parts of India and it is not too much to say that it would be almost impossible to find two Mss., which precisely agree. Mss. of the Gānas are only copied by professional Sāmaveda priests for their own use and present no kind of interest to the public ; every copyist, therefore, follows a different plan in details for almost every one adds marks and signs of his own to assist him in chanting the notes. In the South Indian Mss. the notation becomes exceedingly complicated, for the letters amount to several hundreds. The principle of the modern notation by numbers is far more simple. The seven notes are marked by the numerals : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and the last ( really never used ) by 7'.

§ 6. The names of the seven notes are variously given, which means that the names of the individual notes are not the same in all lists, the oldest of which is that in the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (I. 1, 8) :—*kruṣṭa*, *prathama*, *dvītiya*, *tṛtiya*, *caturtha*, *pañcama* and *antya* (or *ṣaṣṭha*). In later works, such as the *svaraparibhāṣā*, Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa and the *Nāradiya-śikṣā* (I. 12), the list begins with *prathama*, the last-named work placing *mandra*, fifth in the list followed by *kruṣṭa* and *atisvārya*. In South India, the 5th, 6th and 7th notes are named as *mandra*, *anusvāra* and *atisvārya* respectively. In the Sāma-tantra (I. 1. 1) the first five *svaras* are named *gi*, *ji*, *ḍi*, *di*, *bi*, the *antya* not being mentioned.

§ 7. It is hardly any wonder then, that there should be a difference of opinion, nay, even a confusion of thought, regarding the status of *kruṣṭa*. The *svaras* are variously named and *kruṣṭa* is one of the names! As seen above, *kruṣṭa* is placed before *prathama* by many authorities and is, presumably in their opinion the highest note, different from and higher than *prathama*. Burnell<sup>8</sup> is right when he points out that when Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Ārṣeya-Brāhmaṇa (I. 16, 17) mentions *kruṣṭa* repeatedly, he means the *prathama*, since the Sāman he refers to has the first note marked in the corresponding places. But, in the opinion of the present writer, he goes too far when he proposes to read '*krṣṭa*'

<sup>7</sup> Introduction to *The Jaiminīya text of the Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa*, Mangalore, 1876.

<sup>8</sup> *op. cit.*



(= that to which *karṣaṇa* has been applied) for ' *kruṣṭa* ' and affirms that *kruṣṭa* is the first note and that it is generally called *prathama*. There was nothing to prevent professional Sāmaveda priests who were the only copyists of the *gānas*, to have their own plan of notation wherein the note named *kruṣṭa* is different from the note named *prathama*. Besides, it is not always certain that the order of the names is the melodic order. If we refer to the list of authorities for the Sāman scale with their individual order of notes tabulated opposite them, as given on pages 258-9 of that remarkable work ' The Music of Hindostan ' by A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS, we find that in the order of No. III, IV, V, VII, IX and X, *kruṣṭa* ( the variant *kṛṣṭa* occurring in No. III ), is above *prathama* and not identical with it. According to Burnell, *mandra* is the most usual name for the fifth note but the writer thinks that this is a misunderstanding occasioned by the fact that it is called *pañcama*, in continuation of the ordinals in the Sāmavidhāna Br. and that Fox Strangways<sup>9</sup> is right when he says that it is the usual name for the sixth note. As the account in the Bṛhad-devatā (VIII 113) shows, it was on a different footing from the five notes : *kruṣṭa* (head), *prathama* (palate), *dvitīya* (brow), *trītiya* (ear), *caturtha* (nose) which are all head-notes as distinguished from *mandra*—a chest-note. In the opinion of the writer, the actual melodic order is all that matters and not the order of the names because we can only compare the different scales on the assumption (not always valid) that each of the words, *kruṣṭa*, *prathama*, etc. names the same note wherever it occurs! FOX STRANGWAYS<sup>10</sup> makes a brilliant suggestion when he says that it is at least possible that *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *trītiya*, *caturtha* and *mandra* are the ordinary notes of the scale and the two : *kruṣṭa* and *atisvārya*, the extraordinary ones ( which happen to be at either end ).

§ 8. In addition to the seven ( *prakṛti* ) notes, which are written on the top of the syllables, there are seven modifications of these notes ( *vikṛtis* ) which indicate ornamentation and are written between the syllables but an account of these is not called for here as the charts of notations of the recorded *gānas* which are published elsewhere in this issue of the Bulletin do not make use of them. The latter are at least as old as the *Puṣpasūtra*, the text of which gives them.

§ 9. The question whether the relative pitch which is in vogue in modern Indian music has been so all along, in other words,

<sup>9</sup> *The Music of Hindostan*, 260.

<sup>10</sup> *op. cit.*, 257.

the question whether the absolute pitch was ever in use, in ancient Indian music, is a very important one. Prof. PARANJPE<sup>11</sup> thinks that in old Indian music, the absolute pitch was clearly in vogue, that the Nāradyasikṣā with its standard notes consisting of the cries of birds and animals<sup>12</sup> would even point to a rigid pitch but that in the Pāṇiniya Sikṣā and in Bharata's Nāṭya-Śāstra, where the same note is described as standing in a variable capacity, the ordinary absolute pitch is to be inferred as in vogue. He further points out that the Saṃgīta-Ratnākara on the other hand and even a late work like the Rāgavibodha appear to use both pitches indiscriminately on occasions and represent the transitional period. The period of which the Professor writes is comparatively later than the one which is of immediate concern to us. With reference to the latter period, diverse opinions are held. SIMON<sup>13</sup> argues that since the tone figures, 4, 5 and 6 of the Pūrvagāna are identical with 1, 2 and 3 respectively of the Uttaragāna, the tone-figures must be supposed to have relative worth. But according to Felber<sup>14</sup>, the information of FOX STRANGWAYS<sup>15</sup> favours the absolute pitch, because a singer who sang a portion of the Sāmaveda before him (Fox Strangways) begged to be excused that he could not sing in the correct absolute pitch on account of weakness and old age. FELBER himself holds that the relativity of the pitches is very probable from a psychological point of view, firstly because presumably there appears to be some connection between the pitch and the Vedic accents which also mean the figures of relativity and secondly because of the natural limitation of volume of the voice of an individual. FELBER'S plea in this connection that ancient Indian music has an essentially moral nature and even a mystical streak may be summarized as follows :—

§ 10. The fact that the highest pitch is absolutely absent is very important from the point of view of the moral nature of ancient Indian music and is openly connected with mystical ideas. Even in discussions about the tones there is no reference to 1-7 tones but to high pitch which is identical with 1-6. In the Sāma-

<sup>11</sup> 'Principles of Melodic Classification in Ancient Indian Music' contributed to the Vedic Section of the 1st All-India Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919.

<sup>12</sup> The comparison of the notes of the scale to the cries of animals is interesting. *sa* is the note of the peacock, *ri* of the *cātaka*, *ga* of the goat, *ma* of the crane, *pa* of the *kokila*, *dha* of the frog and *ni* of the elephant.

<sup>13</sup> *Das Puṣpasūtra*, 523 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Die indische Musik der vedischen und der Klassischen Zeit* (Wien, 1912), 62 ff.

<sup>15</sup> The Hindu Scale, *Sammelb. der Int. Mus. Ges.* LX. 485.

vidhāna Brāhmaṇa we have a passage,<sup>16</sup> the gist of which is as follows: By virtue of the highest pitch of the Sāman, the gods live; men live on the first among the following tones; the Gandharvas and the Apsarasas on the second; the animals on the third; the Pitṛs and Aṇḍajas (egg-born) on the fourth; the Asuras and the Rākṣasas on the fifth; the Udbhijjas, the trees and the rest of the world, on the last. Therefore it is said: 'the Sāman is, the food, as he gave them Sāman as the means of sustenance.' And in another place in the same Brāhmaṇa<sup>16</sup>, it is said 'The high pitch belongs to Prajāpati or the Brahman or the Viśvedevas; the first note belongs to the Adityas, the second to the Sādhyas, the third to Agni, the fourth to Vāyu, the *mandra* to Soma and the *atisvārya* to Mitra-Varuṇa.' So the highest pitch belongs to the gods and then the remaining tones were given their function, of course, from 1 to 6 and not from 2 to 7. The position of the highest pitch as sharply distinguished from the remaining ones may be *theoretically* explained thus:—that it is the property and the sole right of the gods [*practically* this is so, on account of the effort to reduce the compass of songs to a lightly singable range of voice in connection with their employment in the service of liturgy;]; even the lectures and orations of the Gregorian chorals, apart from the solemn recitations, reach up, as a rule, in volume only to a quint but at the highest, to a sext (6th).

§ 11. In the opinion of the writer, the comparison of the notes of the scale to the cries of animals does lend colour to the view that at some unspecified stage of antiquity, the conception of the scale as a matter of absolute pitch must have been known and even made use of to some extent because the cries of animals do keep the same pitch. It must be acknowledged at the same time that modern Indian music has not much use for it as it neither names it nor uses it without naming it; in fact, the present day musicians who are resourceful enough to translate any idea of theirs into practice have no device for determining the absolute pitch. The reason for this may be that the relativity of the pitches, with its powerful appeal to each individual singer, the volume-limitations of whose voice it alone could accommodate, must have been much more in vogue all along and later eclipsed the absolute pitch as in modern Indian music.

§ 12. An interesting feature of Sāma-singing is the descending order (*nidhana-prakṛti*) of its scale. It has a parallel in the movement

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<sup>16</sup> Sten KONOW, *Das Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*, 33 ff.

of the Greek tetrachord from high to deep. The old melodies of India and of Greece thus move in a descending order and finish with the leading tone (the starting pitch). So also, the ascending nature of the modern Indian scale has a parallel in the Hexachord of the Middle ages which is of an ascending nature. FELBER makes a very apt observation when he remarks<sup>17</sup> in this connection: 'This noteworthy difference between the ancient and modern music on the one hand and the agreement of the oriental with occidental music on the other hand without the possibility of one influencing the other, clearly depends upon the difference in perception of music in ancient and modern times'. Prof. MULAY<sup>18</sup> suggests an ingenious explanation of this *nidhana-prakṛti*. From very early times according to him, the *Venu*—a pitch-pipe made of Bamboo with six holes—was used as an invariable accompaniment by Sāma-singers. Now, when this pipe is blown into, the note produced is the one called *krusṭa*; when the first of the six holes is closed and the pipe blown in, the note produced is a lower one than the *krusṭa* and so on; this, in the opinion of the Professor, was the cue for the descending order of the Sāman scale.

§ 13. Inseparable from this, is the problem of the correspondence of the notes of the Sāmagāna or ancient Indian music with those of the modern Indian music. After referring to the oldest list of notes that he knew of, viz. that in the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa which begins with *krusṭa*, *prathama* etc. and noting that in later works (e. g. in Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa) the numbers *prathama* etc. are used, BURNELL observes:<sup>19</sup> 'These again partly correspond to the *Ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, *madhyama*, *pañcama*, *dhaivata* and *niṣāda* of the usual music but in reverse order i. e. the first note of the Hindu ordinary music is the fourth of the Sāman-priests and the scale ascends, the reverse of the scale of the last. If, therefore, we would represent the seven<sup>20</sup> notes of the Sāman scale in terms of the corresponding notes of modern Indian music, we should have :—*Ma*, *Ga*, *Ri*, *Sa*, *Ni*, *Dha*, *Pa*, correspond-

<sup>17</sup> *Die Indische Musik der Vedischen und der Klassischen Zeit*, 63.

<sup>18</sup> *Bhāratiya Saṃgīta* (Bombay, 1940) I.

<sup>19</sup> See foot-note No. 7.

<sup>20</sup> The question whether seven notes were used in Sāma-singing is discussed elsewhere in this paper (and is not material to the tabulating of the correspondences of notes in ancient and modern Indian music which immediately concerns us.)

ing respectively to *kruṣṭa*, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *mandrā*, and *atisvārya*. Reverend POPLEY in his 'Music of India' ( Madras, 1921 ) gives this very order.

§ 14. We turn next to the problem of the identification of the Sāman notes and the corresponding notes of the modern Hindu scale with those of the modern European scale. As the names of the Sāman notes have changed according to their space-time context, the modern notation by numbers is more simple. The seven notes are designated by the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and the last (not much used) by 7. A. C. BURNELL<sup>21</sup> identifies these with F, E, D, C, B, A, G and claims to have ascertained this by means of a standard pitch-pipe and adds that it is also the doctrine of the Nāradyaśikṣā wherein occurs the well-known verse :—

*Yaḥ Sāmagānām prathamah sa venor madhyamah svarah yo dvitīyah sa gāndhārah . . . tṛtīyastv ṛṣabhah smṛtaḥ.*

P. R. BHANDARKAR<sup>22</sup> makes the following criticism on this. After quoting the above-mentioned statements of Burnell, he says 'But it is easy to show that Dr. BURNELL is certainly wrong (1) either in his identification of the seven notes with *f*, *e*, *d*, etc. or (2) in supposing that this identification is borne out by the Nāradya śikṣā. For, though the author is quite correct in saying that the common Hindu scale (that is, of the present day) corresponds with the European key of C, it does not follow that the common ancient Hindu scale was the same as to-day's. As a matter of fact, it will be shown in the sequel that if C be taken as the *ṣaḍja*, the *gāndhāra* and the *niṣāda* as given in all Sanskrit treatises on music will be represented by *eb* and *bb* and not by *e* and *b* as is the modern Hindu practice in Northern India. Moreover Dr. BURNELL evidently had not before him the second<sup>23</sup> of the two ślokas quoted above; otherwise he would have seen that though the order was smooth up to the fourth note which was identified with the *ṣaḍja*, it was no longer so with the remaining notes, the fifth, sixth and seventh being the *dhaivata*, the *niṣāda* and the *pañcama* respectively and not the *niṣāda*, *dhaivata* and *pañcama*, as one would expect if the enumeration of the notes had proceeded in the descending order of the pitch. From all

<sup>21</sup> See the reference in footnote 7.

<sup>22</sup> Contribution to the study of ancient Hindu Music, *Indian Antiquary* (1912), 41, 163.

<sup>23</sup> *caturthaḥ ṣaḍja ityūhuḥ pañcama dhaivata bhavet |*  
*ṣaṣṭho niṣādo vijñeyah, sapta mah pañcamaḥ smṛtaḥ ||*

this, it is evident that Dr. BURNELL'S identification of the seven notes of the Sāman, even if it be correct, is not in accordance with the Nāradiya-tīkṣā and it is very desirable that an expert should ascertain the relations of the notes of the Sāman while it is still possible to find Brāhmaṇas who can chant it.'

§ 15. The problem we touch upon next, is *when* the Sāman scale consisting of *seven* notes came into use and whether there was a nucleus which was later extended, or whether the Sāman scale consisted of seven notes from the beginning. It may be noted in this connection, that the Sāman chants in all the schools do not require the use of the seven notes. The Puṣpasūtra (IX. 26) tells us that the Kauthumas sing the majority of their chants to five tones, a few to six and two of them to seven notes. That the medials of the five classes of consonants—guttural, palatal, cerebral, dental and labial—viz. gi, ji, ḍi, di and bi, proceeding in regular order from the throat to the lips, should have been chosen as (Sol-fa) names for *five* notes only in the Sāmatantra, shows that the scale consisted normally of only five notes for a long time. FOX STRANGWAYS<sup>24</sup> thinks that the enlargement of the scale to six by the addition of *kruṣṭa* was an afterthought because it is independent of the nomenclature by ordinals and because there is hesitation as to *kruṣṭa* or *kṛṣṭa*. Finally (according to him) a seventh note was tentatively admitted in the *atisvārya*. If, further, we closely study the very valuable list of authorities for the Sāman Scale given on p. 258-9 of the *Music of Hindostan*<sup>25</sup>, we may well agree with the author in his contention that since the four ordinals (first to fourth) are in every treatise identifiable with F, E, D, C of the European scale and since in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya, the ṚgVeda accents: *Udātta*, *Svarita*, *pracaya* and *anudātta*—are appropriated to these notes, these four notes (identifiable with the tetrachord F, E, D, C) may well have been the foundation, the real nucleus of the scale.

§ 16. In the opinion of the writer, in some very ancient unspecified period, only four notes appear to have been used. These were designated probably as *first*, *second*, *third* and *fourth* and formed a descending scale. Later on, as P. R. BHANDARKAR<sup>26</sup> suggests, the scale was extended below and upwards by the notes *mandra* and *kruṣṭa* respectively and *atisvārya* appears to have been the last addition to

<sup>24</sup> *The Music of Hindostan*, 261.

<sup>25</sup> By A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS.

<sup>26</sup> *Indian Antiquary* (1912), 41. 163.

its lower end. A distinction must, besides, be made between the *knowledge* and the *use of the seven notes* even in the earliest period of ancient Indian music. Although therefore, no one can deny the perfectly natural process of gradual evolution from the earliest stage of the use of the monotone to the final stage of the use of the seven tones, it will not be possible to affirm categorically that in a certain period of the history of Sāman music, seven notes were *unknown*. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa ( II. 7 ) says '*Saptadhā vai vāgavadat tāvadvai vāgavadat*', ' in one place and in another (VII. 8), '*Sā svaravatya vācā śamstavyā*'. If the two statements are carefully studied the conclusion that the AB. speaks of the sevenfold division of the Sāman scale is irresistible. Bearing this in mind, we can turn to the very interesting task of tracing briefly in works on music, ( early or late ) reminiscences, however faint, of the gradual stages of evolution from the monotone to the seven tones. The Nāradya-śikṣā ( I. i. 2-3 ) and the Saṃgīta Ratnākara ( iv. 38 ) seem to hint that a ṛc was chanted in monotone, a gāthā to two notes and a Sāman to three notes. The statements are far too vague to allow us to infer the relation of pitch, in which the notes stood in the last two cases. The consideration of the three-note stage of Sāman chanting hinted at here, is very naturally linked up with the likely stage of the employment or musical rendering of the three Ṛgveda accents in the Sāmaveda, that is, in the chants to which the Ṛgveda was sung. When the three Ṛgvedic accents : *Udātta*, *Anudātta* and *Svarita*, were employed in the Sāmaveda, they took the form of musical notes<sup>27</sup>. This was perfectly natural as the Sāmaveda has taken over its texts bodily from the ṚgVeda for the most part, the actual words being altered or expanded to make them suitable for chanting and has given a musical meaning to much of the grammatical and prosodial determinations of the ṚgVeda. The accent was originally a mark of musical pitch. So the ṚgVeda has all along been recited to three tones. The *Udātta* ( raised ) and *Anudātta* ( the not raised ) sounds represent the two main pitches of the speaking voice. The *Svarita* is in effect a falling accent of a

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<sup>27</sup> Noteworthy in this connection is another late attempt in the *Yājñavalkyaśikṣā* and some metrically defective verses in the *Pāṇiniyaśikṣā* to appropriate the three Ṛgvedic accents to the seven notes of the modern musical scale and to distribute the latter over the three accents :—*Udātta*=*Niṣāda*, *Gāndhāra* ; *Anudātta*=*Ṛṣabha*, *Dhaivata* and *Svarita*=*Ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *pañcama*. The *raison d'être* of this makeshift classification is easily seen. There were three accents and the notes were of three kinds viz., with two, three and four *śrutis* respectively. See the article referred to in footnote 22.

dependent nature<sup>28</sup> marking the transition from an accented to a toneless syllable, regularly following the *Udātta*, to the rise of which its fall corresponds in pitch and the first part of which sounds higher than the *Udātta*, though it is shown on philological grounds to have been originally between the *Udātta* and the *Anudātta*. FOX STRANGWAYS<sup>29</sup> makes some very acute observations regarding the *Svarita*, the so-called 'sounded' tone. 'No explanation is given as to what is exactly meant by "sounded", although it seems clear from the treatment of *Svarita* that it means "graced". When it was employed in the Sāmaveda, the *Svarita* became a high note with grace attached to it'. Elsewhere he says<sup>30</sup>, 'The *Svarita* is practically an ornamented *Udātta* falling to an indefinite pitch below it. This indefinite pitch is called *pracaya* ("throng") in allusion to the number of unaccented syllables which occur there in succession; the *pracaya* is toneless as distinguished from the *Udātta* and *Anudātta* which are toned.' Extremely interesting is the observation of STRANGWAYS<sup>31</sup> that he is tempted to see in the *pracaya* the counterpart of the pykon.

§ 17. Leaving aside these details for an exhaustive treatment in the subsequent issues of the *Bulletin*, the writer draws attention here to the almost imperceptible transition from the very probable *three-note*<sup>32</sup> stage to the *four-note* stage adumbrated in the Taittiriya Prātisākhya which, as we saw above (Section 14) appropriates the *udātta*, *svarita*, *pracaya* and *anudātta* to the four notes (identifiable with the tetrachord F, E, D and C) which are the foundation of the Sāman Scale. In the foregoing Section 16 have been rapidly sketched, the various stages such as,

(1) the *five-note* stage as hinted at in the Sāmataṇtra showing that the scale consisted normally of five notes, in some period of antiquity ;

<sup>28</sup> A. A. MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar*, 77.

<sup>29</sup> The *Music of Hindostan*, 246-7.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>31</sup> For a detailed explanation see *Ibid.*, 247, fn. 2.

<sup>32</sup> In a paper entitled the 'The concept of key-note in the Taittiriya Prātisākhya,' submitted to the 8th All India Oriental Conference, my colleague, Prof. C. R. SANKARAN (Reader in Dravidian Philology) discusses this problem of the evolution of the *seven-note* stage from the *three-note* one on the same lines and comes to the conclusion that the *pracaya svara* was the key-note in the *four-note* stage of ancient Sāman Music. This *pracaya svara* is identifiable (according to him) with the *ṛṣṭiya svara* which in its turn is to be equated to the *ṛṣabha svara* of the classical Indian Music.



- (2) the *six-note* stage arrived at by the addition of *krushta* and  
 (3) finally the *seven-note* stage by the tentative admission of  
 the *atisvārya*.

§ 18. Evidently the assumption of the three *saptakas* (octaves) in all Indian notations :—a higher (*tāra*), middle (*madhya*), and lower (*mandra*), arrived at as the average compass of the human (singing) voice has a fundamental connection with the three *savanas* (1) *prātaḥ savana*, (2) *mādhyamīndina savana* and (3) *sāyam savana* in which a *ṛc* was originally recited. The three *savanas* were called *sthānas* because they corresponded to the three voice-registers—*mandra*, *madhyama* and *uttama* (later called *tāra*).

§ 19. The *Gātra-vīṇā* (lit. the lute of the limbs i. e. hand and fingers) or the *Musical hand* is referred to in Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* (chap. 28) and is described in the late *Nāradiyaśikṣā*. The idea underlying this *musical hand* is that the thumb touches successively the tips of the four fingers to indicate the corresponding notes. In the *svāra* or cadence, for example, the hand is held in the shape of a cow's ear and the thumb passes over the four fingers in succession. The full details and illustrative diagrams and charts are given in BURNELL'S *Introduction to the Ārṣeyabrāhmaṇa*, 'The Ancient mode of Singing Sāmagāna' (Poona 1939) (by Paṇḍit Lakshman Shastri Dravid the singer of the Institute's Sāman records) and also in Prof. MULAY's book '*Bhāratiya Saṃgīta*', pp. 44 ff., which the curious reader may consult. In the list of authorities for the Sāman scale given in the *Music of Hindostan* (258-9) by A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS, appears as No. IX the fairly modern work '*Dhāraṇalakṣaṇa*' which assigns the *krushta* to the tip of the thumb, the *prathama*, to the root of thumb, the *dvitīya* to the second finger and so on. The claim that this is an ancient system of notation and not merely a mode of emphasizing the various Sāman notes by means of the movements of the hands and fingers as Dr. WINTER-NITZ<sup>33</sup> puts it, is another matter that calls for investigation.

§ 20. Finally, the problem of the geographical distribution of the adherents of the principal *Sākhās* of the Sāmaveda over the different provinces of India in ancient and modern times, is one that must be tackled more seriously than has been done so far! It is rendered complicated by the migration, now and then, of individuals and even whole families of Sāmavedins from one province to another. Three main schools are met with to-day: (1) The

Rāṇyānīyas, at one time settled in Mahārāṣṭra are said to survive now in Eastern Hyderabad. (2) The followers of the Jaiminīya school<sup>34</sup> are found in some villages of the Tinevelley District in South India but chiefly in Malabar where the Nambudiri Brahmins are its most important representatives. (3) Followers of the Kauthuma śākhā are met with in the Tamil country at such centres of orthodoxy as Chidambaram, Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Trichinopoly. A colony is also found in Gujarat in the neighbourhood of Baroda. *The Kauthumas of the Tamil country differ in many respects from those of Gujarat in their respective modes of Sāma-singing !* This fact emphasizes the importance of comparing and contrasting the modes of chanting the Sāma-gānas as prevalent in the different schools which differ, inspite of the fact that the texts of the Sāma-gānas are the same ( in the three extant śākhās for example ) ! To take an instance, a peculiarity of the Kauthuma way of chanting is that their breaks do not coincide with the ends of certain words ( as in the case of the Jaiminīyas ) but come after the first consonants of the following words which are thus joined to the last letters of the preceding words and so on. So, the thorough study of one particular Sāma-gāna involves the study of that gāna as chanted in all the extant Śākhās as also the study of provincial variations in the mode of chanting prevalent in one and the same śākhā !

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<sup>34</sup> The Jaiminīyas are also to be found in the country of Nepal, according to a Marāṭhi pamphlet entitled 'Caturvedī-śākhā-nirṇaya ( Poona, 1927 ). For further details, see the *Caranavyūha* of Kātyāyana with the bhāṣya of Tryambaka thereon; consult also *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 373 ff. The information however, is much too vague for effective search !

## SOUND-RECORDS OF SĀMAGĀNAS A PROSPECT AND RETROSPECT

By

V. M. APTE

§ 1. Before I proceed to give an account of the Sound-records of Sāmagānas made by the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute at my instance, I must take notice of some important earlier attempts at phonographically recording Sāman chants. Dr. Felix EXNER who went to India in 1904 on a meteorological expedition succeeded in making some 68 records in Bombay, Benares, Calcutta, and Madras, with his own phonographic outfit and took these phonographic cylinders to Vienna. A detailed account of these appears in the book entitled *Die indische Musik der Vedischen und der Klassischen Zeit*—an important contribution to the history of recitation—written by Dr. Erwin FELBER, in co-operation with the Viennese Professor of Sanskrit, Dr. Bernhard GEIGER and edited by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna, 1912. In this book, Dr. FELBER has worked out the results of Dr. EXNER, and Dr. GEIGER has provided the text and translation. Out of these 68 records, only 9 have been taken from the Vedas ; *six of them are taken from the Sāmaveda* ; two are from the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa and one ( the 9th of the Series ) is so avowedly modern as to be worthless. Dr. FELBER discusses the melodic structure of these six Sāmaveda chants in his third chapter ( pp. 38-41 ).

§ 2. With the permission of Dr. FELBER, the six Sāmaveda records have been transcribed by A. H. Fox STRANGWAYS in his work, ' The Music of Hindostan ' ( pp. 267-74 ), with their text, translation and a staff-notation but without the Sāmaveda notation with which each of the examples has been supplied in Dr. FELBER'S book, because, in the opinion of STRANGWAYS, ' it is probably the notation of a different sect from that to which the singer belonged, who has at any rate, taken no account of it except in a very general way'.<sup>1</sup> This was hardly a wise decision, because the Sāmaveda notation, though that of another school and almost ignored by the singer is, nevertheless useful if not for comparative study, at least for its own sake and the writer of the present article has therefore given it below. Dr. Arnold A. BAKE, in his paper, ' The practice of Sāmaveda' <sup>2</sup> considers these six Sāmavedic records

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 267.

<sup>2</sup> Contributed to the 7th All-India Oriental Conference, 1933.

closely and in detail and pronounces them as of little value! *The writer, however, does not agree with Dr. BAKE in this judgment.* Let us therefore examine his arguments and data, record by record. The numbers given below are those of FELBER (who gives the staff notation of Nos. 425 to 428 on pp. 101-4 and that of Nos. 443-4, on pp. 114-5 of his book ) :—

§ 3. FELBER No. 425. [ Sung by a Brahmin boy of twelve, born in Calcutta, a student of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, named Dharmavrata CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA, the son of Satyavrata Sāmāśramin ] Sāmaveda, Rūdrasāmhītā 6, *Sāman* ; *Ājyadoham*.

Ushā Vol. II, fasc. 2, Sāmhītāsaptakam, p. 11 (Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Sāmavedasāmhītā, Vol. II p. 409 : *Āraṇyagāna* I. 1. 2. 16. )

Note :—The gāna-text as well as the Sāmasāmhītā and ṚgVeda texts of this record as well as those of the next one with a translation etc. are given in the Charts of Records Nos. III and IV made by the Institute and the accompanying notes appended at the end of this article. The Staff notation of both these records is given on pp. 101 and 102 of Dr. FELBER's book 'Die Indische Musik der Vedischen und der Klassischen Zeit,' as also on pp. 272-3 of A. H. Fox STRANGWAY's book 'The Music of Hindostan.'

§ 4. FELBER No. 426 : [ Sung by a Brahmin boy of fifteen, born in Calcutta, named Kṛṣṇavrata CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA, the son of Satyavrata Sāmādhyaī ].

Sāmaveda, Brahmayajñapāṭha 3, *Sāman* : *Ummayam*.

Ushā Vol. II, fasc. 3, Brahmayajñapāṭha p. 4 ( = Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Sāmavedasāmhītā Vol. II, p. 517 : *Āraṇyagāna* III, 6, 2, 21 )

For the gāna-text etc. of this record, see note to the preceding record ( No. 425 ).

§ 5. FELBER No. 427.

[ Sung by a Brahmin, named Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa ŚARMĀ Sāmavedī, 42 years old ; a priest in Calcutta born in Puṣkara, Jodhpur ( Rajputana ) ].

Sāmaveda, Ariṣṭavarga 2, and 3 ( incomplete ).

Usha Vol. II, fasc. 3 Ariṣṭavarga p. 2 ( =Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Sāmavedasāmhītā Vol. I, 419 : *Grāmageyagāna* 5, 2, 17, 18. — Compare Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa II, 1, 5 for the significance and use of the *ariṣṭavarga* ).

2. mahā<sup>3</sup> - it<sup>2</sup>rā<sup>3</sup> 234 iṇām | avā<sup>1</sup> rā<sup>1</sup>stu | dyukṣam<sup>3</sup>mā<sup>2</sup> 234 it<sup>3</sup>rā<sup>5</sup> |  
 sya<sup>1</sup> rā<sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup>nāḥ | dūrā<sup>3</sup>dhā<sup>2</sup> 234 rṣām<sup>3</sup> | vā<sup>2</sup>rauho 234 | vā<sup>5</sup> | ṇā<sup>4</sup>5syo 6hā<sup>5</sup>-i ||  
 3. mahit<sup>5</sup>riṇāmavarastū<sup>r</sup> 6e | dyukṣam<sup>2</sup>mitras<sup>1</sup>yā<sup>r</sup>am<sup>r</sup>nāḥ |  
 dūrā<sup>2</sup>dhā<sup>1</sup> 23 rṣām<sup>2</sup> | vā<sup>1</sup>rau.....

maḥi trīṇām avar astu dyukṣām mitrasyāryamṇah |

[ Sāmavedasaṃhitā 1, 2, 2, 5, 8 ( BENFEY, p. 18 ) ]

māhi trīṇām āvo 'stu dyukṣām mitrāsyāryamṇāḥ |  
durādharmaṁ vārunasya ||

§ 6. FELBER No. 428.

A continuation of No. 427, with the repetition  
of a part thereof viz.,

durād<sup>2</sup>hā<sup>1r</sup>23rṣā<sup>2</sup>m varau<sup>1</sup> ; (thus, this is a continuation and conclusion of Ariṣṭavarga 3)

$\begin{array}{c} \text{d} \text{u} \text{r} \text{a} \text{d} \text{h} \text{a} \text{23} \text{r} \text{s} \text{a} \text{m} \end{array} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{v} \text{a} \text{r} \text{a} \text{u} \text{h} \text{o} \text{2} \end{array} \right| \begin{array}{c} \text{h} \text{u} \text{m} \end{array} \text{m} \text{a} \text{2} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{n} \text{a} \end{array} \right| \begin{array}{c} \text{s} \text{y} \text{o} \text{2} \end{array} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{y} \text{a} \text{234} \text{a} \text{u} \text{h} \text{o} \text{v} \text{a} \end{array} \right|$   
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{h} \text{a} \text{2} - \text{o} - \text{v} \text{a} \text{2} \end{array} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{o} \text{v} \text{a} \text{2345} \end{array} \right|$

<sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>  
durād̥harsam varunasya

§ 7. Dr. BAKE says about these four records:<sup>3</sup> 'These four records cannot be counted as very valuable because the tradition of

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 146.

Sāmaveda in Rājputana and certainly in Bengal cannot be taken as sound. The learning of Satyavrata SĀMĀS'RAMIN, the father of the first singer, cannot make up for the lack of orthodox tradition in Bengal.'

This (in the opinion of the writer) is rather a tall order! *Because* the Sāmavedins are confined for the most part, to certain provinces or localities *to-day* and probably for a long time in the past, it does not automatically follow that the tradition of Sāma-singing, the preservation of which was and is the *sacred duty and trust* of a Sāmavedin, is to be judged unsound on the ground that the Sāma-singer or his ancestors migrated to and settled in another province where the Sāmavedins do not muster strong! In India from the most ancient times, till almost to-date, educational ideals were and are so high that teacher and pupil, if ever separated (in a geographical sense) would maintain enough contact (through regular periodical meetings etc.) with each other to ensure that the pupil did not fall off from the high standard of proficiency he had attained on the completion of his full course of training under the direct and personal guidance of his *Guru*. Nor can it be affirmed, as Dr. BAKE has done, that the learning of the father [of the singer of the first (No. 425) record, for example] is absolutely no guaranty that the son—the singer—is keeping up the orthodox traditions of the Sāmavedic School to which he belonged. The father, in ancient times, was very often the *Guru* of the son and in any case, *if a learned man*, would not be indifferent to the fidelity or otherwise of his son's rendering of Sāma-singing.

§ 8. FELBER No. 443.

[ Sung by a Brāhmin named, V. Subrahmanya ŚĀSTRĪ, 40 years old, a priest in Madras, born in Tanjore and his Brāhmin pupil, G. Rāmchandra SĀSTRĪ, 17 years old, a student in Madras, born in Tanjore, *together*. ]

Sāmaveda, Grāmageyagāna 14, 1, 36,—*Sāman* (Melody): called *Yaudhājayam*.

Bibliotheca Indica edn. Sāmavedasamhitā Vol. II, p. 76; compare also Vol. III, p. 44.

TEXT

<sup>3</sup> punā<sup>2</sup>21 | <sup>2</sup> nā3hso | <sup>4</sup> ma<sup>5</sup> | <sup>2</sup> dhā<sup>3</sup>234yā<sup>5</sup> | <sup>1</sup> apo<sup>2</sup>3 | <sup>1</sup> vasā<sup>2</sup> | <sup>3</sup> nā<sup>2</sup>ā345 |  
<sup>3</sup> sā 234sī | <sup>2r</sup> arātnadhāh | <sup>2r</sup> yo | <sup>1</sup> nimṛtā<sup>2</sup> | <sup>3</sup> syasā<sup>2</sup>345-i | <sup>3</sup> dā<sup>2</sup>234sī

<sup>2</sup>utsā<sup>2</sup>h̄ | <sup>1</sup>dā-ivo<sup>2</sup> | <sup>3</sup>hīrā<sup>2</sup>345 | <sup>3</sup>nyā<sup>2</sup>234yāh̄ ||

The basic SV. text is as follows :—

<sup>3</sup>punānāh̄ <sup>1</sup>somadhā<sup>2</sup>rayāpo <sup>1</sup>vasāno <sup>2</sup>arṣasi |  
<sup>1</sup>ā ratnadhā<sup>2</sup> yonim <sup>3</sup>ṛtasya <sup>1</sup>sīdasy <sup>2</sup>utso <sup>3</sup>devo <sup>1</sup>hiraṇyayaḥ |

[ Sāmavedasamhitā I, 6, 1, 3, 1 (BENFEY, p. 52) ]

Compare Ṛgveda IX, 107, 4:

punānāḥ soma dhārayāpo vāsāno arṣasi |  
 ā ratnadhā yonim ṛtasya sīdasy ūtso deva hiraṇyayaḥ ||

[ Translation :—] Robed in the waters, rushest thou, O Soma, purifying with thy stream; the bestower of treasures, thou sittest in the womb of *ṛta*, a golden spring that thou art, O God !

§ 9. FELBER No. 444.

[Sung by the same priest V. Subrahmanya ŚĀSTRĪ alone ( See introductory note above to Felber No. 443 which is sung by this priest together with his pupil ) ].

Sāmaveda, Uḥagāna I. 1, 2 ; Sāman (Melody): *Rauravam*. (Bibliotheca Indica edn. Sāmavedasamhitā Vol. III, p. 43).

Text

<sup>2</sup>punānāḥ<sup>1</sup>somā<sup>2</sup>3dhārā<sup>2</sup>234yā<sup>5</sup> | <sup>1</sup>āpova<sup>2</sup>sāno-arṣasyā<sup>2</sup>ratnadhāyonim-  
 ṛtasyasā<sup>2</sup>2-idasā-i | <sup>1</sup>ohā<sup>2</sup>3-uvā<sup>2</sup> | <sup>1</sup>utsodevohirā<sup>2</sup>23hā-i | <sup>1</sup>ohā<sup>2</sup>3-uvā<sup>3</sup> |  
 ṇyaya<sup>1</sup> | <sup>2</sup>au3hovā<sup>4</sup>5 || <sup>2</sup>utsodevohā<sup>3</sup>3-irāṇyā<sup>2</sup>234yāḥ | <sup>1</sup>utsodevohiraṇ-  
 yayodu<sup>2</sup>hānā<sup>2</sup>ūdhardi<sup>2</sup>viyam<sup>2</sup>madhū<sup>2</sup>priyām | <sup>1</sup>ohā<sup>2</sup>3-uvā<sup>2</sup> | <sup>1</sup>prātnaṁ-  
 sadhas<sup>2</sup>thamā<sup>2</sup>23hā-i | <sup>1</sup>ohā<sup>2</sup>3-uvā<sup>2</sup> | <sup>1</sup>sadāt | <sup>2</sup>au23hovā<sup>3</sup> | <sup>2</sup>prātnaṁ  
 sadhas<sup>2</sup>thā<sup>2</sup>3māsā<sup>2</sup>234dāt | <sup>1</sup>prātnaṁsadhas<sup>2</sup>thamāsā<sup>2</sup>dadā<sup>2</sup>prcchyan-  
 dharuṇā<sup>2</sup>m<sup>2</sup>vājīyā<sup>2</sup>2ṛsā<sup>2</sup>2-i | <sup>1</sup>ohā<sup>2</sup>3-uvā<sup>2</sup> | <sup>1</sup>nṛbhird<sup>2</sup>hautovicā<sup>2</sup>23hā-i  
<sup>1</sup>ohā<sup>2</sup>3-uvā<sup>2</sup> | <sup>1</sup>kṣaṇā<sup>1</sup> | <sup>2</sup>au3hovā<sup>4</sup> | <sup>4</sup>ho<sup>4</sup>5-i | <sup>1</sup>dā ||

The basic SV, text is :—

1. <sup>3</sup>punānaḥ <sup>1</sup>soma <sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup>dhārayāpo <sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup>vasāno <sup>24</sup>arṣasi |  
<sup>1</sup>ā <sup>2</sup>ratnadhā <sup>3</sup>yonim <sup>1</sup>ṛtasya <sup>2</sup>sīdasy <sup>3</sup>utso <sup>1</sup>devo <sup>2</sup>hiranyayah ||
2. <sup>3</sup>duhāna <sup>1</sup>ūdhar <sup>2</sup>divyam <sup>3</sup>madhu <sup>1</sup>priyam <sup>2</sup>pratnam <sup>3</sup>sadhasṭham  
<sup>1</sup>āsadat |  
<sup>3</sup>apṛchyam <sup>1</sup>dharuṇam <sup>2</sup>vājy <sup>3</sup>arṣasi <sup>1</sup>nṛbhir <sup>2</sup>dhūto <sup>3</sup>vicakṣaṇaḥ ||
- [ Sāmavedasamhitā II, 1, 1, 9, 1, 2 ( BENFEY, p. 63 ) ]

1. Compare Ṛgveda IX, 107, 4: see No. 443 (above) for the text and translation thereof.

2. Compare Ṛgveda IX, 107, 5:

duhāna ūdhar divyām mādhu priyām pratnam sadhasṭham āsadat |  
 apṛchyam dharuṇam vājy arṣati nṛbhir dhūto vicakṣaṇaḥ | |

[Translation :—] Milking dear mead from the heavenly udder, he hath sat himself down on the ancient seat ; thou the courser, far-seeing, rushest ( RV. reading : 'rushes' ) to the covetable reservoir [ lit., (very much) in demand ] when washed by men.

§ 10. With regard to these two, the learned Doctor objects that 'both records, being sung by the same man may have eventual individual errors in common'. This is indeed strange criticism! How are we to get an idea of the typical mode of rendering the Sāma-gānas, traditionally prevalent in a particular branch of the Sāmaveda, unless we ask *one and the same person*—a learned follower of that Sākhā to render for us a few select gānas? If we employ different individuals for different gānas, individual variations, however slight, will cut across Sākhā variations and interfere (however slightly,) with our understanding of the latter. Besides, the majority of the surviving Sāma-singers are ignorant of the technical side of Sāmaveda music.<sup>4</sup> The experience that STRANGWAYS had is illuminating in this respect. Two chants were sung before him : one distinctly chromatic described as *ucca* ( high ) : the other as distinctly diatonic, described as *nica* (low). He was more than once asked by the singer whether he should sing in the *ucca* or the *nica*

<sup>4</sup> The Sāma-singer select ed by the D. C. P. & R. Institute is an exception ! He knows what he sings and can give a notation thereof.



voice; all that STRANGWAYS could make of this is best expressed in his own words, 'it seems possible that he may have been referring to a *difference of scale rather than of pitch*.'<sup>5</sup> (Italics mine). Is it not better, then, to concentrate on some fairly intelligent representative of a Śākhā and get him to render a few typical Sāma-gānas than to ask different individuals to render different gānas? And so the writer disagrees with Dr. BAKE's summing up on the value of the six Sāmaveda records made by Dr. EXNER, when he says 'So practically speaking, we have nothing at all whereon to base any judgment.'<sup>6</sup> *In the opinion of the writer, much valuable material regarding the practical aspects of Sāma-singing is presented in these six records which awaits investigation from every angle.*

§ 11. The instances of notation taken on the spot and recorded by BURNELL in his edition of the Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa are undoubtedly very helpful and valuable, as also the explanatory notes of M. Seshagiri SHASTRI in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Madras Government Library* of Sanskrit Manuscripts but the next really important attempt at the sound-recording of Sāma-gānas is that of Dr. Arnold A. BAKE himself. The records he made in India are listed and serially numbered as 'Bake Indian II', in the Catalogue of the Phonogramm Archif of the Berlin University, Schoss, Berlin C<sub>2</sub>. In the description below, I refer to the numbers of these, as given in the above-mentioned article of Dr. BAKE.

#### § 12. BAKE INDIAN II.

Nos. 331 and 335: These two records were made at Kottayam in Malabar, with the help of some Nambudiri Brahmins professing the Jaiminiya Śākhā. No. 331 records the first Sāman of the Grāmageyagāna based on 'agnā<sup>2</sup> āyāhi<sup>3 1 2</sup>' up to 'satsu', (SV. I. 1.1.1.1)<sup>7</sup> and No. 335 records the Āraṇyakagāna based on prathā<sup>1</sup>śca<sup>2</sup> yasyā<sup>3 1 2</sup> etc. up to 'rathantaram'<sup>3 1</sup> (SV. Pūrvārcika, adhyāya 6, khaṇḍa 2, mantra 5.)<sup>7</sup>

Nos. 336 and 339: In order to be able to make a comparative study of the rendering of the same melody as sung in the different schools of the Sāmaveda, Dr. BAKE got more records made of the same Sāman, the first Sāman of the Grāmageyagāna (see No. 331

<sup>5</sup> *The Music of Hindostan*, 271.

<sup>6</sup> *The Practice of Sāmaveda*, 147.

<sup>7</sup> All these details of references have been given by the writer as they are unfortunately wanting in Dr. BAKE's article.

above ), the one he made at Chidambaram being his No. 336 and that at Trichinopoly being his No. 339, both representing the traditional mode of Sāma-singing as prevalent among the Kauthumas of the Tamil country.

No. 340 : With reference to the record of the Sāman '<sup>3</sup>*īmā*<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>3</sup>*stomām arhate*'<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup>, which he made at Trichinopoly ( No. 340 ), Dr. BAKE notes that in 't, the full seven notes were used, but says nothing to indicate whether it was Grāmageyagāna II. I. 38 based on SV. I. 1.2.2.4 or Ūhagāna XVII. I. 15 based on SV. II. 4.1.7.1.

§ 13. Though we are concerned here with an account of earlier Sāmaveda records only, it would be interesting and instructive to mention here that Dr. BAKE took two records at Kottayam from a young Nambudiri Brahmin trained at Trichur in Cochin State—a centre of Nambudiri Vedic learning—the first No. 323 of '*prātār agnim prātār indram havāmahe*' from the RgVeda (VII. 41.1) and another No. 327 of '*īyuste ye pūrvataram apaśyan*' from the Black Yajurveda ( Ts. I. 4. 33 1 ). He notes that in the Vedic practice of recitation of his day, as represented by these records, the RgVeda and Yajurveda have become close to one another. Thus among the Nambudiris—a sect that has kept its traditions very pure, living as they do, in splendid isolation from the outside world—there is no noticeable difference between their way of chanting the RgVeda or the Yajurveda. As the traditions of the Nambudiris are different from those of all other Brahmin communities in India, Dr. BAKE took a record ( No. 329 ) of the Black Yajus text :<sup>8</sup> '*pracina vayanśam*' (!) at Chidambaram ( Tamil country ) and he notes that this record sounds exactly like the recitation usually in vogue for the RgVeda. Thus, even amongst the Tamil Brahmins, there is no noticeable difference.

§ 14. Dr. BAKE<sup>9</sup> mentions these records of his ( Nos. 323, 327 and 329 ) in connection with Dr. FELBER's theory ( which, in his opinion, is very probable ) that the relative position of the Rg-, Sāma- and Yajur-vedas is comparable to what is found in the Roman Catholic liturgy. Thus :—

<sup>8</sup> It has to be noted with regret, that Dr. BAKE in his (otherwise excellent) article not only gives no references but quotes also very inaccurately; e. g. here it is impossible to trace his incorrect '*pracina vayanśam*' to any Black Yajus text! All I can surmise is that he means '*prācīna vanśam*' which can be traced to TS. VI. 1. 7. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 147

(1) The Yajus would be spoken or recited in an even murmur designated as *bhāṣikasvara* like the 'lectiones' in Roman Catholic liturgy; (2) in contrast to this comes the *mantra-svara* of the ṚgVedic recitation showing a wider range, three-four notes, indicated by the accents:—*udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*, comparable to the 'accentus' of the Roman Catholic liturgy. (3) The *Sāmasvara* finally using a wider compass and bringing the octave occasionally would be comparable to the chants called 'concentus' in Gregorian music.

Curiously enough these three stages were represented according to Dr. BAKE in a record of chants not connected with Vedic offerings which he made in the temple of Amballapura near Allepy in Travancore. The texts (non-Vedic in character) were chants sung at the temple in Malayalam and are designated as '*Saṁkīrtana*' in the Catalogue mentioned above. Though FELBER's theory was not borne out by the Vedic practice that came within the range of Dr. BAKE's observation, the latter scholar was told by a singer that followers of the White Yajurveda chant their texts in the *bhāṣikasvara* as indicated by FELBER. For the verification of this information recitations of White Yajurveda texts must be phonographically recorded and closely studied. The writer reserves his comment on the theories mentioned above, until such time as the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute is able to take records from the ṚgVeda and the Yajurveda (Black and White) after completing the recording of the *Sāma-gānas* as sung in all the principal *Sākhās*.

§ 15. In the meantime, as Dr. BAKE's records, of which a detailed account has been given above, are not before us, let us reproduce the gist of the learned Doctor's observations on his own records and comment on them where necessary and possible. He says that <sup>10</sup> the Nambudiris who have traditions of their own in every respect do not show a trace of the comparative melodic riches attributed to their School—the Jaiminiya *Sākhā*—in the *Śāstras*, that at least their way of singing the *gānas* shows such an indefinitely older stage than that of the six notes (which itself points to a fairly late development) that it seems to go back to primitive times, almost to the very beginning of melodic development and that it is possible that the Nambudiris follow an older school of which the practice subsists but the name has been abolished by the later adopted Jaiminiya *Sākhā*. The learned

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 151

Doctor urges the similarity of the music of the Todas at Ootacamund and the Nambudiri way of chanting the SV as confirming this theory of his, though the similarity is only striking as far as the compass goes, that is to say, half a tone to a tone. In the opinion of the writer, this is going too far! Although it may be conceded that a greater melodic range (say, a compass of six notes) may indicate in a general way a later stage, it is, by no means, a conclusive piece of evidence in the history of ancient Indian music. To take an instance, the Jaiminīyas use six notes and the Rāṇyānīyas and Kauthumas use seven notes, though only in a few chants and yet no certain inference as regards the earlier or later date of the particular school can be drawn from this fact alone. Besides, as BURNELL<sup>11</sup> says, 'The Puṣpasūtra shows that some Śākhās sang certain sāmans to more notes than others. Again, it is difficult to trace much in common between what are nominally the same chants as sung by members of the different Śākhās.'

Dr. BAKE notes with satisfaction that the tradition was (and is) kept with great strictness as far as the text was concerned. The singer, the young Nambudiri Brahmin who sang for him at Kottayam and who knew both the *Grāmageya* and the *Aranyaka gānas* by heart did not know the *raison d'être* of the specific duration or measure of the different vowels. He sang as he was taught. Not even a single consonant was changed. The only deviations were in the pronunciation of certain consonants in accordance with the peculiarities of Sanskrit pronunciations current among the Nambudiris.

§ 16. After this detailed review of previous attempts, we turn now to the sound-records made by the Institute. The Sāma-singer Paṇḍit Lakṣmaṇa Sāstri DRAVID who sang for the Institute is a Brahmin belonging to a family of Sāmavedins following the Rāṇyānīya branch and having Drāhyāyaṇa as their Sūtra. His father, Shankara Bhattaji DRAVID, came to Poona more than a hundred years ago as a Purohita and a teacher to a rich Dravida family then residing in Poona. Sundar Sāstri AIYAR, the grandfather of the Paṇḍit, was a resident of Shamboor Wadaghare, a village in the Taluka of Tengashi in the Tinnevely district of the Madras Presidency, where the tradition of Sāma-singing is still well-preserved. It is a natural expectation of the writer, therefore, that the Paṇḍit's rendering is fairly close to the traditional mode, though of course, his performance must be judged on its own merits by com-

<sup>11</sup> *The Sāman chants from the Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa.*

petent scholars after listening to his records, which they are requested to do by visiting the Institute. So the writer must refrain at this stage, at least, from making any comments which would be prejudicial to such expert criticism which is cordially invited. The Institute proposes to make, in the near future, similar phonographic records of these same typical Sāmagānas as rendered by other Sāma-singers belonging to the same Rāṇāyanīya Sākhā but hailing from other parts of India, so that it will then be possible, to examine the degree of fidelity to ancient tradition claimed by each of these singers by comparing their performances and noting the agreements and divergences.

### Chart of Record No. I

#### [INTRODUCTORY].

The name of the Sāman (Melody) is Gāyatram. The gāna is Grāmageya gāna I. 1. 1, this being the very first gāna of the Sāmaveda. It is sung in the madhyama grāma (Major Scale) [and should give an impression of ṣaḍja-madhyama bhāva according to the singer]. Ma or F (European) is the tonic or drone note. The general tendency of the Sāmic notes in this gāna is to ascend by leaps and to descend by steps. Below the gāna text will be found a notation of the gāna in terms of the svarasaptaka of modern Indian Music and if the equations:

$$\left| \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \text{Sa} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{D} \\ \text{Ri} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{E} \\ \text{Ga} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{F} \\ \text{Ma} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{G} \\ \text{Pa} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{A} \\ \text{D} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{B} \\ \text{Ni} \end{array} \right|$$

are borne in mind, it should be possible for students of modern music [both European and Indian] to reproduce and enjoy this Sāman music for themselves. (For the accuracy of this notation, the Sāma-singer who himself has given it, is alone responsible). The figures 1, 2, 3, 2r or 3k written above the syllables of the corresponding Sāmaveda Saṁhitā text mark the accents according to the peculiar system of the Sāmaveda, whereas the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., superscribed on the gāna-text are part of the notation given in the gāna books.

$$\begin{array}{c} \overset{2}{0} \overset{1}{3m} \\ \text{saniri} \end{array} \left| \begin{array}{c} \overset{r}{\text{tatsaviturvareniyo}} \overset{\wedge}{m} \\ \text{ri ri ri ri ri ri ri ri ri} \end{array} \right|$$

$$\begin{array}{c} \overset{r}{\text{bhārgodevasya}} \overset{r}{} \\ \text{ri ri ri ri ri} \end{array} \left| \begin{array}{c} \overset{r}{\text{dhimāhi}} \overset{\wedge}{2} \\ \text{ri ri ri ri sa} \end{array} \right|$$

$$\begin{array}{c} \overset{1}{\text{dhiyoyonah}} \overset{r}{} \\ \text{sa ri ri ri ri} \end{array} \left| \begin{array}{c} \overset{2}{\text{praco}} \overset{\wedge}{1212} \\ \text{sasaririsarisarisa} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \overset{1}{\text{himā}} \overset{\wedge}{2} \\ \text{riririsa} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \overset{1}{\text{dāyo}} \\ \text{ri ri} \end{array} \right| \left| \begin{array}{c} \overset{2}{\text{ā}} \overset{111}{345} \\ \text{sanidhapa} \end{array} \right|$$

The basic text is *Sāmavedasaṁhitā* II. 6. 3. 10. 1 [ *Sātavalekar*<sup>12</sup> p. 155; Benfey p. 125 ], as given below :—

<sup>1</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2r</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>  
Tatsaviturvareṇyam bhargō devāsya dhīmahi |  
<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> || 1 ||  
dhiyo yō naḥ pracodāyāt || 1 ||

The ṛṣi etc., are the same as those given below for the Rv. text.

The corresponding Rv. passage is *RgVeda Saṁhitā* III. 62. 10 :—

[ Ṛṣi : Viśvāmitra. Metre : Gāyatrī. Deity : Savitr̥. ]

Tātsavitu'rvāreṇyam bhārgo devāsya

dhīmahi | dhi'yo yō naḥ pracodāyāt || 10 ||

Translation: May we confer upon ourselves that desirable splendour of Savitr̥, the god, who may ( thus ) stimulate our thoughts.

### Chart of Record No. II

#### [INTRODUCTORY]

The name of the *Sāman* is *Vyāhrtisāmāni trīṇi* [ being sung upon the three *Vyāhrtis*—the three mystical words: *bhūr*, *bhuvar* (or *bhuvah*) and *svar* which are to be repeated after or before commencing the daily prayers ]. The *gāna* is taken from the *ahinaparvan* of the *rahasya-gāna* or *ūhya-gāna*. It is sung in the *ṣaḍja grāma*. The *Sa* (Indian) or *C* Major (European) is the tonic or drone note. The *ṣaḍja-pāñcama bhāva*, should be experienced by the listeners (according to the Paṇḍit).

<sup>5</sup> <sup>4</sup> ō 6m saniri	<sup>5</sup> bhūh sa sa	<sup>1r</sup> bhūh pa pa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i pa pa	<sup>1r</sup> bhūh pa pa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i pa pa	<sup>1r</sup> bhūh pa pa
<sup>2</sup> <sup>31</sup> hā 31 mamagapapapama ga	<sup>23</sup> wā 23 ma ma	<sup>2r</sup> e	<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> suvarjyoti 2345 h	papapagamagarisa   1		
<sup>5</sup> bhūvāh sa sa	<sup>1</sup> bhuvah pa pa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i pa pa	<sup>1</sup> bhuvah pa pa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i pa pa	<sup>1</sup> bhuvah pa pa	

<sup>12</sup> The edition of the *Sāmaveda-saṁhitā* brought out by Paṇḍit Shripad Damodar Sātavalekar and published by the *Svādhyāya maṇḍala*, [Aundh, (Dist. Satara), Bombay Presidency (India), 1939-40,] is a very creditable performance indeed, and may be said to be one of the best editions of that *saṁhitā* in the Kauthunīya-Rāṇāyanīya versions published so far! It has a number of very useful indices and appendices and a very informative introduction. Among the editions of ancillary *Sāma* texts, the publication of which is promised by the *Svādhyāya maṇḍala*, those of the *gāna*-books in particular, are eagerly awaited.

$\overset{2}{h}\overset{\wedge}{a} 31$	$\overset{-}{u}\overset{\wedge}{v}\overset{-}{a} 23$	$\overset{2r}{e}$	$\overset{1}{s}\overset{r}{u}\overset{3}{v}\overset{1}{a}\overset{1}{r}\overset{1}{j}\overset{1}{y}\overset{1}{o}\overset{1}{t}\overset{1}{i} 2345 \overset{h}{h}$	$2$	
mamagapapapamaga		ma ma	papapagamagarisa		
$\overset{5}{s}\overset{u}{v}\overset{a}{h}$	$\overset{1}{s}\overset{u}{v}\overset{a}{h}$	$\overset{1}{h}\overset{o}{-}i$	$\overset{1}{s}\overset{u}{v}\overset{a}{h}$	$\overset{1}{h}\overset{o}{-}i$	$\overset{1}{s}\overset{u}{v}\overset{a}{h}$
sa sa	pa pa	pa pa	pa pa	pa pa	pa pa
$\overset{2}{h}\overset{\wedge}{a} 31$	$\overset{-}{u}\overset{\wedge}{v}\overset{-}{a} 23$	$\overset{2r}{e}$	$\overset{1}{s}\overset{r}{u}\overset{3}{v}\overset{1}{a}\overset{1}{r}\overset{1}{j}\overset{1}{y}\overset{1}{o}\overset{1}{t}\overset{1}{i} 2345 \overset{h}{h}$	$3$	
mamagapapapamaga		ma ma	papapagamagarisa		
$\overset{1}{0} \overset{\wedge}{0} \overset{1}{2} \overset{1}{3} \overset{1}{4} \overset{1}{5}$	$\overset{2}{0} \overset{3}{3} \overset{1}{m}$				
pa ma ga ri sa	ma ga pa				

The  $\ddot{r}$ ṣi is Prajāpati, metre : *daivyanuṣṭubh* and deities : Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya. There is no basic Sv. text or corresponding Rv. text for this gāna, sung as it is upon the three mystical words or *vyāhrtis*, with the addition of the word 'jyotiḥ'.

### Chart of Record No. III

#### [ INTRODUCTORY ]

The name of the Sāman or Melody is ( *Jyestha Sāman* ) Ājya-doham; the gāna is Aranya-gāna I. 1. 2. 16, sung in the *ṣadja grāma*. The musical notes used are Ri, Sa, Ni, Dha, Pa. For this and the next gāna see FELBER Nos. 425 and 426 described in Paragraphs §3 & §4 above. The sāma-singer deliberately selected them to invite comparison between his (*Rāṇāyaniya*) rendering and the *Kauthumi* rendering described in FELBER's book. The singer claims that the gāna will remind listeners of such musical modes or rāgas as approach the *Kāfi rāga* of the present day Hindusthanī music. It is the Sāmasinger's special theory that many a present day Rāga lay dormant for a long time in the Sāman melodies.

[ In examining this claim and theory, it will have to be borne in mind that the dormancy of such elements in a gāna as give the impression of a rāga to a modern listener need not necessarily presuppose a contemporary knowledge or conception of a rāga or musical mode ! ]

$\overset{2}{0} \overset{\wedge}{0} \overset{1}{3} \overset{1}{m}$	$\overset{2r}{h}\overset{a}{-}u$	$\overset{2r}{h}\overset{a}{-}u$	$\overset{2r}{h}\overset{a}{-}u$	$\overset{2r}{a}\overset{3}{j}\overset{4r}{y}\overset{5}{a}\overset{d}\overset{o}{h}\overset{a}{m}$
sa ni ri	sa sa	sa sa	sa sa	sa ni dha pa
$\overset{2r}{a}\overset{3}{j}\overset{4r}{y}\overset{5}{a}\overset{d}\overset{o}{h}\overset{a}{m}$	$\overset{2r}{a}\overset{3}{j}\overset{4r}{y}\overset{5}{a}\overset{d}\overset{o}{h}\overset{a}{m}$			
sa ni dha pa	sa ni dha pa			
$\overset{2r}{m}\overset{1r}{u}\overset{1r}{r}\overset{1r}{d}\overset{1r}{h}\overset{1r}{a}\overset{1r}{n}\overset{1r}{a}\overset{1r}{n}\overset{1r}{d}\overset{1r}{a}\overset{1r}{-}i$	$\overset{2}{v}\overset{\wedge}{a} \overset{1}{3}\overset{1}{a}\overset{1}{r}\overset{1}{a}$	$\overset{2}{t}\overset{2}{i}\overset{3}{m}\overset{3}{p}\overset{4r}{r}\overset{5}{t}\overset{5}{h}\overset{5}{i}\overset{5}{v}\overset{5}{y}\overset{5}{a}\overset{5}{h}$		
sa ri ri ri ri	sa ni ri ri	sa ni dha pa		

<sup>2r</sup> vaiśvānarām sa ri ri ri ri	<sup>2 1r</sup> ṛtā sa ri ri	<sup>2 3 4 5</sup> jātamagnim sa ni dha pa		
<sup>2 1 u</sup> kavimsamrā sa ri ri ri	<sup>2 ^ 1</sup> jā 3mati sa ni ri ri	<sup>2 3 4 5</sup> thiñjanānām sa ni dha pa		
<sup>2r 1r</sup> āsannahpā sa ri ri ri	<sup>2 ^ 1</sup> trā 3ñjana sa ni ri ri	<sup>2 3 4 5</sup> yantadevāḥ sa ni dha pa		
<sup>2r</sup> hā-u sa sa	<sup>2r</sup> hā-u sa sa	<sup>2r</sup> hā-u sa sa	<sup>2r 3 4r 5</sup> ājyadoham sa ni dha pa	<sup>2r 3 4r 5</sup> ājyadoham sa ni dha pa
<sup>2r 3 4 ^ 5</sup> ājyado 5hā-u sanidhapapapa			<sup>5</sup> vā pa	<sup>2r</sup> e sa
<sup>2r 1 2</sup> ājyadoham sa sa ri sa	<sup>2r</sup> e sa	<sup>2r 1 2</sup> ājyadoham sa sa ri sa	<sup>2r</sup> e sa	<sup>2r 1 ^ 3 ^ 1 1 1 1</sup> ājyado hā 2345m sa sa ri ni sa ni dha pa

The basic SV. text is as follows :—

<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup>	Mūrdhānam divo aratim prthivyā vaiśvānarām ṛta ā jātamagnim
<sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup>	kavim samrājam atithim janānām āsan nah pātram janayanta devāḥ

[ Sāmavedasamhitā I. 1. 2. 2. 5 Sātavalekar p. 122; BENFEY p. 7 ]  
( Ṛṣi ) Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya ; ( Deity ) Agni ; ( Metre ) Triṣṭubh.  
The corresponding RV. passage is R̥gveda VI, 7, 1 :—

Mūrdhānam divo aratim prthivyā vaiśvānarām ṛtā ā jātam agnim |  
kavim samrājam atithim janānāmāsān ā pātram janayanta devāḥ | |

[ The ṛṣi, deity and metre are the same as those mentioned above for the Sāman-text ]

Translation :— The gods have generated Agni Vaiśvānara, the head of heaven, the steward of the earth, born in ṛta, the sage, the sovereign, the guest of the people as our vessel in ( their ) mouth [ according to the RV. version, "as a vessel in (their) mouth" ].

### Chart of Record No. IV

#### [ INTRODUCTORY ]

The name of the Sāman is Unnayam ; the gāna is Āraṇyagāna III. 6. 2. 21; sung in the śadjagrāma. For other musical details see introductory note to Chart of Record No. III.

<sup>2</sup> <sup>^</sup> <sup>1</sup> ō 3m sa ni ri	<sup>1</sup> unnayāmi ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i ri ri	<sup>1</sup> <sup>2r</sup> unnayāmi ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i ri ri
--	---	-------------------------------	---	-------------------------------



<sup>1</sup> unnayāmi ri ri sa sa	<sup>2r</sup>   ri ri	<sup>1</sup> ho-i ri ri	<sup>2r</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2r</sup> adityamprāñcamyantamunnayāmi sa sa ri ri sa ri sa ri ri sa sa
<sup>1</sup> ho-i ri ri	<sup>2r</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2r</sup> adityamprāñcamyantamunnayāmi sa sa ri ri sa ri sa ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i ri ri	<sup>2r</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> adityamprāñcam- sa sa ri ri sa
<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2r</sup> yanlamunnayāmi ri sa ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i ri ri	<sup>2</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>1r</sup> <sup>2r</sup> ahorātrānyaritrāni sa sa sa ri ri ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i ri ri
<sup>2</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>1r</sup> <sup>2r</sup> ahorātrānyaritrāni sa sa sa ri ri ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i ri ri		
<sup>2</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>1r</sup> <sup>2r</sup> ahorātrānyaritrāni sa sa sa ri ri ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> ho-i ri ri	<sup>1r</sup> dyaurnaurhā-u ri ri sa sa	
<sup>1r</sup> dyaurnaur ri ri sa sa	<sup>2</sup> hā-u ri ri sa sa	<sup>1r</sup> dyaurnaur ri ri sa sa	<sup>2</sup> hā-u ri ri sa sa
<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> tasyāmasāvādityaiyate ri ri ri ri ri ri ri ri sa sa	<sup>2</sup> hā-u ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> tasyāmasāvāditya ri ri ri ri ri ri ri	
<sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> iyate hā-u ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> tasyāmasāvādityaiyate ri ri ri ri ri ri ri ri sa sa	<sup>2</sup> hā-u ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> tasmin- ri ri ri
<sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> -vayamīyāmānāyāmahehā-u ri ri ri ri ri ri ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> tasminvayamīya- ri ri ri ri ri ri		
<sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> mānāyāmahe hā-u ri ri ri ri ri ri sa sa	<sup>1</sup> tasminvayamīyamānāyā- ri ri ri ri ri ri ri ri		
<sup>2</sup> mahe hā-u ri ri sa sa	<sup>1r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> iyāmahehā-u ri ri ri ri sa sa	<sup>1r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> iyāmahehā-u ri ri ri ri sa sa	
<sup>1r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> iyāmahe ri ri ri sa ni	<sup>2</sup> hā-uvā sa sa sa	<sup>2</sup> <sup>1r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2r</sup> priyēdhāmamstriyaksare sa ri ri sa ri ri sa sa	
<sup>2</sup> <sup>1r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2r</sup> priyēdhāmamstriyaksare sa ri ri sa sa ri ri sa sa	<sup>2</sup> <sup>1r</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2 3</sup> <sup>1 1 1 1</sup> priyēdhāmamstriyaksare sa ri ri sa sa ri ri sa ni sa ni dha pa		

This gāna-text has no Rgveda verse as its basis, but a so-called *stobha* ('asya mūlam na ṛg, api tu stobhaḥ'). It is therefore also called *channa-gāna* ('ṛgvihinaṁ channagānam'). In it are sung only *vākya-stobhas* (i.e. *stobhas* composed of sentences or *vākyas*), in combination with *padastobhas* (or *word-stobhas*) such as *ho-i* etc. The Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Sāmavedasamhitā*, Vol II,

(p. 518) gives the following *padapāṭha* of the *vākyastobhas* which form the basis of the *gāna*-text :—

<sup>2</sup>ut | <sup>3</sup>nayāmi | <sup>2</sup>ādityam | <sup>3</sup>ā | <sup>2</sup>dityam | <sup>1</sup>prāñcam | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>yantam | ut |  
<sup>3</sup>nayāmi | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>ahorātrāṇi | <sup>3</sup>ahaḥ | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>rātrāṇi | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>aritrāṇi | <sup>1</sup>dyauḥ | <sup>1</sup>nauḥ |  
<sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>tasyām | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>asaḥ | <sup>3</sup>2<sup>r</sup>ādityaḥ | <sup>3</sup>ā | <sup>2</sup>dityaḥ | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>iyate | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>tasmin | <sup>3</sup>2<sup>r</sup>vayam |  
<sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>iyamāne | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>iyāmahe | <sup>3</sup>2<sup>r</sup>priye | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>dhāman | <sup>1</sup>tryakṣare | tri | <sup>3</sup>akṣare |

Translation :—I carry upwards the *āditya* ( the sun); the *āditya* going forward, do I carry upwards ; day and night are the oars, the sky is the ship. On this, the *āditya* goes forth. By virtue of him (thus) going forth, we go to the dear abode consisting of the three *akṣaras* ( *a+u+m=om* ).

### Chart of Record No. V.

[ INTRODUCTORY ].

The name of the *Sāman* is *Tārṣyam prathamam*. It is *Grāmāgeya gāna*, IX. 1. 1-2. It is sung in the *ṣaḍja grāma*, the drone note being *Sa* or *C*.

<sup>5</sup>0 <sup>4</sup>6m | <sup>5</sup>tyamūsu | <sup>2</sup>vāji | <sup>3</sup>1<sup>1</sup>1<sup>1</sup>1<sup>1</sup> | <sup>2</sup>3<sup>r</sup>devajūtā <sup>3</sup>1<sup>1</sup>1<sup>1</sup> |  
 saniri | sa sa sa | mama | gamagarisa | mamamagamagari |  
<sup>5</sup>3<sup>r</sup>2<sup>1</sup> | <sup>2</sup>rutā <sup>1</sup>3 | <sup>2</sup>3<sup>r</sup>4<sup>5</sup> | <sup>4</sup>5<sup>r</sup> |  
 sahovānam tā | mama | ramrathānam | ma ga ri sa |  
<sup>2</sup>āriṣṭa <sup>3</sup>1<sup>1</sup>1<sup>1</sup> <sup>5</sup>234 | <sup>5</sup>imim | <sup>2</sup>prānā <sup>3</sup>43<sup>r</sup>2<sup>5</sup> |  
 mamamagamagarisa | mamamagarigamagasa |  
<sup>2</sup>1<sup>1</sup> | <sup>1</sup>yāi | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>3<sup>2</sup>4<sup>3</sup>2<sup>1</sup>1<sup>1</sup> | <sup>2</sup>3<sup>r</sup>4<sup>5</sup>1<sup>1</sup>1<sup>1</sup> |  
 svasta | pa pa | pama | hū 3vā 5imā 656 |  
 ma pa | pa pa | pamagamagariga | magarisasanisani |

The basic SV. text is *Sāmavedasāmhita* I. 4. 1. 5. 1. [*Sātavalekar* p. 37 ; *Benfey*, p. 35 ] :—

<sup>2</sup>Tyamū <sup>3</sup>2<sup>r</sup>ṣu | <sup>3</sup>1<sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>yajinam | <sup>3</sup>1<sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>devajutam | <sup>3</sup>1<sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>sahovānam |  
<sup>3</sup>2<sup>r</sup>3<sup>r</sup>tarutāram | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>rathānam | <sup>1</sup>2<sup>r</sup>ariṣṭanemim |

pr̥tanājamāsum svastaye tār̥kṣyam

<sup>3</sup>ihā <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>huvema

The  $\gamma_{si}$  etc. are the same as those given below for the RV. passage.

The corresponding ṚV. passage is ṚgVeda saṁhitā IX. 178, 1.—  
[Ṛṣi: Aṛiṣṭanemi Tārksya, Metre: Triṣṭubh, Deity: Tārksya]

Tyámū ṣu' vājī'naṁ devájūtaṁ sahāvānaṁ

tarutāram rāthānām | āriṣṭānemim

prtanā'jamā'sūm svastāye tārksyam ihā'huvema

Translation :—That mighty one, speeded on by the gods, the strong one, the winner of chariots, (that) Tārṁśya, the swift one, of fellies unharmed, rushing to battle, we would invoke here now, for (our) well-being.

### Chart of Record No. VI

[INTRODUCTORY]

The name of the *Sāman* is *Br̥hat-sāman* (which is, by the way, the *Sāman par excellence* according to the *Bhagavadgītā* X. 35 ). This *Sāman* sung upon the two verses SV II. 2. 1. 12, 1 & 2 is included in the *Āraṇya-*, *ūha-*, and *ūhya-gānas* but the one selected for this record is from the *ūha-gāna* II. 1. 13-17.

2	1	2 <sup>r</sup>	r	r				r			2			r	1 <sup>r</sup>	r
0	3m	auhoitvāmiddhihavāmahā										3e	sātāuvajā			
saniri		sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	ni	sa	sa ri ri ri				

syākārā<sup>2</sup> 234<sup>3 1 11</sup> vāḥ<sup>5</sup>      tuvā<sup>1 2</sup> 34  
risanisanidhapa      risanidha

<sup>3r</sup> <sup>4r</sup> <sup>5</sup>      <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>      <sup>2</sup>  
*auhovā*      *vrtrāisuvāi*      *drāsā* 31 *ta*  
 nidhapa      sa ri ri      ri sa ni ri

2. 3 1 1 1 5 | 1<sup>r</sup> r 2 | 3<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>r</sup> 5  
patimnā 234 rāḥ | tvām kāṣṭhā 34 | au hovā  
risanisanidhapa | ri ri sa nidha | nidhapa

<sup>-1</sup>*sū2ārvā* <sup>111</sup>*234* | *tā* | <sup>5</sup>*uhuvā* <sup>5</sup>*6 hāu* | <sup>5</sup>*vā* | *śrīh*  
risaririsanidha | dha | papapamapa | pa

<sup>2</sup> <i>r</i> auhoi.....tuvā <sup>2</sup> 3me sa sa sa sa sa n sa	<sup>r</sup> kāsthā <sup>1</sup> sa ri	<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>5</sup> sūarvā 234 tāh risanisanidhapa	
<sup>1</sup> sc tvā <sup>2</sup> 34 risanidha	<sup>3</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>5</sup> auhovā nidhapa	<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> naścāitravā sa ri ri	<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> jṛāhā 31 risaniri
<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>5</sup> stadhr̥ṣṇu 234 yā risanisanidhapa	<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> mahastavā 34 sa ri ri sa ni dha	<sup>3</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>5</sup> auhovā nidhapa	
<sup>1</sup> no 2ādṛā 234 i risaririsanidha	<sup>5</sup> vāh dha	<sup>5</sup> uhuvā 6 hāu papapamapapa	<sup>5</sup> vā pa
<sup>2</sup> <sup>r</sup> auhoi...mahā <sup>2</sup> 3e sasasa sa sa ni sa	<sup>1</sup> stavā sa ri		
<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>5</sup> no adrā 234 iwāh risanisanidha pa	<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>2</sup> gāmā 34 risanidha	<sup>3</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>5</sup> auhovā nidhapa	
<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>5</sup> śuvāmṛathāi sa ri ri	<sup>2</sup> yāmā 31 i ri sa ni ri	<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>5</sup> drāsankā 234 irā ri sa ni sanidhapa	
<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> satrāvājā 34 saririsanidha	<sup>3</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>5</sup> auhovā nidhapa	<sup>1</sup> nājāi risari	<sup>1</sup> nā2jigyū 234 risaririsanidha
<sup>r</sup> ṣā i dha	<sup>5</sup> uhuvā6hāu pamapapa	<sup>5</sup> vā pa	<sup>1</sup> has riri

The basic Sv. text is Sāmavedasamhitā II. 2. 1. 12. 1 and 2 [ Sātavalekar pp. 88-89; Benfey p. 73 ].

<sup>1</sup> Tvāmidhhi	<sup>2</sup> havāmahe	<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> sātau	<sup>2</sup> vājasya	<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> kāraṇaḥ	
<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> tvām vṛtṛeṣvindra	<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> satpatim	<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> narastvām	<sup>2</sup> <sup>4</sup> kāsthāśvarvataḥ	<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> 1	
<sup>1</sup> sa	<sup>2</sup> tvām	<sup>2</sup> naścitra	<sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> vajrahasta	<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> dhr̥ṣṇuyā	<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> mahastavāno
<sup>1</sup> gāmsvām	<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> rathyamindra	<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> sām	<sup>2</sup> kira	<sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> sātrā	<sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> vājam
				<sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> na	<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> jigyuse
					2

The ṛṣi etc. are the same as those given for the following Rv. text.

The corresponding Rv., passage is RgVeda saṁhitā VI. 46. 1 and 2 :—

[ (ṛṣi): *Śaṁyu Bārhaspatya* ; (Metre) Pragātha; (Deity) Indra]  
Tvāmīddhī hāyāmahe sātā vājasya kāṛavaḥ |

tvām vṛtrēsvindra sātpatim nārastvām, kāṣṭhāsvārvataḥ | 1 |  
sā tvām nāscitra vajraḥasta dhr̥ṣṇuyā mahāḥ stavānō adrivah |  
gāmāsvam rathyāmindra sām kira satrā vājam nā jigyūṣe ||2||

Translation : (1) Since *thee* we poets invoke for the winning of wealth, (since) *thee*, the mighty Lord, O Indra, men (invoke) in battles, *thee*, in the race-courses of the steed ; (2) as such (therefore), O thou Resplendent one, whose hand holds the bolt, scatter on us boldly, kine and chariot-steeds, booty, as it were, for the conquerer, praised for splendour (as thou art), O thou, armed with the thunderbolt.

# THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ŚABARA-BHĀṢYA TO RGVEDA EXEGESIS.\*

OR

THE TREATMENT BY ŚABARA OF THE RGVEDA PASSAGES  
CITED IN HIS BHĀṢYA.

By

D. V. GARGE.

*Group 2 : Passages cited for determining the nature of the  
Vedic Deities.*

JS IX.i. 6-10 forming what is known as the *Devatādhikaraṇa*, discuss an interesting topic viz. the nature of the Vedic Deities. We read in Vedic literature graphic descriptions of various Deities—their parentage, physique, their associates and various interesting anecdotes connected with them.

The problem raised here is whether the Deities have in reality, material bodies of flesh and blood; or the descriptions seen in the Vedic texts are mere allegories?

The *Pūrvapakṣin* states that the *motif* of the entire Vedic ritual is to please the Gods so that our happiness in this life as well as in the next might be ensured. These Gods or Deities who are the objects of our worship and adoration, accept with their material bodies, all that we offer them in sacrificial performances and they in return, extend their favour and protection towards us. The deities are, therefore, just like our guests whom we entertain with gift and service, the only difference being that a Deity is invisible to the mortal eye. That the Deities have got limbs like human beings is indicated beyond doubt, by the following Vedic passages. *Smṛti* texts and custom also corroborate this view regarding the form of the Deities.

RV X. 47. 1ab

जगृभ्मा ते दक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तं [ वसुपवो वसुपते वसूनाम् । ]

*Trans* :—Desirous of treasure, we have taken hold of the right hand, O Indra—Lord of treasures.

RV III. 30. 5cd

इमे चिदिन्द्र रोदसी अपारे यत्संगृभ्णा मघवन् काशिरत्ने ।

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\* Continued from *BDCRI* 3, 546.

*Trans* :—When thou, O Indra, graspest even these two boundless worlds, they are but a handful of thee.

RV VIII. 17. 8.

तुवि॒धी॒र्वो॒ व॒पो॒द॒ग्ः॒ सु॒बा॒हु॒र॒न्ध॒सो॒ म॒दे॒ । इ॒न्द्रो॑ वृ॒त्रा॒णि जिघ्नते ॥

*Trans* :—Indra, strong in his neck, fat-bellied and stout-armed, intoxicated with juice, smites down the *vṛtras* (demons).

These passages speak of various limbs of the material body of the Deity, Indra.

Again, RV X. 116. 7.

[ इ॒दं ह॒वि॒र्म॒घ॒व॒न्तु॒भ्यं॒ रा॒तं प्र॒ति॒ स॒म्रा॒ज॒ह॒णानो॑ गृ॒भाय॑ ।

तु॒भ्यं सु॒तो म॒घ॒व॒न्तु॒भ्यं प॒षवो॑ ३ ] इ॒न्द्र पि॒ब च॒ प्र॒स्थि॒तस्य॑ ॥

*Trans* :—Accept the oblation presented to thee, O Sovran Ruler, free from anger. The juice is pressed for thee O Bountiful One, and (the oblation) cooked, Eat it Indra and drink of that which is made ready.

RV I. 95.10<sup>c</sup>

वि॒श्व॒ा स॒नानि॑ ज॒टेर॑षु ध॒त्ते ।

*Trans* :—He puts into his maw all kinds of food.

RV VIII. 77. 4.

ए॒क॒या प्र॒ति॒धा॒पि॒य॒त्सा॒कं स॒रांसि॑ त्रि॒शत॑म् । इ॒न्द्रः सोम॑स्य का॒णु॒का ॥

*Trans* :—By a single effort, Indra desirous of *soma*, drank thirty vessels (filled with *soma*).

These passages indicate that a Deity eats and drinks as human beings do.

Further, RV X. 89. 10.

इ॒न्द्रो॑ दि॒व इ॒न्द्र इ॒शो पृ॒थि॒व्या इ॒न्द्रो॑ अ॒पामि॒न्द्र इत्य॑व॒र्ताना॑म् ।

इ॒न्द्रो॑ वृ॒धामि॒न्द्र इ॒न्मे॒धि॒राणा॑मि॒न्द्रः क्षे॒मे यो॒गे ह॒व्य इ॒न्द्रः ॥

*Trans* :—Indra lords over Heaven and Earth, Indra lords over water and also mountains. Indra the Master of the prosperous and the wise ; Indra must be invoked while resting and exerting.

RV VII. 32. 22<sup>ed</sup>

ई॒शान॑म॒स्य ज॑ग॒तः स्व॒र्दृ॒शमी॑शानमि॒न्द्र त॒स्यु॒षः ॥

*Trans* :— We praise thee, O Indra, Lord of this moving world, looker on heavenly light and Lord of what does not move.

These passages indicate that the Deity lords over land and wealth. This is impossible without corporeal body.

Similarly, RV II. 26. 3,

स इज्जनेन स विशा स जन्मना स पुत्रैर्वाजं भरते धना नृभिः ।

देवानां यः पितरमाविवांसति श्रद्धामना हविषा ब्रह्मणस्पतिम् ॥

*Trans* :— He with his people, his clan, his family, and his sons, gains food for himself, and wealth with the heroes ; — ( he ) who with a true believing heart serves with oblation Brahmanaspati, the Father of the Gods.

This passage indicates that the Deity when pleased grants booty and splendour. This too speaks of the corporeal nature of the Deities.

Śabara dismisses the view as follows :

The *Pūrvapakṣin* is labouring throughout under wrong impression. The idea that the Deity is the prompter of every sacrificial performance is not correct. It is, as a matter of fact, the transcendental merit ( *apūrva* ) arising out of the sacrificial performances, that should be regarded as the principal factor in bringing about the desired fruit. It is the fruit that is desired by the man ; all his activities are with a view to achieve his own purpose and not that of the Deity. The Deity which is spoken of in connection with a sacrifice is only a subordinate factor<sup>1</sup> and presents itself only as a receptacle of the offerings. It is clear from this that it is the objective of the sacrifice i. e. *apūrva* ( for the time being ) that induces a man to go in the sacrificial performances.

Coming to the form of the Deities, it must be remarked that the *Pūrvapakṣin* bases all his ideas about the form of the Deities on a superficial study of the texts. The *Smṛti* passages and customs that speak of the bodied nature of the Deities have their origin in the misinterpretation of those Vedic passages. Careful study of those passages will clear off those notions. It is nowhere declared in terms clear and distinct, that the Deities are possessed of physical forms. The indicative texts, adduced by the *Pūrvapakṣin*, do not prove beyond doubt his thesis. They present no difficulty of interpretation, even without assuming physical forms of the Deities. Thus, RV X. 47-1 does not mean that Indra has a right hand ; what it means is that " we have taken hold of what is Indra's right hand. " This does not necessarily imply that Indra has a hand ; it is simply a glorification of Indra's sovereignty. Even if it be granted

<sup>1</sup> Vide JS VIII. i. 32-4.



that Indra has a hand yet the grasping of it is not a perceptible fact and hence to that extent the statement must be taken (even by the *Pūrvapakṣin*) as a mere eulogistic description, in order to save it from absurdity. The verse, therefore, simply indicates the presence of the Deity Indra; the sense of the eulogy being as follows: "The Deity, Indra is such an efficient instrument of accomplishing the desired result that it accomplishes on being invoked, in the same manner as being endowed with intelligence, body limbs etc." Indra is thus invoked and told, "We have taken hold of your right hand" — which only means, "*We depend on you*"; and the purpose served by the *mantra* is only to remind us that we should proceed to perform the rite in honour of this particular Deity-Indra. Similarly, RV X. 18. 1<sup>c</sup>, चक्षुष्मते शृण्वते ते ब्रवीमि ("I invoke thee possessed of eyes") does not indicate the presence of eyes of Indra but is a mere glorification of him. It should be noted here that eulogy is possible even by superimposing attributes that do not really exist. Vedic literature abounds in eulogies of this kind. For instance, in the verse RV X. 94 2.

एते वेदन्ति शतवत्सहस्रवदमि क्रन्दन्ति हरितेमिरासामिः।

विष्ठी पावोणः सुरुतः सुरुत्यया होतुश्चित्पूर्वे हविरदमाशत ॥

*Trans* :—These (*soma*-pressing stones) speak like hundreds and thousands; they roar with their green-tinted mouths. The meritorious stones due to their merits, ate up from the sacrificial oblation that was meant for eating, even before the Hotṛ-priest did.

RV X. 75. 9<sup>a</sup>

सुखं रथं युयुजे सिन्धुरश्विनम् ।

*Trans* :—Sindhu yoked a comfortable horse-chariot.

In the first verse the power of speech is attributed to stones; and in the second the river Sindhu is spoken of as a sentient being yoking her own chariot to rush forth.

The passages adduced by the *Pūrvapakṣin*, therefore, do not prove the existence of any physical body of the Deities; consequently the mention of various limbs of the Deities should be taken in a metaphorical sense.

Sabara in another place<sup>2</sup> records in all, three views regarding the conception of a Deity prevalent in his time;

<sup>2</sup> Under JS X. iv. 23.

(i) A Deity is a being who is described in *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* as living in heaven, for example Agni, Indra, etc. This view has been rejected as it excludes terrestrial Deities such as 'Śārdūla' ( Tiger ) as well as those that preside over ( Divisions of ) Time, such as 'Māsa' ( Month ) and 'Samvatsara' ( Year ), which are spoken of in orthodox literature.

(ii) The term 'Deity' denotes just those to whom the name has been applied in Vedic texts ; e. g. Agni, Vāta, Sūrya (VS 14. 20) This definition excludes the non-Vedic Deities and even some of the Vedic ones.

(iii) A Deity, therefore, is that to whom either a hymn<sup>3</sup> or an oblation is dedicated as prescribed in the scriptures, may it be sentient or non-sentient, corporeal or incorporeal.

NOTES:—It is clear from the above controversy that the Mīmāṃsakas do not regard the Deities as objects of worship nor believe that they exist anywhere except in the words of the Vedic texts. They are only eternal concepts, since they are described by the eternal, self-evident Vedas. It is interesting to note that while the Rgveda hymns are inspired by the living faith in the Deity which was an object of worship, the Mīmāṃsaka wonders how the deity can be simultaneously present in different places where She is invoked.<sup>4</sup> Pārthasārathi and Khaṇḍadeva, however, cannot bring themselves round this view propounded by older Mīmāṃsakas. Pārthasārathi says<sup>5</sup> that the Gods serve in the sacrifices even after assuming that they possess physical form. Khaṇḍadeva observes : ' My speech gets soiled by uttering the above view (about Gods) ; and hence I take recourse to the remembrance of Lord Hari. '<sup>6</sup>

This leads us to the question as to what may be the reason of making all these attempts to deny the existence of the bodies of the Gods ?

There is a doctrine of the Mīmāṃsakas that the letters of the *mantras* are unalterable. If a single syllable is omitted or transposed or if in the place of a particular word any synonym of it is used, the *mantra* will be defective and will not produce the desired effect. Hence it is necessary that a *mantra* should be correctly pronounced. The sacrificer and the priests are not required to see that the Gods are present at the time of the performance, but they

<sup>3</sup> E. g. RV I. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Prakaraṇapañcikā*, 185 ( Chowkhambā ed.)

<sup>5</sup> *Śāstradīpikā*, 580 ( Nirṇayasāgar ed. )

<sup>6</sup> *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*, 3-53 ( Mysore ed. )

should only take care that they commit no mistake in uttering the *mantras*. They have nothing to do with the Gods as actual persons but they have only to deal with their names. Hence arises the belief that the Gods exist in names, and the Mīmāṃsakas have arrived at the conclusion that the Gods are identical with their names. It will be noticed that the Vedic conception of God had no active place in the Mīmāṃsā scheme and as a natural consequence it gradually faded away. In its zeal for the Veda, the Mīmāṃsā manages to preserve the Book only to miss the spirit including a living faith in God.<sup>7</sup> The Deities being so materialised, the Mīmāṃsaka freely allowed the tendency of deifying animals and such other objects in nature.

An old version of the present discussion regarding the conception of a Vedic Deity, is found in *Nirukta* VII, 6-7 wherein Yāska gives in all four views, and Śabara concurs with the last and the established one viz. 'though really unanthropomorphic, the Deities assume anthropomorphic appearance for receiving sacrificial gifts.'

Besides the two classes of Deities viz. *Sūktabhāk* and *Havirbhāk*, Yāska gives two more : *Rgbhāk* ( to whom a verse or verses are addressed ) and *Nipātabhāk* ( who are incidentally mentioned ).

Of the ten Ṛgveda verses cited by Śabara, five viz. RV III. 30.5 ; X. 116.7 ; X.95.10 ; X.94.2 and X.75.9 are reproduced from *Nirukta* VII. 6-7.

*Group 3 :— Passages that are shown to be the sources of rules in non-Vedic works like Smṛtis.*

JS I. iii. 1-2.

*Context and the contents of the Sūtras :—*

A number of commands like the following, are laid down in various *Smṛti*-works :— ( a ) ' Drinking booths should be set up ', ( b ) ' One should keep a tuft of hair on the head '.

The question whether these commands are as much authoritative as Vedic texts themselves, in the matter of *dharma*, is discussed by Jaimini in I. iii. 1-2.

Apparently it would seem that the rules and regulations laid down in *Smṛti*-texts ( like the two quoted above ) cannot have the same authority as the ' Śruti ' ( i. e. the Vedas ) has. The former

treatises are attributed to persons in flesh and blood and hence can be fallible, as against the latter which are eternal, impersonal and hence infallible. Consequently, all *Smṛti*-rules should be disregarded on the ground of their being human deliberations with no authority on matters religious.

This view is refuted in the second *Sūtra* :— "The non-Veda texts ( like the *smṛtis* ) are trustworthy, as there would be inference ( i. e. assumption of the basis in the Veda ) from the fact of the agent being the same. "

The non-Vedic texts like *smṛtis*, too, are authoritative because it is well known that the authors of these works were very scrupulous and staunch followers of the Veda. They would not have tolerated even the slightest deviation from what is stated in the sacred texts, much less they themselves would lay down any course of action, not authorised by those texts. The only thing that those *smṛti*-writers did, was that they restated in their own words and in a well arranged manner, the same rules and dictates of the Veda. It is therefore, no unwarranted assumption to hold that every statement of theirs, has some basis in the Veda i. e. the 'revealed texts.'

Coming to the *smṛti*-passages cited above, it can be said that ' setting up a drinking booth ' is a philanthropic action referred to in the R̥gveda verse X.41<sup>cd</sup> . :

धन्वन्निव प्र॒पा अ॒सि [ त्वम॑ग्न इ॒यक्ष॑वे ' पू॒र्वे ' प्र॒न राज॑न् । ]

*Trans* :—You are like a fountain in the desert, O Agni, to a man who worships you, O Ancient King.

Again, the custom of ' keeping a tuft of hair ' which serves the purpose of indicating the *gotra* of a person, is alluded to in the R̥gveda verse VI. 75.17.

यत्र॑ बा॒णाः संप॑तन्ति कु॒मारा वि॒शिखा॑ इव ।

[ तत्रा॑ नो ब्र॒ह्मण॑स्पतिरि॒दिनिः शर्म॑ यच्छतु वि॒श्वाहा॑ शर्म॑ यच्छतु ॥ ]

*Trans* :— Where the ( flights of ) arrows fall like boys with their locks dishevelled, there may Brahmanaspati and Aditi grant us protection for all days.

These examples sufficiently illustrate the fact that every rule laid down in orthodox *smṛtis* has for its basis some or the other Veda-texts ( may it be extant or otherwise ). It is in this way, that the trustworthy character of *smṛti*-treatises is established by the Mimāṃsakas.

NOTES :— The above discussion, it will be seen, is important, as it explains the Vedic basis of Hindu customs, secular law, duties of castes and states in life etc. etc.. From the most ancient times the Vedas have been looked upon as a source of *dharma*.<sup>8</sup> However, they do not lay down positive precepts on those various topics, they contain only incidental references to these matters. Such references which are found scattered in the entire Vedic literature<sup>9</sup> are all relegated to the *arthavāda* section by the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā System. Yet these *arthavādas* form a syntactical unity with the positive injunctions ( *vidhis* ) in the Veda<sup>10</sup> and hence are equally authoritative. They indicate with sufficient clearness the state of things in that ancient society and it is no wonder that the authors of the orthodox *smṛtis* who had sufficient knowledge of that state, laid down their precepts in strict conformity with the Veda-indications. It is due to this basis of the *smṛtis* that they are held in such a high esteem by Jaimini who is very critical in examining the validity of human statements.

Group 4 :— Passages cited to illustrate the Mīmāṃsā stand-point with regard to Vedic ritual.

(A) The subject matter of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā System is *dharma* ( i. e. duty ) ; and the Veda is the only means of obtaining valid information on that subject. In order to establish the validity of the Vedic texts, the eternality of ' word ' and what is denoted by it, has to be proved. Jaimini, therefore, discusses the pros and cons of the problem in greater detail and finally asserts that his view is authorized by the Veda itself. Śābara quotes the relevant text which reads as follows :

RV VIII. 75. 6.

[ तस्मै नूनमभिद्यवे ] वाचा विरूप नित्यया । [ वृष्णे चोदस्व सुश्रुतिम् ॥ ]

*Trans* :— Now, O Virūpa, rouse for him, the mighty God, who is ( kindled ) at dawn, a fair praise with speech that is eternal.<sup>11</sup>

Regarding the general nature of *dharma* prescribed by these eternal ' revealed text, ' Śābara remarks that sacrificial performance is its essential feature, as is declared in the Veda itself.

<sup>8</sup> Vide *Gautama-Dharma-Sūtra*, 1.1.2; and *Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra* 1.1.1.2.

<sup>9</sup> Vide RV I.124.7; II.17.7; IV.5.5. TS. 2.5.2.7; 3.1.9.4; ŚB 1.8.3.6.

<sup>10</sup> JS I. ii. 8.

<sup>11</sup> It is hardly possible that the eternality of speech i. e. a word — a theory very late in origin, was ever meant in the R̥gveda, ' *Nityayā vācā* ' can be rendered into English as 'with ceaseless voice.'

RV X. 90. 16<sup>ab</sup>.

यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवास्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन्

*Trans* :— By sacrifice did the deities offer sacrifice ; and these were the earliest *dharma*s.

Consequently, works on Mīmāṃsā are found to be replete with Vedic texts discussed or referred to, in order to determine the most correct sacrificial procedure.

(B) The Veda is defined as 'the collection of *mantras* and *brāhmaṇas*,<sup>12</sup> Of *mantras* no scientific definition is possible ; hence more logical writers on Mīmāṃsā have contended themselves with explaining *mantra* as a name including all those passages to which the learned apply that name.

Jaimini defines *mantra* as 'the texts that are expressive of mere assertion of things that are connected with prescribed acts ; ' the rest of the Veda is known as *brāhmaṇa*. This definition is only illustrative as there are certain texts which are not expressive of any assertion and are yet called ' *mantra* ', e. g. VS 24-20.

*Mantras* are classed under three heads—<sup>13</sup> (1) a *Rk* (2) a *Sāman* and (3) a *Yajus*. A *Rk* is defined in JS II. i. 35. as a *mantra* divided into 'feet', that is, into certain well-defined parts, on the basis of meaning. As an instance, Sabara quotes RV I. i. 1.

अग्निमीळे [ पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् । होतारं रत्नधातमम् ॥ ]

*Trans* :—I praise Agni, the Priest-God, the *Rtvij* of the sacrifice, the *Hotṛ*-(priest), the best treasure of wealth.

The phrase 'on the basis of meaning' in JS II. i. 35, should not be taken in its strict literal sense ; that is to say, the name *mantra* does not cease to apply to those *Rks* in which the metrical foot does not make a complete sense ; for example, RV I. i. 2.

अग्निः पूर्वमिर्भविमि - [ रीङ्यो नूतनेरेत । स देवो एह वक्षति ॥ ]

*Trans* :—Agni, by ancient seers and by new, is worthy to be praised. He shall bring hitherward the Gods.

The name '*Sāman*' is applied to the music to which certain *mantras* are set<sup>14</sup>. The term *Yajus* is applied to all those *mantras* that are neither arranged in metrical feet, nor set to music<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> *Āpastamba-Paribhāṣā-Sūtra*, I. i. 33.

<sup>13</sup> TB. 1.2.1.26.

<sup>14</sup> JS II. i. 36 and VII. i. 1-21.

<sup>15</sup> JS II. i. 37.

Besides this main threefold classification of *mantras*, there is also another classification based upon the difference in character of signification, of accentuation and so forth. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa in his *Mīmāṃsābālāprakāśa* describes and exemplifies in detail all the 323 kinds into which *mantras* are divided. The Vṛttikāra in his *Vṛtti* mentioned in the Śābara-Bhāṣya, has exemplified fourteen kinds : (1) *Mantras* ending in 'asi', (2) those ending in 'tvā', (3) expressive of eulogy, e. g. RV VIII. 44. 16, (4) questioning ( e. g. RV I. 164. 34 ), (5) description ( e. g. RV. I. 164. 35 ) etc. etc. This classification is by no means exhaustive, e. g. the *mantra* RV I. 24. 11<sup>a</sup> has the word 'tvā' in the middle instead of in the end as said above.

As regards the *brāhmaṇa* portion, the Vṛttikāra, quoted by Śābara, exemplifies twelve divisions based on some characteristic marks : (1) Frequent use of the word 'iti', (2) containing the expression 'so he says', (3) narrative, (4) ratiocinative, (5) expressive of derivation, (6) deprecatory, (7) eulogistic, (8) indicative of doubt, (9) injunctive, (10) descriptive of other's action, (11) descriptive of ancient custom, and (12) indicative of emphasis.

This classification of *brāhmaṇa* passages is not scientific ; it is only illustrative. The above-mentioned characteristics are shared by *mantras* also. Śābara points out ten such cases ; RV X. 119. 1<sup>a</sup> ; VII. 41. 2<sup>d</sup> ; I. 116. 3<sup>a</sup>,<sup>16</sup> I. 2. 4<sup>c</sup> ; X. 117. 6<sup>a</sup> ; VIII. 44. 16<sup>d</sup> ; X. 129. 5<sup>b</sup> ; X. 117. 5<sup>a</sup> ; VIII. 21. 18<sup>d</sup> ; and X. 90. 16<sup>a</sup> are exceptions to characteristics Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 respectively.

(C) JS II. i. 30.

It has been proved in JS II. i. 1-3 that in Vedic sentences the verb enjoins an act in view of some reward for the agent. This naturally leads to the question whether every Vedic verb, may it be in the *mantra* section or in the *brāhmaṇa* section, has got the same injunctive force.

Jaimini here declares that a verb in a *mantra*, expresses merely an assertion ( '*abhidhāna*' ), not injunction ( '*vidhāna*' ), because it is only while the sacrifice is being performed that the *mantra* comes to be recited. A *mantra*, as the very name shows, is meant for chanting at the performance of some rite, thereby speaking of or describing the action to be done. The definite injunction of the rite, however, occurs in the corresponding portion of the *brāhmaṇa* text.

<sup>16</sup> All printed editions of the Śābara Bhāṣya read 'ugro' instead of original ' *tu*gro' in the Ṛgveda. It is not traced in any of the Vedic texts.

Sabara, illustrates the conclusion, with a verse from the RV.  
RV 6. 28. 3.

न ता न॑शन्ति न द॑भाति तस्करो॑ नासा॑मिमि॒त्रो व्यथि॑रा द॑ध॒रति ।

दे॒वाँश्च॒ याभि॑र्यज॒ते द॑दाति च॒ ज्यो॒गित्ताभिः॑ स॒चते गो॑पतिः स॒ह ॥

*Trans.* :—These (i. e. kine) are never destroyed, no robber can harm them; no foe ever injures them. Their master lives long with the cows with which he conducts his sacrifice and serves the Gods.

The verbs 'yajate' and 'dadāti' express the acts of 'serving with a cow,' and 'giving a cow as a gift', which are directly enjoined in TB 2. 8. 8. 11 and TB 1. 1. 6. 11 respectively<sup>17</sup>. The *mantra*, therefore, when recited in connection with those rites simply reiterates what has been enjoined elsewhere.

NOTES :—The whole hymn RV VI.28 is in praise of kine. TB 2. 8. 11-12 gives all the verses, including the present one, in a section which gives the 'yājyās' and 'anuvākyās' ( the Offering-and Invitational verses ) for *kāmya paśus* like a 'Vehat' ( a cow that has miscarried or is barren ). TB 2. 8. 8. 11 quotes this verse only in a *pratika* while TB.2. 4. 6. 9 gives it in full, where *pāda* 'b' reads differently.

Kumārila in his *Tantravārtika*, points out that the rule declared by the Bhāṣyakāra regarding the injunctive force of verbs is not invariable or absolute; for instance, verbs in the *mantra* VS 24.20 are found to be injunctive; while those in the *brāhmaṇa*-passage TB 3. 7. 17 are mere assertions of what has been already enjoined elsewhere. According to Kumārila what the JS II. i. 32 states is that there are not only two functions of a Vedic verb as said in JS II. i. 6 viz. enjoining a primary act and a subordinate act, but there is yet another function of a verb, that of simple assertion ( '*abhidhāna*' ) which function takes place when the injunctive function is precluded by the presence of another injunctive word.

(D) JS III. V. 37.

*Context and contents of the Sūtras :*

In a Soma sacrifice the priests drink the soma-juice remaining in various cups after it has been offered to various deities. SB 4. 2. 1. 29 declares that the residue should be drunk by the priests.

Here the question arises as to who should first drink from the residue. The *prima facie* view is that it is the Adhvaryu who holds the soma-cup in his hand and hence it is reasonable that he should drink first.<sup>18</sup> The *Siddhāntin* argues that it is against Vedic indica-

<sup>17</sup> Cf. ĀpŚ. 5.20.13.

<sup>18</sup> On the ground of the maxim प्रथमत्यागे मानाभावः



tion. RV X. 94. 2. and V. 43. 3 allude to the custom that the Hotr is the first man to drink the *soma*-juice.

RV X. 94. 2.

[ एते वदन्ति शतवत्सहस्रवदमि क्रन्दन्ति हरितीमिरासामिः ।

विष्टी यावाणः सुकृतः सुकृत्या ] होतुश्चित्यूर्वे हविरयमाशत ॥

*Trans*:—These (pressing stones) with their green-tinted mouths roar like hundreds and thousands. The meritorious stones, due to their merits, ate up from the sacrificial oblations, that was meant for eating, even before the Hotr-priest did.

RV V. 43. 3.

[ अध्वर्यवश्चरुवांसो मधूनि प्र वायवे भरत चारं शुक्रम् । ]

होतेव नः प्रथमः पोस्य [ देव मध्वो ररिमा ते मदाय ॥ ]

*Trans*:—Adhvaryus, having made the sweet (*soma*-) juice ready, bring the beautiful and bright juice to Vāyu. O God, as our Hotr-priest, be you first to drink it; we offer you of the mead for your joy.

NOTES :—The Mīmāṃsakas claim to be the strictest adherents of the ancient Vedic culture which was pre-eminently a sacrificial cult. They were therefore, most scrupulous even in the most minor details of religious performance and did not tolerate even the slightest deviation from the directions of the Veda which is the only sacred source of information regarding *dharma*. In the absence of these directions, they sought for their guidance, some allusions if any, on that point embodied in the Veda itself. It was only when neither of them could be found, that they allowed human reasoning (*laukika nyāya*) to creep in. This explains why the Sūtra 'लिङ्गाच्च' which refers to Veda indications occurs every now and then in Jaimini's work.<sup>19</sup>

### CONCLUSION

The following facts may be pointed out in connection with Śabara's method of dealing with R̥gveda verses :

(1) Śabara highly speaks of the immense help<sup>20</sup> rendered by the Science of Etymology and Grammar in interpreting R̥gveda verses.

<sup>19</sup> Vide *supra* Group III for the Vedic basis of customs and practices,

<sup>20</sup> Vide under J S I. ii. 41 and I. iii. 10.

(2) Śabara seems to have been very much influenced by the canons of Etymology laid down by Yāska in his *Nirukta*.<sup>21</sup> Moreover he reproduces a number of etymological explanations of words<sup>22</sup> given by Yāska.

(3) Śabara is inclined to interpret Ṛgveda verses as well as words, in a sense suited to the ritualistic purposes. He looks upon the Ṛgvedic Gods as mere recipients of oblations and not as representing some physical phenomena as Yaska holds.

(4) Besides their use at the sacrificial procedure, Śabara (and all Mimāṃsakas for the matter of that) looks upon Ṛgveda verses as containing the most authoritative record of customs and laws, religious as well as secular.

### Appendix

Index of Passages from the Ṛgveda quoted, discussed or referred to by Śabara, in his Bhāṣya on the Jaimini Sūtras :

( An asterisk indicates that the passage occurs in other Vedic works as well. )

		GROUP I	
RV		JS	
I. 89-10 <sup>a</sup>	...	I. ii. 31	( from the <i>Nirukta</i> )
I. 110-4 <sup>c</sup>	...	VI. i. 50	
I. 169-3 <sup>a</sup>	...	I. ii. 31	( from the <i>Nirukta</i> )
III. 53-14 <sup>a</sup>	...	I. ii. 31	
*IV. 58-3 <sup>a</sup>	...	I. ii. 31	
VI. 47-15	...	X. iii. 15	
VI. 61-3 <sup>ab</sup>	...	X. i. 32	
*VI. 16-34 <sup>a</sup>	...	I. iii. 30	
*VIII. 44-16 <sup>a</sup>	...	I. ii. 31	
VIII. 75-5 ( cf. )	...	VI. i. 44	
VIII. 77-4 <sup>c</sup>	...	I. ii. 31	( from the <i>Nirukta</i> )
X. 54-3	...	X. iii. 15	
X. 106-6 <sup>a</sup>	...	I. ii. 31, 41	( from the <i>Nirukta</i> )
*X. 121-1	...	X. iii. 13	
		GROUP II	
RV		JS	
* I. 94-1	...	X. iv. 23	
I. 95-10 <sup>c</sup>	...	IX. i. 6	( from the <i>Nirukta</i> )

<sup>21</sup> See the etymologies of words like 'br̥saya' ( J S X. i. 32 ), 'urūka' ( J S IX. iv. 22. )

<sup>22</sup> E. g. 'ācārya' ( J S I. iii. 13 ), 'dukṣiṇā' ( J S X. iii. 45, 47 ), 'adhvaryu' ( J S X. iii. 63. )

* II. 26-3	...	IX. i. 8	
III. 30-5 <sup>cd</sup>	...	IX. 1-6, 9	( from the <i>Nirukta</i> )
*VII. 32-22 <sup>cd</sup>	...	IX. i. 7	
*VIII. 17-8	...	IX. i. 6, 9	
VIII. 77-4	...	IX. i. 6	
*X. 18-1 <sup>c</sup>	...	IX. i. 9	
*X. 47-1 <sup>a</sup>	...	IX. i. 6, 9	
X. 75-9 <sup>a</sup>	...	IX. i. 9	( from the <i>Nirukta</i> )
X. 89-10	...	IX. i. 7, 9	
X. 94-2	...	IX. i. 9	( from the <i>Nirukta</i> )
X. 116-7	...	IX. i. 6	( from the <i>Nirukta</i> )

## GROUP III

RV		JS	
*VI. 75-1 <sup>ab</sup>	...	I. iii. 2	
*X. iv. 1 <sup>c</sup>	...	I. iii. 2	

## GROUP IV

RV		JS	
*I. i. 1 <sup>a</sup>	...	II. i. 35	
I. 1-2 <sup>a</sup>	...	II. i. 35	
*I. 2-4 <sup>c</sup>	...	II. i. 33	
*I. 24-11 <sup>a</sup>	...	II. i. 32	
I. 116-3 <sup>a</sup>	...	II. i. 33	
*I. 164-34 <sup>ac</sup>	...	II. i. 32	
*I. 164-35 <sup>a</sup>	...	II. i. 32	
V. 43-3 <sup>c</sup>	...	III. v. 37	
VI. 28-3	...	II. i. 30	
*VII. 41-2 <sup>d</sup>	...	II. i. 33	
VIII. 21-18 <sup>d</sup>	...	II. i. 33	
*VIII. 44-16 <sup>a</sup>	...	II. i. 32, 33	
*VIII. 75-6 <sup>b</sup>	...	I. ii. 23	
*X. 90-16 <sup>ab</sup>	...	I. ii. 2 and II. i. 33	
X. 94-2 <sup>d</sup>	...	III. v. 37	
X. 117-5 <sup>a</sup>	...	II. i. 33	
*X. 117-6 <sup>a</sup>	...	II. i. 33	
X. 119-1 <sup>a</sup>	...	II. i. 33	
*X. 129-5 <sup>b</sup>	...	II. i. 33	

## List of Abbreviations.

- JS — Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini.  
RV — R̥gveda.  
TS — Taittirīya Saṃhitā.  
TB — Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.  
VS — Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā.  
SB — Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.  
ĀpS — Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra.

## DID ŚĀBARA BELONG TO THE MAITRĀYAṆĪYA SCHOOL OF THE YAJURVEDA ? \*

By

D. V. GARGE

§ 1. In his exposition of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Sūtras, Śābara cites for discussion or illustration, nearly 2000 ( two thousand ) passages culled from the entire mass of Vedic texts belonging to various śākhās or 'schools'. The sources of nearly 1000 of these citations were easily identifiable. The writer's long and assiduous attempt to trace the remaining passages to their exact sources has succeeded to the extent of 400 passages. Nevertheless there remain over 200 citations that have so far defied all such attempts and hence can be reasonably supposed to have been quoted *from some Vedic texts lost to us*. The rest are repetitions.

§ 2. My investigations have further revealed that Śābara has taken over some *adhikaraṇas* bodily from earlier works like the Nirukta<sup>1</sup> and has even *copied* some quotations occurring in the *Ṭṛtī*<sup>2</sup>, the earliest known commentary on the Jaimini-Sūtras, the existence of which is to be inferred only from these very quotations and other references to it by Śābara, although he himself could have selected other passages for his discussions. It is therefore difficult to judge at this stage whether an individual illustration is Śābara's own or borrowed from the *Ṭṛtī* or such other older works by his predecessors as the latter are not available to us.

§ 3. Leaving aside these difficulties, that await solution, out of question for the present, we shall limit our inquiry to those passages that have been traced to *known* sources. Passages from the two Saṃhitās—the RV and the SV and their Brāhmaṇas and Kalpasūtras are few in number and on examination are found to be of no significance, so far as the present problem is considered. Passages from the Yajurveda Saṃhitās and their related texts,

\* I am deeply indebted to Professor Dr. V. M. APTE for his valuable suggestions in connection with this article.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Śābara on JS I. i. 5; I. ii. 31, 41; VI. iii. 24; IX. i. 6, 9; X. iv. 34; X. viii. 35.

<sup>2</sup> See Śābara on JS II. i. 32, 33; II. iii. 16. The author of this *Ṭṛtī* was probably Upavarṇa.

however, are found in the Bhāṣya in overwhelming numbers. The obvious reason for this preference is that discussions regarding sacrificial ritual which is the predominant theme of the Yajurveda form the very subject-matter of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. Of the Yajurveda, only six Saṃhitās have come down to us: (i) The Taittirīya Saṃhitā (TS), (ii) The Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (MS), (iii) The Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā (KS), (iv) The Kapiṣṭhala (-Kāṭha) Saṃhitā (KapS.), (v) The Vājasaneyi Mādhyamdina Saṃhitā (VS) and (vi) The Vājasaneyi Kāṇva Saṃhitā (VSK). The first four belong to the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda and the remaining two to the Śukla Yajurveda. Of these six, again, the TS, the MS, and the VS have each their own individual style and arrangement of topics. The KS and the KapS closely agree with the MS; while the VSK is nothing but the VS, except for a few alterations in words here and there. Now, the Yajurveda citations in the Bhāṣya are chiefly from the texts of the Taittirīya School<sup>3</sup> as that Śākhā possesses the most exhaustive and commonly quoted texts on Vedic ritual. Next in order, come those from the texts of the Maitrāyaṇīya School. The number of quotations from the remaining Yajurveda texts is negligible, being about thirty-five in all.<sup>4</sup> As regards borrowings from the Maitrāyaṇīya texts which number nearly 60, fifty-three passages are taken almost *verbatim* from the Maitrāyaṇīya texts and are not found elsewhere, while seven are traced to the texts of the other schools also. Of these fifty-three passages again *twenty passages* deserve our special consideration because it is in these that we detect Śābara's *peculiar leanings towards the Maitrāyaṇīya School*. In all these twenty citations, Śābara prefers the Maitrāyaṇīya readings to those in the texts of other Yajurveda Schools. The evidence of context and the results of a comparison of the Maitrāyaṇīya readings with the readings in the texts of other śākhās in each particular case make it almost certain that the partiality for the Maitrāyaṇīya recension is not merely accidental.

§ 4. The following typical instances illustrate this partiality. Under JS IV. iii. 1., it is established that a Śruti-statement of the rewards following from the acts of the nature of 'refinement' (*samskāra*), is to be treated as a commendatory passage (*artha-*

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<sup>3</sup> The Śābara-bhāṣya has nearly one thousand passages quoted from the various texts of the Taittirīya School.

<sup>4</sup> About ten from other Yajurveda Saṃhitās, and about twenty-five from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

*vāda*). As an example, Śābara cites the passage, केशश्मश्रु वपते, दतो धावते, नखानि निकृन्तते, स्नाति, मृता वा एषा त्वगमेध्यं . . . मेधमेवमुपैति evidently from some Yajurveda text. Now it is found in an absolutely identical form in MS 3. 6. 2. Other Yajurveda texts read the same passage differently. For example, we have केशश्मश्रु वपते, नखानि निकृन्तते, दतो धावते, अमृतं वा एतत्पुरुषस्यामेध्यं . . . मेधमुपैति स्नाति (KS 22. 13); केशश्मश्रु वपते, नखानि निकृन्तते, मृता वा एषा त्वगमेध्या . . . मेधमुपैति . . . स्नाति (TS 6. 1. 1. 2) and तत्केशश्मश्रु च वपते नखानि च निकृन्ततेऽस्ति वै पुरुषस्यामेध्यं . . . नोपतिष्ठन्ते (ŚB 3. 1. 2. 2).

It will be seen from among these four passages which could equally have served the purpose of illustrating the proposition of the present *adhikaraṇa*, Śābara chooses the one from the Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā rejecting all others—even the one from the TS, although that Saṁhitā has been copiously drawn upon by Śābara in his Bhāṣya as noted above.

§ 5. Similarly, under JS III. ii. 20 which deals with the problem as to whether the use of certain *yājyū* and *anuvākyā* *mantras* is peculiar only to the *Kāmyeṣṭis* or is common to all *aindrāgna* sacrifices, Śābara illustrates the point with the help of just those *mantras* of the *aindrāgna* *īṣṭis* which are prescribed in the MS (4. 11. 1). Further he explains the significance of the above *sūtra* in the light of the very ritual context which is seen in the MS<sup>5</sup>. Thus here also, Śābara quotes and has in mind only the Maitrāyaṇiya text or texts rather than their counterparts in the TS (1. 1. 13), and the KS (4. 15), which would have equally served his purpose. The remaining eighteen passages which betray the same tendency of the author, have been recorded in the table appended at the end.

§ 6. Again it is to be noted that of these twenty passages from the MS, sixteen are cited as the *viśayavākyas* of different *adhikaraṇas* for initiating *vital* propositions rather than for merely corroborating them.

§ 7. The way in which Śābara mentions the Maitrāyaṇiyas under JS II. iv. 31 is worth consideration. When he has to refer to a Vedic *Śākhā* which describes the procedure of a ritual without expressly laying down the principal injunction which is understood by implication (e. g. that regarding the *prayājas* in the

<sup>5</sup> Vide the last para of Śābara-bhāṣya on JS III. ii. 20.

present instance ) Śabara at once names the *Śākhā* if that Vedic *Śākhā* happens to be the Maitrāyaṇīya, but he simply uses the vague term '*yeṣām śākhinām*', if the *śākhā* meant by him is other than the Maitrāyaṇīya. This evidence is weighty when considered along with that furnished by the many passages pointed out above and in Appendix, which indicate Śabara's partiality for the Maitrāyaṇīya School.

§ 8. We now pass on to two passages which are almost of a decisive character in judging Śabara's own *Śākhā*.

(a) The Vedic passages discussed under JS IV. i. 7. are 'वैश्वदेवी सांग्रहिणीं निर्वपेद् ग्रामकामः' and 'आमनमस्यामनस्य देवा इति तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति' It is true that these two passages have no parallel in the MS, KS, KapS, or VS, but are found in TS 2.3. 9 only. Now in the course of a discussion regarding the *Sāṅgrahinī iṣṭi*, there arises an occasion to refer to the '*paridhi*' *mantras* that are recited in connection with it and which as Śabara says, are sandwiched between the above two passages. Naturally we expect that the TS-reading of the '*paridhi*' *mantras* should be preferred by Śabara in his citation of them, but curiously enough, Śabara quotes them in the *Maitrāyaṇī form*, though the injunctive passages ( between which the '*paridhi*' *mantras* are said to be sandwiched ) are totally wanting in the texts of that school, but are traced as seen above to the TS! The very fact that he goes out of his way to cite the MS-reading and rejects the TS-reading which had the first claim to be cited, shows that the Maitrāyaṇī version of the '*paridhi*' *mantras* was uppermost in his mind and it is not unreasonable to suppose from this that it was so because he had so learnt them in his own recension.

(b) Śabara quotes under JS III. iv. 10 (a) प्राचीं देवा अभजन्त, (b) दक्षिणां पितरः (c) प्रतीचीं मनुष्याः (d) उदीचीं मसुरा इति; (e) अपेरषां, उदीचीं रुद्रा इति. The same passage occurs in the TS except for the part '*udicim asurāḥ*' instead of which we meet with '*udicim rudrāḥ*' in the TS (6. 1. 1. 1.). The KS (22, 13) has a parallel only for the part which assigns the *devas* to the '*prāci*' ( as in the TS ) and says nothing about the other directions. The KapS has no parallel for the above passage. The ŚB (3. 1. 1. 6-7) which has a similar passage allots '*prāci*' to the *devas*, '*dakṣiṇā*' to the *pitr̥s*, '*prātici*' to the *sarpas* and '*udici*' to the *manuṣyas*. So far, the four possible sources discussed above say nothing about the *asuras* and their being assigned to the '*udici*' which is the gist of part (d) of the Bhāṣya-passage. Which was then the text which Śabara had in mind and which alone mentions the *asura*-category referred to, in that part

of the Bhāṣya-passage? As our previous arguments have led us to expect, it is the MS which Śabara is thinking of. The MS reads as follows: प्राचीनवंशं कुर्वन्ति विशो य इमां व्यकल्पयन्निमामेव देवेभ्योऽकल्पयन्निमां पितृभ्य इमामसुरेभ्य इमां मनुष्येभ्यः &c. &c. It is this passage alone which mentions the *asuras* as a category of beings who share the various quarters among themselves. Thus, although the Bhāṣya-passage as a whole is borrowed from the TS, the special modification of the TS passage found in (d) which introduces the novel category of the *asuras*, is due to the influence of the MS alone.

Another important point in connection with the same passage is the following: Śabara starts by quoting from the TS, but suddenly diverges in the part (d) where he mentions a *different* 'assignment of the quarters'. As noted above he prefers the MS version, but the way in which this preference is stated and his manner of referring to the views of the TS and the MS are *almost* decisive. The MS-version of part (d) in the TS is appended to the TS-version of the previous parts (a), (b) (c) and the composite passage thus formed is given the dignity of the source-passage, whereas the TS-version of (d) which automatically followed the parts (a), (b) and (c) which have been borrowed unchanged from the TS, is described as the view of 'others' (*apareṣām*) of whom he either does not approve or (shall we not say) who belonged to a Vedic *śākhā* other than his own. The displacement of the TS-reading by the Maitrāyaṇī reading serves no argumentative purpose so far as the Mimāṃsā topic under discussion is concerned and can be accounted for only on the reasonable assumption that Śabara was a follower of the Maitrāyaṇīya School.

### List of Abbreviations.

- JS — Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini.
- RV — R̥gveda Saṃhitā.
- SV — Sāmaveda Saṃhitā.
- TS — Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
- MS — Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.
- KS — Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā.
- KapS — Kapiṣṭhala-Kāṭha Saṃhitā.
- VS — Vājasaneyi Mādhyamdina Saṃhitā.
- VSK — Vājasaneyi Kāṇva Saṃhitā.
- TB — Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
- ŚB — Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
- ApŚ — Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra.
- MŚ — Mānava Śrauta-Sūtra.



## --Appendix--

A Comparative Table of citations in the Śābara-bhāṣya, with their possible sources in the various Yajurveda Samhitās, betraying the author's decisive preference for the Maitrāyaṇīya Samhitā [ see §5. ]<sup>6</sup>

Śābara-bhāṣya	Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā	Kāthaka Śākhā	Taittirīya Śākhā	Vājasaneyi Śākhā.
१. तस्माच्छ्रेयांसं पूर्वं यत्नं पापी- यान् पश्चादन्वेति । I. iii. 2	१. तस्माच्छ्रेयांसं पूर्वं यत्नं पापीयान् पश्चादन्वेति । MS ३. 1. 3.	१. तस्मात्पुण्यं पूर्वं यत्नं पापी- यान् पश्चादन्वेति । KS 19. 2. KapS 29. 8.	१. तस्माच्छ्रेयांसं पापीयान् पश्चादन्वेति । TS 5. 1. 2. 3.	१ ...
२. तस्मादग्नीषोमीये संस्थिते यजमानस्य गृहेषितव्यम् । L iii. 3	२. तस्मादग्नीषोमीये संस्थिते यजमानस्य गृहेषितव्यम् । MS ३. 7. 8.	२. तस्मादग्नीषोमीय आल- भ्यते तस्मादस्याशितव्यम् । KS 24. 7 KapS 37. 8	२. यदग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभते वार्त्तम एव स तस्माद् वाध्यम् । TS 6. 1. 11. 6	...
३. स्योनं ते सद्दं रुणोमि घृतस्य धारया सुशेवं कल्पयामि । II. i. 46 and III. iii. 14.	३. स्योनं ते सद्दं रुणोमि घृतस्य धारया सुशेवं कल्पयामि । MS 1. 2. 6. 19.	...	३ स्योनं ते सद्दं करोमि घृतस्य धारया सुशेवं कल्पयामि । TB ३. 7. 5. 2	...

<sup>6</sup> The passages marked with asterisk are those noted in Pt. Cinnaswāmi SHASTRI's article 'Śābara-bhāṣye Udāharaṇa-paripāṭi' published in the *Jhā Commemoration Volume*, (1937), as suggesting Śābara's partiality for the Maitrāyaṇīya Śākhā.

४* सं ते वायुवतिन गच्छतां, सं यज्ञप- तिराशिना । II. i. 49	४ सं ते वायुवतिन गच्छतां सं यज्ञप- तिराशिना । MS 1. 2. 15	४ सं ते वायुः प्राणेन गच्छतां सं यज्ञप- तिराशिना । KS 3. 5 KapS 2. 12	४ सं ते प्राणो वातेन गच्छतां सं यज्ञप- तिराशिना । VS 6. 10
५* यत्सप्तसमितां मिन्यात् कनीयासं यज्ञक्रतुमुपेयात् कनीयासी प्रजा कनीयासः पशून् कनीयोऽजायं पापी- यान् स्यात् । II. iv. 8	५ यत्सप्तसमितां मिन्यात् कनीयासं यज्ञक्रतुमुपेयात् कनीयासी प्रजा कनीयासः पशून् कनीयोऽजायं पापी- यान् स्यात् । MS 3. 4. 8.	५ यत्सप्तसमितां मिन्यात् कनी- यासं यज्ञक्रतुमुपेयात् पापी- यस्यात्मनः प्रजा स्यात् । KS 22. 7	५ यत्सप्तसमितां मिन्यात् कनी- यासं यज्ञक्रतुमुपेयात् पापी- यस्यात्मनः प्रजा स्यात् TS 5. 6. 8. 1
६* काम्येष्टियाज्यानुवाक्यामंत्राः- (a) इन्द्रामी रोचना दिवः &c. (b) प्र चर्षणिभ्यः &c. (c) इन्द्रामी नवति पुरः &c. (d) अथद्वुत्रम् &c. III. ii. 20 and III. iii. 12	६ काम्येष्टियाज्यानुवाक्यामंत्राः- (a) इन्द्रामी रोचना दिवः &c. (b) प्र चर्षणिभ्यः &c. (c) इन्द्रामी नवति पुरः &c. (d) अथद्वुत्रम् &c. MS 4. 11. 1	६ काम्येष्टियाज्यानुवाक्यामंत्राः- (a) इन्द्रामी रोचना दिवः &c. (b) अथद्वुत्रम् &c. (c) या वा सन्ति &c. (d) ता योषिष्ठमसि &c. KS 4. 15	६ काम्येष्टियाज्यानुवाक्यामंत्राः- (a) उमा वामिन्द्रामी &c. (b) अथर्वं &c. (c) इन्द्रामी नवति पुरः &c. (d) शुचि नु स्तोमम् &c. TS 1. 1. 14. 1
७ दृष्टिर्नामांसि III. iii. 12	७ दृष्टिर्नामांसि MS 1. 4. 2. 4.	७ दृष्टिरसि KS 5. 1. and 32. 1	७ दृष्टिरसि TS 1. 6. 2. 4. and 1. 6. 11. 6 ApS 4. 9. 13.

Sābara-bhāṣya	Maitrāyaṇi Śākhā	Kāthaka Śākhā	Taittirīya Śākhā	Vājasaneyi Śākhā
८* सौमपोष्ण एकादशकपाल ऐन्द्रपोष्णाश्वरः पोष्णाश्वरः श्यामो दक्षिणा । III. iii. 39	८ सौमपोष्ण एकादशकपाल ऐन्द्रपोष्णाश्वरः पोष्णाश्वरः श्यामो दक्षिणा...! MS 2. 6. 4	८ सौमपोष्णाश्वरैन्द्रपोष्णाश्वरः पोष्णाश्वरः श्यामो दक्षिणा...! KS 15. 3	८ सौमपोष्णं चरं निर्वपत्यैन्द्रा- पोष्णं चरं पोष्णं चरं श्यामो दक्षिणा...! TS 1. 8. 8. 1	८ स आम्नापोष्णमेकादशकपालं पुराडाशं निर्वपत्यैन्द्रपोष्णं चरं पोष्णं चरम्...! SB 5. 2. 5. 5
९ सोमेन्द्रं चरं निर्वपेच्छ्यामाकं सोमवामिनः । III. iv. 32, 33	९ सोमेन्द्रं चरं निर्वपेच्छ्या- माकं सोमवामिना । MS 2. 2. 13	९ सोमेन्द्रः कार्यः KS 11. 1	९ यः सोमवामी स्यात्तस्मै एतं सोमेन्द्रं श्यामाकं चरं निर्व- पेत्...! TS 2. 3. 2. 6	...
१० इन्द्रियेण वा एष वर्येण व्यूध्यते यः सोमं वमिति । III. iv. 32, 33	१० इन्द्रियेण वा एष वर्येण व्यूध्यते यः सोमं वमिति ( v. l. वमिति )...! MS 2. 2. 13	१० इन्द्रियेण वा एष सोमपीथेन व्यूध्यते यस्सोमं वमिति । KS 11. 1.	१० वि वा एष इन्द्रियेण सोमपी थेनध्यते यः सोमं वमिति । TS 2. 3. 2. 6	...
११ सोमपीथेन वा एष व्यूध्यते यः सोमं वमिति । III. iv. 36	११ सोमपीथेन वा एष व्यूध्यते यः सोमं वमिति । MS 2. 2. 13	११ इन्द्रियेण वा एष सोमपीथेन व्यूध्यते यस्सोमं वमिति । KS 11. 1	११ वि वा एष इन्द्रियेण सोमपी- थेनध्यते यः सोमं वमिति । TS 2. 3. 2. 6	...

[illegible]

Sābara-bhāṣya	Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā	Kāthaka Śākhā	Taittirīya Śākhā	Vājasaneyī Śākhā
१५ उग्रोऽयुयस्त्वं देवेष्वुग्रोऽहं सजातेषु भूयासं मित्रः सजातानामुग्रैश्च नामुग्रैश्च वक्षुवित् । IV. iv. 7	१५ उग्रोऽयुयस्त्वं देवेष्वुग्रोऽहं सजातेषु भूयासं मित्रः सजातानामुग्रैश्च वक्षुवित् । MS 2. 3. 2	१५ cf. ध्रुवोऽसि ध्रुवोऽहं &c. KS 12. 2	१५ उग्रोऽयुग्रोऽहं सजातेषु भूयासं मित्रः सजातानामुग्रैश्च वक्षुवित्... । TS 1. 6. 2. 1	...
१६* रुष्णशीर्षं आमेय इत्याद्याः VIII. i. 14	१६ रुष्णशीर्षमित्यो मेधी सास्वती । MS 4. 7. 8	१६ आमेयः रुष्णशीर्षसास्वती मेधी । KS 5. 8. 1	१६ आमेयः रुष्णशीर्षसास्वती मेधी । TS 5. 5. 22. 1	१६ आमेयः रुष्णशीर्षः सास्वती मेधी । VS 29. 58
१७ अगन्म स्वः सं ज्योतिषा ममा... IX. i. 4.	१७ (द्विष्मो) अगन्म स्वः सं ज्योतिषा ममेदं efc. MS 10. 4. 2	१७ (द्विष्मो) अगन्म स्वः सं ज्योतिषा मम । KS 5. 5	१७ अगन्म सुवः सुवरगन्म संदृशस्ते मा छित्ति... । TS 1. 6. 6. 1; 1. 7. 6. 1	...
१८ अमेरुज्जितिमनूजेषं, सोमस्य उज्जितिमनूजेष्व... IX. i. 4	१८ अमेरुज्जितिमनूजेषं, सोमस्य उज्जितिमनूजेष्व... MS 1. 4. 2. 16	...	१८ अमेरुहमुज्जितिमनूजेषं सोमस्याहमुज्जितिमनूजेष्वम् । TS 1. 6. 4. 1	....

\* This reading is according to the Bibliotheca Indica and the Jivananda Vidyasagar Editions of the Śābara-bhāṣya. The Anandāśrama Edition reads this passage as found in the TS.

<p>१९* अभिघार्या नाभिघार्या इति मीमांसन्ते, यदभिघारयेत्, रुद्रायास्ये पशूनापिदध्यात् (यन्नाभिघारयेत् न रुद्रायास्ये पशूनापिदध्यात्; अथो स-त्वाहुः) अभिघार्या एव न हि हविरनाभिघृतमस्ति । X. viii. 8</p>	<p>१९ अभिघार्या नाभिघार्या इति मीमांसन्ते यदभिघारयेत् रुद्रायास्ये पशूनापिदध्यात् तन्न सस्यमभिघार्या एव, न हि हविरनाभिघृतमस्ति । MS 1. 10. 20</p>	<p>१९ अभिघार्या नाभिघार्या इति मीमांसन्ते अभिघार्या एव न हि हविरनाभिघृतम्, यदभिघारयेद्दृढं पशून्त्ववनेयेत् तस्मान्नाभिघार्याः । KS 36. 14</p>	<p>१९ नाभिघारयति यदभिघारयेत् अन्तराचारिण रुद्रं कुर्यात् । TB 1. 6. 10. 1</p>	<p>...</p>
<p>२०* आम्रावैष्णवं प्रातरशकपालं निर्वपेत्सारस्वतं चरं बार्हस्पत्यं चरं, आम्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं मध्यादिने सारस्वतं चरं बार्हस्पत्यं चरं, आम्रावैष्णवं द्वादशकपालमपराह्णे सारस्वतं चरं बार्हस्पत्यं चरम् । XI. ii. 19</p>	<p>२० आम्रावैष्णवं प्रातरशकपालं निर्वपेत्सारस्वतं चरं बार्हस्पत्यं चरम्, आम्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं मध्यादिने सारस्वतं चरं बार्हस्पत्यं चरम्, आम्रावैष्णवं द्वादशकपालमपराह्णे सारस्वतं चरं बार्हस्पत्यं चरम् । MS 2. 1. 8</p>	<p>२० आम्रावैष्णवमशकपालं निर्वपेत् प्रातस्सारस्वतं चरं बार्हस्पत्यं चरम् आम्रावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं मध्यादिने एतौ च चरु आम्रावैष्णवं द्वादशकपालमपराह्णे एतौ च चरु । KS 10. 1</p>	<p>२० आम्रावैष्णवमशकपालं निर्वपेत्प्रातस्सवनस्याकाले सारस्वत्याज्यभागा स्यात् बार्हस्पत्याश्रमावैष्णवमेकादशकपालं निर्वपेन्मध्यादिनस्य सवनस्याकाले सारस्वत्याज्यभागा स्याद् बार्हस्पत्याश्रमावैष्णवं द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेत्तृतीयसवनस्याकाले सारस्वत्याज्यभागा स्याद् बार्हस्पत्याश्रमः । TS 2. 2. 9. 5-6</p>	<p>...</p>

# AN EXAMINATION OF VARIANTS IN LATER SAMHITĀS OF MANTRAS CITED BY PRATĪKAS IN THE AITAREYA BRĀHMAṆA AND NOT TRACED TO THE ṚGVEDA

By

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*Mantras* cited by *pratīkas* in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and not traced to the Ṛgveda were edited and investigated into from historical and ritualistic points of view in a paper\* published in the *Bulletin* of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute ( Vol. III, pp. 489-530 ) by the present writer. This examination of the variants of these *pratīka-mantras* in the AB is intended to be a supplement to that paper. For reasons stated in my former paper<sup>1</sup>, the Āśvalāyana Śrauta version of the *mantras* is accepted as the basis for discussion and these *mantras* and their readings are referred to in the present paper as 'our verses or *mantras*' and 'our readings'.

Of the forty-two *pratīka-mantras* in the AB, thirty-seven are traced to one or more of the later Samhitās, four are traced to Brāhmaṇas other than the AB, and one only remains untraced to the Samhitās or other Brāhmaṇas.

Twenty-three of our *mantras* are found in the AV and of these thirteen are not traced to any other Samhitās. Only three of our *mantras* (VI, XXIII and XXXIV) appear without any text-variation in the AV. I have classified the text-variants in the remaining twenty verses into four divisions as they mainly concern grammar, phonetics, exegesis and metre. I give below a classified list of these variants accompanied by critical remarks on them.

## I. VARIANTS WHICH CONCERN GRAMMAR (Tables Nos. III to VI)

(a) The Verb Variants. (Table No. III) 1. The first variation इवामहे for हुवेम is only an interchange between two formations of the same tense. In the AV, we meet very often with the form

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<sup>1</sup> See BDCRI 3-491. The abbreviations of works cited in this paper are the same as those used therein.

हवामहे instead of हवेम of the parallel passages in other Samhitās.<sup>2</sup> The Paippalāda recension of the AV, and other Samhitās like VS, TS, MS, and KS have the form हवेम as in our verse. Moreover the AV variant spoils the metre of the verse. So the reading in our verse can be considered as the original one. 2-5. Four of the verb-variants are instances of present indicative in interchange with imperative. In these instances it is extremely difficult to decide which reading is older and more genuine. The later text-makers have very often employed this device of altering the earlier text, and this they could do conveniently for such alterations do not in any way affect the sense, structure or the metre of the verses concerned. I think that our reading एति can be the genuine one for, even though the AV has the variant एतु the Ppp. preserves our reading. 6. The verbal form आहू for our आह is rather impossible. 7. For our imperfect indicative अमदन् the AV uses the subjunctive ममदत्. This variant of the AV by itself does not considerably change the sense of the verse nor spoil its metre. But, taken as a whole, the AV variants in the *pāda* in which the verb occurs will appear to be rather corrupt and hence later ( see discussion on variants affecting exegesis and metre ). 8. The active verb चाकृपत् in the first *pāda* of our thirty-first verse is substituted in the AV by चाकृपे the middle form. This causes considerable difference in the sense of the *pāda*. While our *pāda* means that he (Vaiśvānara) has shaped all things the AV version of the *pāda* with the variants विष्वा ( for our विष्वं ) and चाकृपे would mean that he shaped himself into all things. The latter appears to be a later thought about the creation of the universe in Vedic literature.

(b) VARIATIONS IN CASE ( Table No. IV. )

1. The AV has the dative धासे instead of the genitive in our version. The *pāda* धर्मं श्रीणन्ति प्रथमस्य धासे: appears to yield a better sense than the AV version of the same. Moreover this variant in the vgl. AV is unmetrical. The Ppp. also shows variants in this *pāda* but they are quite consistent with the metrical rules. These facts show the AV-variant is a later corruption of the original word in our text.

2. If we are to accept the reading कृपास्व: of the AV instead of our कृपा स्व:, the ablative कृपात् will have to be construed as

<sup>2</sup> For such passages see BLOOMFIELD and EDGERTON, *The Vedic Variants*, 1-18.



causal. But WHITNEY adopts the reading of our version while S.P. PANDIT's edition gives the other reading. The commentary of the AV also accepts our reading रुपा and WHITNEY points out that the same reading is found in one or two AV manuscripts. This variation which is not recorded in the *Vedic Concordance*, is pointed out in the *Vedic Variants*, and therein it is suggested that the anomalous 'r' of the AV can be the result of graphical misapprehension.<sup>3</sup> So, on the whole, this reading of the AV can be adjudged to be corrupt.

3. The AV reading चर्मे instead of our चर्म may appear to be more correct for the adnominal which precedes the word is primarily and most commonly connected with the locative. But आ when used adnominally is found to follow the case regularly. Moreover आ is also used with accusative generally meaning 'to', 'upon', to express the goal with verbs of motion.<sup>4</sup> So the accusative चर्म can hardly be condemned.

4. The AV substitutes the locative आयुनि in our text by आयूषि the accusative. In this interchange of locative and accusative it is hardly possible to fix the original one.

5. Instead of उक्थेन in our verse, there occurs उक्थेषु in the same context in the AV. In our verse we have to take it as an adjective of वाहसा specifying the particular kind of the recitation. But in the AV version of the verse उक्थेषु is a noun. So our उक्थेन वाहसा and उक्थेषु in the AV may be taken as corresponding to each other and this is a case of instrumental of cause and locative serving the same purpose. About the अहसु in the AV version for which there is no corresponding word in our verse WHITNEY remarks that, no stem *amhan* is found anywhere else.<sup>5</sup>

6. The ablative अङ्गिरोभ्यः has the genitive variant अङ्गिरसा in the AV. But this does not vary the sense or metre of the verse concerned.

#### (c) VARIATION IN CASE-ENDINGS. (Table No. V.)

The two variants यौ and अप्रतीतौ for our या and अप्रतीता respectively have औ as the dual ending instead of आ. 'In the RV, in

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-287.

<sup>4</sup> MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 491.

<sup>5</sup> WHITNEY, *Translation of the AV*, 1-307.

general, and especially in its oldest parts, *ā* is found before vowels.<sup>6</sup> So our text contains more archaic forms and hence may be taken as more genuine.

The AV variants *दीर्घैः* for our *दीर्घेभिः* on the very face of it appears to be a later one. The variants of the instrumental plural endings '*ais*' and '*ebhis*,' though not very numerous, occur in the Vedic text and 'In most of them '*ais*' is substituted for an original '*ebhis*.'<sup>7</sup> Sometimes certain Vedic texts adopt the form ending in '*ais*,' even spoiling the metre by curtailing the *pāda* in which it is used, by one syllable. But in this particular instance the AV makes up for the deficiency by adding a patch-word *यौ* at the beginning of the *pāda*.

(d) VARIATION IN NUMBER ( Table No. VI ).

The variant *स्त्वं*, in the AV instead of *स्त्वा* in our verse does not effect any real change in the meaning for it can be taken as a generic singular. This is only a common type of textual variation we meet with in the Vedic literature and there is no means in this instance to judge which can be the more genuine one. Same is the case with the variants *विश्वं* in our verse and *विश्वा* in the AV version of the same.

(e) Our reading *स्तोम* instead of *स्तोमं* in the AV is supported by the R̥gvedic *pāda* *स्तोम उक्थञ्च* ( RV 1. 8-10<sup>b</sup> )

II. PHONETIC VARIANTS. ( Table No. VII ).

1. Our dative *सिन्ने* has the parallel *सिन्वा* the derivative adjective in the AV. The meaning of the verse with which these variants are connected is very nebulous and none of the variants help in any greater degree the interpretation of the word. But since the Ppp. also has the reading *सिन्ने* just like the AS we may infer that this is the original reading.

2. In the place of *भूवनेष्ठाः* in our text the AV-version has *भुवनेष्ठाः*

Here we see the nominal suffixes *m* and *v* are interchanged. The history of this phonetic interchange appears to be rather confused, but it is generally held that in pre-historic forms *m* occurred after the immediately preceding *u*-vowels especially in the case of

<sup>6</sup> BLOOMFIELD and EDGERTON, *op. cit.*, 3-51.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-69.

the suffix 'mant'.<sup>8</sup> Moreover the Ppp. version has the form exactly similar to that in our version of the verse. So it is quite probable that our form *मूनेहा* was the original one.

3. Another variant of phonetic significance in the AV is *पुद्मासः* for our *पुढमासः*. This is a variation by converting a surd into a sonant. WHITNEY takes the AV form as a corruption of our word.<sup>9</sup> In the Vedic variants also this is classified as a case of the primary *t* being changed to secondary *d*.<sup>10</sup> So in this instance also our reading may be taken as the original one.

4. Most probably the form *रतिः* in our text is a corruption of *रथी* (with the aspirate *th*) in the AV.<sup>11</sup>

5. Instead of *प्रयस्वान्* in the second *pāda* of our thirteenth verse the AV has *पयस्वान्* without the liquid *r*. The relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid can be the cause for this phonetic variation. Our reading *प्रयस्वान्* is doubtless the more genuine one.<sup>12</sup>

6. The variants *बुध्यात्* and *बुध्नात्* show a phonetic phenomenon of the suffixal *ya* following and not following two consonants. In this case also the Ppp. agrees with our text.

### III. VARIANTS OF EXEGETICAL IMPORTANCE. (Table No. VIII).

1. The AV variant *अस्कभायत्* for our *अस्तभायत्* affords a case of interchanging roots of the same meaning. Both the roots *स्तम्* and *स्कम्* are used in the Vedic language and are connected with similar roots in other Indo-European languages. So there is hardly any standard to judge their comparative genuineness in their employment in this particular instance.

2. The variants *अगात्* (from *gā* to *go*) and *गाय* (from *gai* to *sing*) have entirely different roots. The AV variant *गाय* can be the later one for the following reasons:—

(a) In the first *pāda* of our verse XXVII the verb *गाय* is already there and the substitution of *अगात्* by it will result in a

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-122.

<sup>9</sup> WHITNEY, *op. cit.*, 1-437.

<sup>10</sup> BLOOMFIELD and EDGERTON, *op. cit.* 2-36.

<sup>11</sup> WHITNEY, *op. cit.*, 1-437, also see BLOOMFIELD and EDGERTON, *op. cit.*, 2-54.

<sup>12</sup> WHITNEY, *op. cit.* 1-438.

repetition of the same verb. Moreover the reading अगात् is decidedly a better one from an exegetical point of view.

(b) The SV has the same reading as our text.

3. The AV has चाकृन् for चाकनन् in the second *pāda* of the verse parallel to our thirty-eighth verse. These variants have different roots and the variant in our text suits the verse in a better manner.<sup>13</sup>

4-5. The words पिता in the second line of our verse VIII and कवि in the second *pāda* of our verse IX have no corresponding words in the AV version of the verses. But this does not affect the meaning of the verses to a considerable degree.

6. Same is the case with the pronoun यौ (found in the beginning of the second *pāda* of the AV verse 7.25.1) which has no correspondent in the AS.

7. It is quite possible that our गावः was substituted by नूनं in the AV because of the word धेनवः in the same *pāda*.

8. The AV substitute of our वेधतः fits in equally well with the spirit and metre of the verse.

9. The fourth *pāda* of the vgl. AV verse 7.73.6 which is parallel to our twelfth verse is entirely different from that of ours. But in the Ppp. recension of the AV the *pāda* is seen exactly identical with ours. Moreover our *pāda* gives a more natural ending to the verse. On our *pāda* WHITNEY has the remark that 'This seems most likely to be the true ending of the verse.'<sup>14</sup>

10. The interchange of the two expressions सोम्यं मधु and रोचने दिवः respectively in our text and in the AV is rather immaterial. In our text the verb पिबतं has two objects and it is probable that one of them (सोम्यं मधु) was dropped in the AV and the vocative रोचने दिवः was inserted instead.

11. The AV variant यजः instead of our घर्मः is decidedly an artificial one, for the verse is connected with the *gharma* offering both in the R̥gvedic and the Atharvāṇa traditions. Moreover the epithet स्वाहाकृतः is more suitable to घर्मः than to यजः

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.307.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.438.

12. With regard to the interpretation of the verse neither of the readings सर्वताता nor वार्याणि is better than the other. But that सर्वताता can be the original reading so far as our verse is concerned is shown while the passage in which the word occurs is compared with a similar passage from the RV. ( see BDCRI 3-508 ).

13. The compound word दक्षपितृभ्यः in our text has the corresponding दक्षं पितृभ्यः in the AV. In the AV we have got to take दक्ष as a noun ( meaning skill ) and in our text either as a proper name or as an epithet ( meaning skilful ) of *pitrs*.

14-15. The variant ममददनेमिष्टे for our अमदन्नेनमिष्टयः is decidedly corrupt. According to WHITNEY our twenty-second verse has ' important and in part preferable variants especially in the second line, where they read *amadannenam iṣṭayah* and *ramate* for *kramate*'.<sup>15</sup> HAUG condemning the readings of the AV version of the verse says that ' the readings of the Atharvaveda are corrupt ; for it will be impossible to make out the sense of the *mantra* from its text presented in the Atharva veda but it may be done from that one given in the *Āśvalāyana Sūtras*.<sup>16</sup>

16. Instead of the relative clause 'यो अन्तः सिन्धौ सूनुः सत्यस्य' in the AV ( 6. 1. 2 ) our text based on the AŚ has 'यो अन्तः सिन्धौ सूनुः सत्यस्य' evidently, an easier reading. In the Vedic Variants it is pointed out that ' The relative clause is here original ; AŚ compresses it into an epithet, and necessarily alters *sūnuḥ* also to *sūnum*.<sup>17</sup> It is very difficult to comment on such variants with any precision, for they are rather very rare.<sup>18</sup> But viewed from the point of view of metre the AŚ version appears to be better.

17. The expression अमृतानि भूरि in AV. 6. 1. 3<sup>b</sup> for which there is no parallel in our text is undoubtedly an improvisation of the text-maker of the vgl. AV for the following reasons :

(a) the first two lines of the verse are mere adaptations of RV VII. 45. 3<sup>ab</sup> and the expression is not to be found in this R̥gvedic hemistich ( see BDCRI 3-507 ) (b) The Ppp. reading agrees with the R̥gveda and the AŚ. (c) This addition spoils the *gāyatrī* metre.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-398-9.

<sup>16</sup> HAUG, *Translation of the AB*, p. 208.

<sup>17</sup> BLOOMFIELD and EDGERTON, *op. cit.*, 3-170.

<sup>18</sup> In the *Vedic Variants* only this single instance is given under a separate group of variants between nominative and accusative.

18. The *pāda* उमे सुक्षिती सुधातुः in our verse (XXIX) has many variants and it is quite natural for it is an addition of the later authors to the first two *pādas* formed by modifying a R̥gvedic hemistich. The AV variant उमे सुधुती सुगातवे appears to stand rather detached from the other two *pādas* and is not metrical. The Ppp. reading सुगातुं instead of सुगातवे removes the metrical difficulty and gives a better sense i. e. ( stir ) both praises to be sung. On the whole, I think the AS reading yields better meaning and reflects more poetic excellence ( see BDCRI 3-508 ).

19. Our word प्रत्नेषु has two variants, म्रियेषु in the SV and परेषु in the AV and to judge which is the original reading is hardly possible.

20. The variants उक्थं and यजं being associated with sacrifice and things connected therewith equally fit in with the verse.

21. The variation between एषु in our text, ऐषु in the vgl. AV and प्रेषु in the Ppp. is only immaterial.

#### IV. VARIANTS WHICH AFFECT METRE. (Table No. IX).

1. With our reading ह्वेन the verse in which it occurs is a *triṣṭubh* without any flaw in metre. In other Samhitās including the Ppp. and in the SS. the metre of the verse is not hampered in any way and our reading is maintained. The *anukramanī* of the AV defines the verse as a *bhurij* due to the superfluous syllable caused by the variant ह्वामहे in the vgl. AV 2.

2. The AV *anukramanī* classifies the verse ( AV. 4. 1. 1 ) in which the reading धास्यवे parallel to our धासेः occurs as *puronuṣṭubh*. But the verse, I think, was originally a *triṣṭubh* with धासेः instead of धास्यने for all other *gharma* verses cited in the AB and traced to the Nakula hymn are *triṣṭubhs*. In addition to this we see that out of the seven verses in the AV hymn 4. 1. five are *triṣṭubhs*. The other verse which is also classified as *puronuṣṭubh*, I think, will very well pass for a *triṣṭubh*. Under these circumstances the probability is that the verse was originally a *triṣṭubh* as seen in the AS and the AV—variant which begins in an additional syllable spoils the metre.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The fact that the version in the Ppp. in spite of its textual variation does not transgress the rules of *triṣṭubh* metre lends a support to this view,

3. The AV verse ( 7. 14. 1 ) parallel to our verse IX drops the word कृषि found in the latter. Since the original *triṣṭubh* verse appears to have been extended at a later time it is rather difficult to decide whether the absence or the presence of the word is consistent with the metrical harmony of the verse. With the word the verse can be taken as an *aticchandas* as pointed out by the ŚB, and without it as an *aṣṭi* as defined by the BṛhD ( See BDCRI 3-500 ).

4. The AV verse 7.14.4 which is parallel to our verse XXII, is a *jagati* according to the *anukramaṇi* of the AV. But the third *pāda* of the AV-version has only ten syllables and this is due to the variant ममद्देनमिष्टे instead of our अमद्देनमिष्टः which is a better reading from other points of view also.

5. AV 6.1.2 is defined as *pipilika-madhyā-pura-uṣṇik* in the *anukramaṇi*. This inconvenience and irregularity in metre I think is caused by the variant यो अन्तः सिन्धो instead of अन्तःसिन्धुं in the AŚ. The AB prescribes the hymn of three verses in which the mantra occurs for recitation along with the *gāyatrī*s RV. III. 62.10-11, and this affords an indication that the verse was originally in the *gāyatrī* metre as it appears in the AŚ.

6. The first two lines of our verse XXIX, parallel to the AV verse 6.1.3. are shown to be an adaptation of the first half a R̥gvedic verse (See above pp.) While in the AŚ version we get two *gāyatrī pādas* made out of the hemistich of the R̥g-verse by curtailing two words one from each *pāda* we see the vgl. AV creates some confusion in the metre by adding अमृतानि भूरि to the adaptation of the R̥gvedic passage.

7. With सुगतवे in the place of our सुधातुः the third *pāda* of the AV-verse 6.1.3 which is parallel to our verse XXIX, has nine syllables. But the Ppp. version with the variant सुगातुं has only eight syllables in the last *pāda*. WHITNEY suggests that the verse in the AV is a spoiled *gāyatrī*.<sup>20</sup> Our verse XXIX is probably the original one.

This critical examination of the variants between our verses and the parallel ones in the AV from various points of view brings to light the following facts.

1. The variants introduced by the text-makers of the AV either deliberately or fortuitously, are, as a rule, later and corrupt, the only

<sup>20</sup> WHITNEY, *op. cit.*, 1-282.

clear exception being the AV variant रषी which "is phonetically more genuine than रति: in the AŚ.

2. In many cases where the Vgl. AV, disagrees with our mantras of the R̥gvedic tradition chronicled in the AŚ the Ppp. is found to agree with them.<sup>21</sup> In view of these facts it may be assumed more or less that our mantras which are found in AV were borrowed, adapted and sometimes mutilated by the latter. And by this borrowing, the AV has only added to its indebtedness to the mantras of the R̥gvedic school. So it is almost clear that these mantras even though recorded fully in a comparatively late text on rituals like the AŚ, they are not in any way later than the compilation of the AV; on the other hand they were so popular at the time of the compilation of the AV as to be borrowed like any other hymns or verses which are collected in our RV.

The Sāma Veda contains eight of our verses, and of these, four are not traced to any other Saṁhitā. Five verses are found in the SV exactly in the same form as the AŚ and the remaining three show some variants. See Table No. X.

1. Corresponding to our वेहि the SV has गामन् and Ppp. has गाय, but the vgl. AV retains the same word. The SV variant is taken as a present participle from the root gā to sing in GRIFFITH'S translation. This form with the suffixal m is not used in the RV.

2-3. Our thirty-first verse and SV II. 1059 have to pādas in common but the order of their succession is not the same. The first pādas of the verses are entirely different as shown in the list of variants above. The second pāda of the SV, verse has र्व; instead of वय; in the third pāda of our verse. In these variations AV 6.36.2 agrees fully with our verse. It is quite probable that the verse in the SV, and our verse had a common source, but there is hardly any conclusive evidence to fix the original.

4. The SV and VS have the variant प्रिवेषु for प्रलेषु in our thirty-fifth verse. The epithet प्रलेषु is seen applied to घामसु once in the RV ( VIII. 13. 20 ) as in our verse

<sup>21</sup> LANMAN in his introduction ( o. LXXX ) to WHITNEY'S translation of the Atharva Veda has pointed out that 'at V.2.8 and XIV.1.22, the Kaashmirian recension agrees with the R̥veda as against the Vulgate.' This affinity of the Ppp. not only to the extent RV but also to the other mantras belonging to the R̥gvedic tradition deserves systematic investigation.



These variants in the SV version of our three verses give us little evidence to prove whether the SV borrowed from these verses from the R̥gvedic tradition or *vice versa*. The SV being a collection of songs particularly intended for musical recitation on the occasion of rituals it is not likely that these verses were taken from it for ordinary use in rituals. Moreover about 96 per cent of the SV verses are borrowed from our R̥gveda. So it is not improbable that these eight verses of ours were copied from the R̥gvedic tradition of mantras and incorporated into the SV by its compilers.

In the VS are found eleven of our *mantras*, eight without any variants and three with the following variants.

No.	Our verse No.	Our Reading	VS	VS-Reading
1	X	वा आगतं	20.55	विराट् सुतः <sup>१२</sup>
2	XXXIV	महान्	33.92	बृहन्
3	XXXV	प्रत्नेषु	12.118	मिषेषु <sup>१३</sup>

Of these eleven verses, not less than seven are either preceded or succeeded or both in the VS by verses found in our R̥gveda. This may indicate that these seven verses at least were borrowed from the R̥gvedic tradition by the Vājasaneyins.

The TS contains seven of our verses, three in precisely the same form and four with some variants.

<sup>१२</sup> The same variation is noticed in the MS and KS.

<sup>१३</sup> This variant occurs in the SV also.

No.	Our verse No.	Our Reading	TS	TS-Reading
1	VIII	पिता	2.3.14.6	nil
2	VIII	तस्य	-do-	यस्य
3	IX	सत्यसवं	1.2.6.1	सत्य सवसं
4	IX	ओण्योः	-do-	ऊण्योः
5	XVII	रोहन्तु पूर्वारुहः	1.6.12.2	तिष्ठन्ति स्वारुहो यथा

1. This dropping of the word पिता without introducing another patch word has spoiled the metre of the verse. That is to say that the second *pāda* of the *triṣṭubh* verse has only nine syllables instead of eleven, due to this omission. 2. The variant यस्य for our तस्य is not in any way a misfit to the verse in which it occurs, but it may be noted that the other Vedic texts AV and KS agree with our version of the verse in this respect. 3. It is pointed out elsewhere that our verse IX was originally a *jagati* and it was extended at a later time. So if we accept the TS variant सत्यसवसं for our सत्यसवं (also found in the Khila collection, AV, SV and KS) *satya* will have to be split into *satia* while reading and the portion अभिमित्रं मतिं कविं will have to be considered as a later extension of the second *pāda* of the verse.<sup>24</sup> It appears the form सत्यसवं is grammatically more correct. With the reading सत्यसवसं the definition of the verse as *aṣṭi* in the BrhD becomes thoroughly baseless. So I think the reading is genuine. 4. the TS has the isolated variant ऊण्योः for our ओण्योः which is seen in the other Samhitās also. The stem *oni* is the regular one.<sup>25</sup> 5. This variant of the entire second *pāda* of our verse XVII also stands isolated. Other texts like the MS and KS in which the verse occurs agree with our version.

<sup>24</sup> KEITH, *Translation of the Veda of the Black Yajus School*, 1.25, fn.

<sup>25</sup> BLOOMFIELD and EDGERTON, *op. cit.* 2.329.

The variants in the TS discussed are found to be either misfits to the verses or isolated. The setting of the verses<sup>26</sup> in the TS shows that they were grouped with the Ṛgveda verses. Our verses III, XXXIII and XXXVI found in TS 1. 5. 11. which contains 18 *yājyā* and *puronuvākya* mantras. Of these 14 are traced to the extant RV, three are our mantras and remaining one at the end of this group of mantras can be a YV—mantra as it is found only in the other Saṁhitās of the YV—school. Our verse XVII included in a group of 19 mantras of which only three are not in our Ṛgveda. This inclusion of these mantras in mantra-groups constituted almost of verses from the Ṛgveda and the fact they are preceded or succeeded or both by the RV verses do show that the mantras were most probably copied from the Ṛgvedic school.

Fourteen mantras are traced to the MS and four of them do not occur in any other Saṁhitā. There is complete textual agreement between five of our mantras and their parallels in the MS and the variations in the remaining eight are enlisted below :

Table No. I

No.	Our verse No.	Our reading	MS.	MS. Reading
1	IX	सत्यसवं	1. 2. 5	सत्यसवसं ( Same in the TS )
2	X	वां आगतम्	3. 11. 3	विगात्सुतः ( Same in the VS and KS )
3	XVII	रोहन्तु	4. 12. 2	रोहन्ति ( Same in the KS )
4	XIX	उपप्रेष	4. 13. 4	उपप्रेष्य
5	"	मेधपतिभ्यां	"	मेधपतये
6	"	दिशः स्तोत्रं	"	dropped
7	"	वारथश्वात्	"	वारयतां
8	XX	शमितार	"	nil
9	"	अपाप	"	nil
10	XXXVI	ऊतये	3. 16. 4	ऊती
11	XXXIX	व्रतभृत्	4. 11. 4.	व्रतभृश्च
12	"	देवान्	"	देवं
13	XL	व्रतानु	"	व्रतानि
14	"	सुमृळिकः	"	सुमृडीकः
15	XLL	जनेषु	4. 10. 2	जनिषु

<sup>26</sup> Of our seven verses found in the TS three are already traced to the Khilas and so the enquiry is confined to the remaining four verses.

Hardly any conclusion can be drawn based on these variants. But it is clear that the readings in our text do not in any way suffer by comparison with those in the MS. Linguistically they can certainly be as old as the MS readings, if not older. They do not spoil the metre nor do they encumber the sense.

The KS contains twelve of our mantras and among them only one is untraced to any other Sāmhita. The following textual variations are noticed in seven of the mantras while the remaining five are identical with ours.

Table No. II

No.	Our verse No.	Our reading	KS.	KS-reading.
1	I	दीक्षया	4. 16	दीक्षाय
2	VIII	अस्तभायत्	10. 13	अस्कभायत् (Same in the AV)
3	„	पिता	„	क्षिता
4	X	वा आगतं	38. 9	विराट्सुतः
5	XVII	रोहन्तु	8. 16	रोहन्ति
6	XVIII	सर्वताता	37. 9	वार्याणि
7	XX	शमितारः	16. 21	nil
8	„	अपाप	„	„

In the KS just like in the TS and MS the last *pāda* of our verse XXXVI is substituted by the last *pāda* of XXXVII.

The KS variants are more or less similar to the MS variants. The variant दीक्षाय for our दीक्षया and क्षिता for our पिता are found only in the KS. The first is evidently incorrect and the second appears to be a more convenient reading from an exegetical point of view.

## Variants which concern grammar. (Table III to VI)

Table No. III

## (a) Verb variants.

Serial No.	Verse No.	Our reading	AV	AV, vgl. reading
1	III	हुवेम	7. 6. 2	ह्वामहे
2	VII	एति	4. 1. 2	एतु
3	"	श्रीणन्ति	"	श्रीणन्तु
4	XIII	नक्षति	7. 73. 5	नक्षतु
5	"	चरति	"	चरतु
6	VIII	आष्ट	4. 1. 5 <sup>1</sup>	आष्ट
7	XXII	अमदन्	7. 14. 4	ममदत्
8	XXXI	चाकृपत्	6. 36. 2	चाकृपे

Table No. IV

## (b) Case-Variants.

Serial No.	Verse No.	Our reading	AV	AV, vgl. reading
1	VII	धासेः	4. 1. 2	धास्ववे
2	IX	रूपा स्वः	7. 14. 2	रूपात् स्वः
3	XII	घर्मे	7. 73. 6	घर्मे
4	XXII	आयुनि	7. 14. 4	आयूषि
5	XXXVII	उक्थेन	6. 35. 2	उक्थेषु
6	XXXVIII	अङ्गिरोभ्यः	6. 35. 3	अङ्गिरसाम्

Table No. V

(c) Variation in case-endings.

Serial No.	Verse No.	Our reading	AV	AV, vgl. reading
1	XXIII	या	7. 25. 1	यो
2	"	अप्रतीता	"	अप्रतीतो
3	"	वीर्येभिः	"	वीर्यैः

Table No. VI

(d) Variation in number.

Serial No.	Verse No.	Our reading	AV	AV, vgl. reading
1	XXII	रत्ना	7. 14. 4	रत्नम्
2	XXXI	विश्वं	6. 36. 2	विश्वः

## Phonetical Variants.

Table No. VII

Serial No.	Verse No.	Our reading	AV	AV, vgl. reading
1	VII	पित्रे	4. 1. 2	पित्र्या
2	"	भूमनेष्ठाः	"	भुवनेष्ठाः
3	XI	पुरुतमासः	7. 73. 1	पुरुदमासः
4	"	रतिः	"	रथी
5	XIII	प्रयस्वान्	7. 73. 5	पयस्वान्
6	VIII	बुध्नात्	4. 1. 5	बुध्न्यात्

**Variants of Exegetical importance.**  
**Table No. VIII**

Serial No.	Our Verse No.	Our reading	AV	AV. Reading
1	VIII	अस्तभायत्	4. 1. 5	अस्कभायत्
2	XXVII	अगात्	6. 1. 1	गाय
3	XXXVIII	चाकनत्	6. 35. 3	चाकृपत्
4	VIII	पिता	4. 1. 5	nil
5	IX	कविं	7. 14. 1	nil
6	XXII	nil	7. 25. 1	यौ
7	X	गावः	7. 73. 2	नूनं
8	"	कारवः	"	वेधसः
9	XII	नु यावापृथिवी सुप्रणतिः	7. 73. 6	अनुप्रयाणमुपसो विराजति
10	XIV	सोम्यं मधु	7. 73. 4	रोचने दिवः
11	XVI	धर्मः	7. 73. 3	यज्ञः
12	XVII	सर्वताता	7. 14. 3	वार्याणि
13	XXII	दक्षपितृभ्यः	7. 14. 4	दक्षं पितृभ्यः
14	"	इष्टयः	"	इष्टे
15	"	रमते	"	क्रमते
16	XXVII	अन्तः सिन्धुं सूनं सत्यस्य	6. 1. 1	यो अन्तः सिन्धौ सूनसत्यस्य
17	XXIX	nil	6. 1. 3	अमृतानि भूरि
18	"	उमे सुक्षिती सुधातुः	"	उमे सुष्टुती सुगातवे
19	XXXV	प्रन्तेषु	6. 36. 3	परेषु
20	XXXVIII	उक्थम्	6. 35. 3	यज्ञम्
21	"	एषु	"	ऐषु

## Variants which affect metre.

Table No. IX

Serial No.	Verse No.	Our reading	AV.	AV. vgl. Reading
1	III	हवेम	7. 6. 2	हवामहे
2	VII	धासेः	4. 1. 2	धास्यवे
3	IX	कविं	7. 14. 1	nil
4	XXII	अमदन्नेनमिष्टयः	7. 14. 4	ममददेनमिष्टे
5	XXVIII	अन्तःसिन्धुं	6. 1. 2	यो अन्तःसिन्धुं
6	XXIX	nil	6. 1. 3	अमृतानि भूरि
7	"	सुधातुः	"	सुगातवे

## Sāmaveda Variants

Table No. X

Serial No.	Verse No.	Our reading	SV.	Sāma Veda Reading
1	XXVII	धेहि	1. 177	गामन्
2	XXXI	स विन्धे प्रतिचाक्लपत्	2. 1059	य इदं प्रतिपमथे
3	"	वयः		स्वः
4	XXXV	प्रत्नेषु	2. 1060	प्रियेषु



## MALIK HĀJJĪ'S GARDEN HOUSE INSCRIPTION ( AT AHMADABAD )

By

M. A. CHAGHATAI

[ Malik Hājji one of the great nobles of Sultān Maḥmūd Begadah of Gujarāt succeeded Malik Sha'bān as 'Imādu'l-Mulk but the details of the life of Malik Hājji are not easily available. I have pieced together the following note from scattered fragments of information gathered from various sources.]

Malik Sha'bān, entitled Maliku' sh-Sharq, 'Imādu'l-Mulk and 'Ārizu'l-Mamālik, the chief minister of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din Ahmad Shah ( A. D. 1451-1458 ) of Gujarat, continued to serve as Prime Minister at the accession to the throne of the latter's brother, Sultān Maḥmūd Begadah<sup>1</sup> in A. D. 1458. Soon after, 'Azdu'l-Mulk Kabīr Sultānī, Safīu'l-Mulk 'Khizr, Burhānu'l-Mulk 'Isma'il and Husamu'l-Mulk Chhajju, the courtiers of the Sultan,<sup>2</sup> planned to instal on the throne Hasan Khan, son of Muhammad' Shah, son of Muzaffar Shah.<sup>3</sup> Knowing thoroughly well that their plot could not succeed as long as 'Imādu'l-Mulk was there, they conspired against him and reported to the Sultan that he wanted to instal his own son Shihābu'd-Din on the throne and become independent. This greatly incensed the Sultan who immediately ordered the imprisonment of 'Imādu'l-Mulk in the tower of the royal residence.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime at night Malik Abdullah, the keeper of the elephant stable revealed the true facts to the Sultan concerning the plot hatched by the courtiers to instal Hasan Khan as Sultan in his stead and impressed upon him the desirability of releasing

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<sup>1</sup> Hajjiu'd—Dabir, *The Arabic History of Gujarat*, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, London, 1928, p. 14 ( HD ).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 15. But according to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* ( MS. ) ( Persian text, Bombay, 1903, p. 71 ) these names are as follows :— Kabiru'd-Din Sultani surnamed 'Azdu'l-Mulk, Moulana Khizri surnamed Safu'l-Mulk. Chand b. Isma'il surnamed Burhanu'l-Mulk and Khwaja Muhammad surnamed Husāmu'l-Mulk.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. p. 72 bears that Habib Khan, the son of Ahmad Shah, the uncle of the Sultan.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 15. In the MS. it is found thus :— 'having quarreled with the Vazir Malik Sha'bān 'Imādu'l-Mulk, set themselves to work the ruin of his wealth and position.

Malik Sha'bān of whom the conspirators were terribly afraid. The Sultan discussed the matter with his mother and also consulted some of his nobles including Malik Hājji, Malik Kālu and one more,<sup>5</sup> who were unanimously of opinion that Malik Sha'bān should immediately be released. As the charge was baseless, the conspirators were dealt with severity.<sup>6</sup> Malik Sha'bān was released and restored to his former position which he resigned shortly after and went into retirement. He could not, however, enjoy his well-earned rest for long and died in A. H. 865<sup>7</sup> / A. D. 1460.

On his resignation, Malik Hājji and Malik Kālu were made 'Imādu'l-Mulk and 'Azudu'l-Mulk in place of Malik Sha'bān respectively. These were the nobles whom Mahmud Begadah had consulted regarding the charge against Malik Sha'bān. Though the local histories of Gujarat do not mention anything concerning the former before the reign of Mahmud Begadah yet on the authority of other sources<sup>8</sup> it may be noted here that in A. H. 842 / A. D. 1438 when Mahmud Khalji of Mandu issued of the Tarapur gate, and marched towards Sarangpur, Malik Hājji of Gujarat, who was guarding the road to Kaital opposed him and attacked the Mandu force, but was overthrown in the first charge and fled. On joining Sultan Ahmad, he informed the latter that Mahmud Khalji was marching on Sarangpur. After this incident he appears only in the reign of Mahmud Begadah who raised him to the position of 'Imādu'l-Mulk in place of Malik Sha'bān. In A. H. 870, / A. D. 1465

<sup>5</sup> In the case of the third person's name *MS.* p. 72 and *HD.* p. 15 differ from each other. The former mentions it Malik Isa while the latter Bahu'd-Din. Bayley in his translation of the *MS.* p. 164 enters Malik' Ain and Faridi in his translation of the same adopts only two persons viz. Muhammad Hajji and Malik Isa. Perhaps he is the same Bahādu'd-Din as noted by HD who had murdered a trooper of the Sultan and later on being saved by Malik Hajji and others, made Imadu'l-Mulk.

<sup>6</sup> Both HD pp. 15-16 and *MS.* pp. 72-3 give full details which are not considered necessary to be repeated here.

<sup>7</sup> H. D. p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> BAYLER, Sir E. CLIVE. in his English translation of the *MS.* p. 193 has entered it on the authority of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* but in *Firishta* (Bombay ed. Vol. II p. 374 and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Eng. Translation, Vol. III, p. 504) enters it as Malik Hajji Ali. In *Firishta*, this place name Kaital entered in the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, it is Kanil and in the *Tabaqat*, Kambal. Briggs Vol. IV. p. 34.

Now a days this Sarangpur is within the Dewas State (Survey Map 55). If one has to go to Sarangpur from Mandu, I presume, he shall have to go through Indore crossing one town 'Khurel' (Survey Map. 55 B. 2) which has met with so many corruptions.

Mahmud<sup>9</sup> proceeded to Ahmadnagar.<sup>10</sup> On the way thither Bahau'l-Mulk, Alau'l-Mulk, son of Alaf (Ulugh) Khan otherwise called 'Alau'd-Din, son of Suhrāb, murdered Adam, one of the Sultan's troopers, and then fled and hid himself. The Sultan gave orders to Malik Hājji 'Imādu'l-Mulk and Malik Kālu to pursue him and bring him back. These two nobles searched and actually found Bahāu'l-Mulk,<sup>11</sup> but they, by fraud and falsehood, induced two soldiers of the army to promise that they would state to the Sultan that they had committed the crime, and that Bahau'l-Mulk was innocent. 'The result will be', said they, 'that the Sultan will send you to prison, but after a few days, at our intercession, he will set you at liberty'. Those two poor self-accused murderers, without any reason and without any suspicion, made their confession to the Sultan, and by his order they were instantly beheaded. Shortly afterwards the real facts became known, and the Sultan said, 'These two crafty wicked men have wrongfully caused the death of two Muhammadans. If I do not put them to death in retaliation of this murder, what answer shall I give to God Almighty to-morrow on the Day of Judgment?' So the Sultan ordered that these two great and wealthy nobles should at the same time suffer the law of retaliation. Malik Bahāu'l-Mulk Ikhtiāru'l-Mulk was made 'Imādu'l-Mulk and advanced to the office of wazir'.

Apart from these political activities, Malik Hājji took a keen interest in the public welfare. I have fortunately been able to trace the following Arabic inscription from the central meharb of a recently built mosque in the Pinjra Pol quarter of Ahmadabad. It is carved out in relief on a marble slab, measuring about twenty-four by ten inches. It follows the tradition of the *naskhi*<sup>12</sup> style of calli-

<sup>9</sup> MS. p. 86.

<sup>10</sup> Ahmadnagar, the present Himmatnagar, in Idar State, was founded in AH 829 or 830. It has been a mint town of the Sultans of Gujarat from the period of Sultan Ahmad I: On coins it appears with an epithet *Shahr-i-Humayun* — the auspicious town. (Catalogue of coins of the Sultans of Gujarat in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, p. 6 No. 30).

<sup>11</sup> BAYLEY *op cit.* 179-180. Historians slightly differ in this particular point from each other. T. A. Vol. III, p. 247-8, says, 'Bahau'l-Mulk killed Adam Selāhdār (trooper) without any apparent cause and fled in the country of Idar, Malik Hājji and Malik Kālu having gone a part of the way, allowed a falsehood to enter their minds and then induced two of the servants of Bahāu'l-Mulk to say that they were murderers of Adam.' (BRIGGS, Vol. IV, p. 51 refers to this incident as an event of the impartial justice of Mahmud Shah.)

<sup>12</sup> CHAGHATAI, M. A., *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through their inscriptions* (BDCRI 3-2).

graphy of other inscriptions of Ahmadabad and actually belongs to the gardens built by the same Malik Hājji son of Barāmad on 2nd Rajab 864 AN/23 R. D. April 1460 A. D.; who had replaced Malik Sha'ban as 'Imadu'l-Mulk both in rank and titles on the resignation of the latter which is obvious from its text, which has been calligraphed by Jan Muhammad, son of Khalil:—

- ١ بنى هذا العمارة الظريف والبقعة الشريفة والرواق الرفيعة والجدر  
الاربعة المصورة و غرس الاشجار المثمرة بالفواكه المتبركة مع البير و  
البركة ليتنفع الانام
- ٢ و الانعام فى عهد سلطان سلاطين زمان الواثق بتايد الرحمان ناصر الدين  
والدين
- ٣ ابوالفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن  
مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
- ٤ ملك حاجى بن برآمد (?) سلطانى المخاطب من حضرة الاعلى و الملجاء  
و المعلى بملك الشرق و عماد الملك
- ٥ عارض ممالك دام علوه فى الثانى من رجب قدره سنة اربع و ستين  
و ثمان مائة كتبه جان محمد بن خليل — (?)

## TRANSLATION

"This fine building and excellent edifice and lofty colonnade and the four fresco walls were built, and the sanctified fruitbearing trees were planted, together with the well and reservoir, so that men and animals may benefit during the reign of the Sultan of Sultans of the age, who is confident of the help of the Merciful, Nāsiru'd-Dunya wa'd-Din. Abu'l-Fath, Mahmud Shah, son of Muhammad Shaha, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffar Shah the Sultan (may Allah perpetuate his kingdom), by Malik Hājji, son of Barāmad Sultani, entitled by his most exalted majesty and sublime refuge, the Maliu'sh-Sharq. 'Imādu'l-Mulk and 'Ariz-i-Mamālik (may Allah keep his grandeur eternal) on the second of Rajab (may its dignity increase), in the year eight hundred and sixty four (23rd April 1460 A. D.), written by Jan Muhammad son of Khalil.....?"

It is a pity that I could not locate these gardens of Malik Hājji in Ahmadabad. Neither could I ascertain reasons, how this inscription happened to have been preserved in the present mosque,

although it did not directly concern it. We are already familiar with two inscriptions<sup>13</sup> of Malik Sha' bān's gardens, known as *Bagh-Sha'ban*, in one of the suburbs of Ahmadabad, known as Rakhyal, but the inscription referred to above describes their architectural beauty.

It has already served as a model draft for other similar inscriptions. For example, the Arabic inscription of the Bai Harir Sultani at Ahmadabad, <sup>14</sup> is practically the same. So far, it is the first record in stone of the days of the Sultans of Gujarat which shows that such monuments were particularly dedicated to the cause of public utility.

The mention of the gardens <sup>15</sup> of Malik Hājji and of the name of his father found in his inscription is not available from the historical works. Besides, its date A. H. 864 definitely makes it clear that Malik Sha'bān had at least vacated the post of 'Imādu'l-Mulk in that year or before for his successor Malik Hājji. It is here that the great importance of the inscription lies. This date is not clear from the text of history, although Hajjud-Dabir mentions A. H. 865 as <sup>16</sup> the year of Malik Sha'bān's demise.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 50-53.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 70-73.

<sup>15</sup> According to the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* (supplement) p. 13 there is one quarter Hajjipur in Ahmadabad which was populated by Hajji Bahau'd-Din surnamed 'Asdu'l-Milk.

<sup>16</sup> HD, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

## PESHTA MADHAV RAO I

By ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A., vi+266; four maps,  
Calcutta. A. Mukherjee & Bros. 1943, Price Rs. 6/-.

A REVIEW BY  
T. S. SHEJWALKAR

This is a compact and systematic study of the twelve eventful years in Maratha history covered by the official career of Peshwa Madhav Rao I between 1761 and 1772. With the exception of Prof. B. K. THAKORE'S critical prize essay on the Life of this great Peshwa written with the then existing scanty materials more than forty years back and now almost forgotten, this is perhaps the first attempt to present the Peshwa Madhav Rao in English. We had occasion to examine a thesis on this subject more than a decade ago and possibly there were similar attempts covering the same topic by some other students also. But as no study has appeared in print as yet, we can very well congratulate Prof. BANERJEE on this presentation. No doubt, the foundation of this study had already been laid in Marathi by Rao Bahadur G. S. SARDESAI and that great indefatigable worker in the archives of the Patwardhan Sardars of the Deccan, the late Vasudeva Shastri KHARE. But theirs' were comparatively one-sided studies. Both of them had made use of published English material to some extent. But since they wrote, more material has been made available to scholars, both in English and Marathi. Separate topics of the eighteenth century Indian history have been studied by various scholars from different points of view, and they have made the work of others in the same field considerably easy. Prof. BANERJEE, however, has not merely based his study on these, he has himself plunged in the still un-tapped archives and brought forth new material for use in this work. This is his distinct contribution to the world of scholarship, for which he deserves all credit. Mutual relations between four parties—the Marathas, the English, the Nizam, and Hyder Ali, have been more deeply studied on the basis of new English material personally studied by the author. Two chapters, out of eight, in the book throw considerable new light on these relations. The author wields a facile English pen, with an easy style and short sentences. The performance is definitely creditable to the writer.

But this is all that can be said in favour of the book. Otherwise it is neither a complete study nor based on all the published, much less available, material. The author seems to be blissfully unaware of such primary sources on Madhav Rao as *Purandare Daftar* Vol. III, *Chandrachud Daftar* Vol. I, *Aitihāsika Patra-vyavahara*, *Aitihāsik Patren-yadi*, *Parasnis' Itihāsa-sangraha* and *Bharat-Itihāsa-Sanshodhaka Mandal's* publications. His acquaintance with RAJWADE'S volumes also seems to be slight and second-hand; otherwise he would have mentioned the particular Volumes pertaining to Madhav Rao. He has based his work mainly on the badly edited *Peshwa Daftar*, KHARE, VAD and also GRANT DUFF, whose influence he has not been successful in shaking off. This was inevitable as he is more at home with the English sources than the Marathi ones. The result is he could not possibly form his own opinions on various topics and personalities. He has to fall back on other published opinions. Not knowing the pit-falls of Marathi material—and he is not to be singled out for condemnation on this head, as most outsiders who are using the Marathi sources are all falling into the same pit-falls—he has committed blunders at times. While this defect does not vitiate the argument in the main as such, it certainly lessens the cogency thereof. The mistakes are occasionally ludicrous in the extreme and smack of ignorance of Maratha history in general. All these defects could have been avoided if the author's reading were more wide and thorough. If he could have only seen the short introduction of Mr. D. V. APTE—a veteran scholar in Maratha history—to the Marathi life of Madhav Rao by Mr. S. A. SAHASRABUDDHE, he would not have committed this error. As it is he seems to have received very scrappy information about the Marathi sources.

The first pit-fall in Maratha History arises from not understanding the composition of it. There is no institutional thread in Maratha History around which it can be woven. The mental make up of a Maratha,—not to say an Indian,—is intensely individualistic, if not selfish. Shivaji tried to checkmate this rank individualism by trying to rally the Marathas around the ideal of Mahārāṣṭra—Dharma with its Defender the Chhatrapati-in-Council. But Shivaji was anything but an average Maratha and his institution of a king with a council of eight ministers with equal and independent offices did not survive him long. While the Peshwa Madhav Rao, wielding the whole power of the Maratha State as he thought, tried to defend its unity and guard its absolute sovereignty in the right royal fashion, other members of the Maratha

State thought him to be no better than one amongst the many scramblers for power. To be constitutionally correct, the first Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath had already signed away the sovereignty of the Maratha State when he accepted for his master the service of defending the Mughal Empire in the Deccan for a quarter share of its revenue. The second Peshwa Bajirao had broken the unity of the Maratha State by refusing to steer the ship of the state by common counsel of his colleagues in office. The third Peshwa Nanasahib had no doubt clearly usurped the main power in the state, but had introduced the pernicious practice of maintaining it by taking help from the permanent enemies of the Maratha State. We mention this fact because it is wrongly constructed and Raghoba is treated as the first villain to introduce this evil practice. As long as the Peshwa's power was strong before Panipat, the evil did not manifest itself in its full meaning; but with their defeat and the almost simultaneous emergence of the British as a strong rival power out of the Seven Years' War, the tables turned. The Peshwa had lost his position as a first runner in the race for empire, while the number and power of his potential enemies had increased. The political map called for a new orientation of policy to suit the new field. Madhav Rao does not seem to have proved himself capable of this new orientation at all, which fact definitely diminishes his stature in history

After Panipat, two changes were absolutely necessary for the unity and independence of the Maratha State. These were the restoration of the Chhatrapati to his original status as the hereditary king with his powers controlled by the Council of eight equal ministers only. This was the only remedy to restore the unity in the State, necessary to restore full confidence in the mind of the Marathas who made the soldiery of the State and enthuse them with the idea of *their* kingdom. Such a step would have made the Bhosalas of Nagpur, the Gaikawads, the Ghorpades and other members of the Maratha Confederacy impervious to the blandishments of out-side powers like the English, the Nizam, Hyder, and others. It would have also weaned the Deshastha Party who naturally felt their loss of power and prestige in the new arrangement in which their six ministers had been relegated to a pitiable position in the State.

The second necessary step was to bury the ghost of Delhi once for all. It was an evil day for the Maratha State when Balaji Vishwanath accompanied Sayyad Husen Ali Khan to Delhi. The



idea of being able to usurp the whole power of the Mughal State by accepting service under them had undermined the moral basis of the Maratha State as idealised by Shivaji and nurtured by his sons. The Marathas thus joined the rank of other despoilers of the Mughal Empire and inevitably had to become opportunists in policy. The high ideal of fighting for a supreme cause had given place to a principleless scramble for pelf. Whatever the causes which weighed with the first three Peshwas to look to Delhi, the thing had proved a broken reed, and had done much more harm than any small good. The three powers in the Deccan, the Nizam the English and Hyder who were nowhere near the Peshwa before Panipat, had suddenly become serious rivals. For the Marathas to cross the Chambal now was more valorous than wise, more for taking revenge than for permanent state good. Madhav Rao misunderstood and misjudged the Indian political map and ordered his troops to the north, to break their heads against Delhi, thus giving time to the southern powers to recover and prepare again.

As Madhav Rao could not fulfil any of these two conditions, we think the future of the Maratha State was permanently mortgaged if not actually sold. We have stated these two prerequisite conditions, not for indulging in the 'might have beens' of history, but to clear up certain wrong notions. That Madhav Rao with all his virtues, circumstanced as he was, could not even think of doing anything of the kind, proves the knottiness of the problem. But without cutting the Gordian knot, there was no other alternative to meet the circumstance, and but for a bold orientation, the Maratha State was doomed.

The Maratha State being composed of separate semi-independent units managed by different individuals who were the motive-force in politics, it naturally follows that these various individuals must be first studied independently and then their activities collated. The lives and activities of these individuals are for the most part obscure and secretive. Much more was done behind the scene and comparatively little in the open forum. Thus there is great trouble in piecing together any public act in full, logical sequence. As Prof. BANERJEE has not taken the trouble to study completely the lives of the various individuals coming into contact with the chief character, he has naturally fallen into a second, pit-fall. Not only has he not studied the chief persons completely so as to understand their character to judge them properly but he has not even pieced together their activities during the dozen years

under consideration, with the result that his narrative is sketchy and many a time incorrect also.

By not understanding the nature of the Marathi material and the bad editing thereof, the author tumbles into a third pitfall. He has not understood the real character of histories already before the public.\* Incorrect dating of documents is a besetting sin in the Marathi editing of original papers. Only a few obvious mistakes consequent to these pitfalls can be here pointed out.

We have said that the study is not complete, meaning thereby the omission of certain episodes and short treatment of others. The present work, we believe, is not a life of Madhav Rao as such, but a study of his times. For correctly understanding Madhav Rao's difficulties as well his attitude therein, these episodes ought to have been studied in more detail. The episode of the Kolis of Purandhar touches a vital point in Madhav Rao's character. Our author writes of Madhav Rao as his "private life being blameless and he being never guilty of treachery even towards his enemies"—(P. 252). His conduct in the Koli episode can be justified as an exigency of the state, but it cannot allow our author's encomium quoted above. Prof. BANERJEE has noted the fact (P. 219) of Raghunath Rao suspecting the Peshwa's secret part in the affair, but has taken Madhav Rao at his word of denial. Had he read the introduction to the third volume of *Purandare Daftar* by its editor, he would have, perhaps, modified his opinions. A cryptic letter in *Rajwade* Vol. XIV (No. 63) says that "the blame for the act is to the credit of the master himself," and asks for two authorising chits in the hand-writing of the Peshwa, if the act is to end in the desired result. As the letter is definitely about the Purandhar Koli episode and addressed to Govindrao Tātyā Khāsgiwāle who was residing with Raghunath Rao, Raghunath's suspicion referred to by our author cannot be dismissed as mere suspicion at all, as the uncle was fully in the know of affairs, a fact which is further proved by his issue of a Kaul ( *Purandare* III No. 39 ) to the officers and men in charge of Purandhar, assuring them of full pardon for acts done and granting their prayer for keeping the fort directly under the Peshwa. If further proof of the Peshwa's part in the affair is needed and his intention is to be judged by his after behaviour, *S. P. D.* XIX—32 supplies ample material. Visāji Keshav Sāne who was secretly

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\* The famous work of R. B. SARDESAI suffers from the same defects, while outsiders readily take it as the last word.

engineering the whole episode, is awarded Inams definitely in recognition of his work in the whole affair. We have referred to this affair not for blaming Madhav Rao for his state act, but to point out Prof. BANERJEE'S complete ignorance of very important material on the subject. This episode also touches the delicate controversy about the rivalry between the Deshathas and the Konkanasthas in the later Peshwas' days. Modern writers with a national bias are prone, naturally enough, to underrate the effects of this rivalry to suit the present. But historians cannot, if they are going to depict the past as it was, so lightly tick off this affair as has been done by our author quoting the remarks of R. B. SARDESAI (P. 9). A perusal of the official lists of Government employees in the later Peshwas' days will bear testimony to the fact of the Deshasthas being swamped out of office by the Konkanasthas. A casual private letter published in *Purandare*, III (No. 197), complains that "nobody seems to care for the Deshastha (Brahmins) these days and so we must behave in an humble manner." Another very significant prophecy for the benefit of the Purandare Sardar written in 1802 (?) throws lucid light on the inner mind of the Deshastha community. It prophesies that the Konkanastha power will wane and perish, the Deshasthas will come to power again (*Pur.* III-213). This prophecy is no doubt made on the eve of the British entry into Maratha politics. We quote it to point out how far things had come to pass after decades of the Chitpāvan ascendancy. Can we complacently say with such documents before us that "The facts at our disposal do not require to be explained in that way"? (P. 9.)

Prof. BANERJEE has similarly missed the significance of the Sindia episode. Just as Madhav Rao comes in for criticism in the Koli-episode, Mahādji Sinde's conduct in the succession dispute requires a search-light of criticism. His treatment of the women-folk of the great Sindia house<sup>1</sup> can scarcely be justified. His behaviour with the agents of the central authority<sup>2</sup> was, to say the least, most high-handed. Mahādji is morally responsible for the slaughter<sup>3</sup> of Māhādāji Govind Kakirde, who had been appointed Diwan to the Sindia Jagir by Raghunath Rao. In this suspicious affair he made use of Rāgho Rām and others, but

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<sup>1</sup> *Selection from the Peshawa Daftar* (S. P. D.) 29-53,

<sup>2</sup> S. P. D.; 29-48, 65, 96.

<sup>3</sup> RAJWADE, 13-10, 15, 19, 20, 22.

later on even this Rāgho Rām<sup>4</sup> was also killed in an action with Mahādji. Because he would not come to see the Peshwa, Madhav Rao<sup>5</sup> had to appoint Bāji Narsinh as the Diwan plenipotentiary to the Sindia Jagir. Mahādji Sinde's illegitimacy was at first coming in the way of his appointment<sup>6</sup> to the Sindia Jagir. Mānāji Sinde Phākade ( and not Phadké as incorrectly put by the author, P. 221 ) had been appointed to the post because, he was the grandson of Sābāji Sinde, belonging to the legitimate Sinde family and a near cousin. Our author has confused Sabaji with Tukoji ( P. 158 ) who was killed at Panipat fighting to the last with Blau. Sabaji fled<sup>7</sup> from the battle field with the Sindia contingent under him and lived some time after. Tukoji was Mahadji's full elder brother and hence his son Kedārji was appointed to the family Jagir after Jankoji, the last legitimate Sinde. All these facts seem to be unknown to our author. Mahādji's behaviour even after his final appointment to the family post is anything but loyal<sup>8</sup>. He is self-willed to a degree and is found acting as he liked, not taking up the work to which he is appointed, but always flying at tangent. He would not pay the Peshwas' dues<sup>9</sup> in time and quarrelled with Visaji<sup>10</sup> Krishna in whom Madhav Rao had full confidence. Never going deep into the affair, our author has been unable to evaluate personalities in a just manner. It will be seen from what we have said, that the Sindia episode required a fuller treatment by our author, at least to shed light on Madhavrao's part in the tangle. This was further complicated by Malhār Rao Holkar's selfish behaviour in relation to the Sindia affairs and Raghunath Rao's ambition. Not having studied these things, the North Indian chapter ( VI ) of the book is the weakest amongst all.

Prof. BANERJEE seems to have missed these important episodes, because he has overlooked (if he has touched at all) *Rajwade* Vols. XIII and XIV and *Purandare* III. But even his study of the Peshwa Daftar is not deep. A large number of letters in this collection are addressed to Vishvasrao Lakshman who is not the son of Nāro Shankar as wrongly taken by our author ( P. 135 ), but

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<sup>4</sup> S. P. D. 29—229.

<sup>5</sup> RAJWADE, 13—59.

<sup>6</sup> S. P. D. 29—48, 65,

<sup>7</sup> *Sind'eshāh Itihāsachī sūdhane* 1—263, 264, 265.

<sup>8</sup> RAJWADE, 13—47, 48, 57, 58 ; S. P. D. 29—247, 252.

<sup>9</sup> RAJWADE, 15—62 ; S. P. D. 29—275, 376, 277,

<sup>10</sup> S. P. D. 29—269, 272, 276,

<sup>11</sup> S. P. D. 29—8,

a nephew of the man. He is addressed as Rāosaheb many a time. He is for full nine years in charge of Jhānsi, a key-post in the Maratha Dominions. His dealings in Bundelkhand in combination with Bālāji Govind and others also required a section for proper mention. Our author has simply passed over the field, being bewildered perhaps by the number of little known actors in the affair. He has confused Gopalrao Patwardhan with Gopalrao Barve who was definitely not in Ahirwada in the early months of 1761 (P. 135). He, (in common with Sir J. SARKAR,) has committed a blunder in connecting places in an itinerary or perhaps has only copied him. Malharrao Holkar received a serious wound at Māngrol which made him return to Indore, though affairs in Bundelkhand called him there. Thence he returned to his native land by way of Khāndesh. Nāro Shankar coming from the south by way of Patode, met him at Nāndgāon-Sākoré a place to the north-west of Manmad junction in the Nasik district and at present a station on the G. I. P. Railway. Patode is south-west of Manmad. Thence he proceeded north to Malgaon and Malharrao came south to Sangamner which is wrongly copied in a printed letter omitting the letter ma, thus making it Sangner. Sir J. Sarkar identified the place with the Sangner junction south of Jaipur city and thus getting on the wrong tract, placed Patode and Nandgaon-Sakore on the road to Jhansi where again Malharrao was wrongly taken as proceeding (*Sarkar-Fall. Vol. II P. 510*). There was absolutely no reason for this confusion, notwithstanding the printer's or the copyist's error, for the letter written from Sangamner further on clearly says that Naro Shankar is still in Khandesh (S. P. D. 29-37, P. 33). A cursory reading of documents leads to such blunders. Such a blunder would have been impossible had the lives of the chief actors been separately arranged before-hand, as we have suggested above. Prof. BANERJEE has committed a similar error because he had not prepared a chart of the Peshwa's itinerary, though he could have copied it from *Vād VII P-392*. In order to prove Madhavrao's energy and dash, he makes him turn to Carnatic instead of returning to Poona after the victory of Rākshasbhuvan (P. 44), on the strength of a letter of which only the last part is found. In that letter the Peshwa is demanding money from (ostensibly) the Sarsubhedar of Konkan in order to finance his campaign towards the Tungbhadra river. Because our author is not conversant with the mode of Marathi expression, he takes Madhavrao to be starting *immediately* after the date. As a matter of fact he did nothing of the kind; slowly he returned to Poona, lived in Poona for full two months and then proceeded to Carnatic, crossing

the Krishna in February 1764. We suspect from this mistake that our author has probably missed the itinerary given in Vād. How he could explain Madhavrao living in secrecy for months together passes our understanding.

Prof. Banerjee's treatment of the role of such persons as Malharrao Holkar, Sakharam Bapu, and many others whose careers he has simply omitted, is devoid of correct understanding, where it is not characterized by ignorance. He is wisely cautious in passing remarks no doubt, but that does not necessarily mean correct understanding. In the index, Abā Purandare and Nilkantha Mahādev Purandare are separately given. Are we to understand that these were different persons? On page 83, Sambhaji Ganesh is quoted as the name of the governor of Orissa on English authority. Does our author know that he is the same person who joined Shuja-ud daula when he invaded Bundelkhand in 1762 and whose name is correctly given by the author as Ganesh Sambhāji, on page 134? We know that the name was somehow inverted by Persian and English scribes, but was it not necessary for our author to know the fact, because it shows, that a person who had committed treason and joined the enemy had to take refuge in a distant province under a man antagonistic to the Peshwa and to live almost as an exile away from his people? Surnames are seldom given in Marathi documents, whose other characteristic is want of correct dates with specific years. It makes the work of a research student trebly hard. One can confuse persons one with the other. One can confuse facts occurring at different times and in different places. There is a natural confusion in the writing of history if the historian is not an expert in the whole material, if he is not always on his guard. The mistakes occurring in the *Peshwa Daftar* have been confidently copied by the author, which has naturally led him astray in many places. On page 11, letter No. 9 of the 37th volume is taken to have been written in July 1762, but it belongs to 1764, as can be proved by referring to *Chandrachud I-89* and noting the fact of Malhar-rao's presence in the south in 1762. On page 192 in the foot-note No. 3, *S. P. D.* 37-200 is used in the events of the year 1770, while the letter belongs to a very early period viz. 1754. On page 228 Sir Charles Malet is stated to have been appointed in 1787 which should be 1785, though he arrived in Poona after a long tour of Northern India in 1786. On p. 184 note 3, the author quotes as authorities letters 280-282 for events of 1773, while these three letters properly belong to 1774. On pages 159-63, *S. P. D.* 29-246 is quoted as an authority for various purposes. The letter is wrongly copied, putting the date of its receipt as belonging to 1769,

while actually it should be 1770, to judge from the constants, a fact which can be verified by referring to the other letters of the writer. Nāro Narsi, in the same volume. As the author uses the letter for occurrences of the earlier period also, he seems to have misconstrued its contents. On p. 185, he makes Madhavrao reach Devarāyadurg by April 1769, forgetting that on P. 80 he is present at Kanakapur on the Godāvari in the same month, to interview Jānoji Bhonsale and conclude peace with him. The author falls into this mistake because he accepts the dates of nos. 168 and 170 of *S. P. D. Vol. 37* as correct. Had he been an expert in the Indian Calendar and known how to use Modak's Chronological Tables with their niceties of fixing dates, the date of No. 170 could have been corrected if the date of receipt of the letter had been properly read and understood. Had he referred to the *Satara Historical Society's Series Vol. II No. 324*, he would have found a letter actually written from Devarāyadurg by Narayanrao, the younger brother of the Peshwa dated 17th April 1770. He could have verified the fact from the Peshwa's itinerary given at the end of Vād's second volume on Madhav Rao Peshwa. It will be thus seen that (1) ignorance of material and sources, (2) incapacity to correct dates, and (3) inattention to what has been written by himself before, has resulted in using the events of 1770 for describing the imaginary campaign of 1769. We believe we have now convinced the reader about the knottiness of dates in Maratha history and the difficulty of piecing events together. Our author gives authorities in many places which are not applicable to the matter referred. Thus on P. 192 he quotes *S. P. D. 200, 201*, for the statement 'there was no water' but there is absolutely no mention of any scarcity of water in these letters, nor in the quoted portion in the note. On P. 48 note 3, we are told on the authority of *S. P. D. 37-32*, 'that 150 *Mussalmans* were killed' but there is no such word as Mussalman in the letter at all. The letter says that some 150 persons were killed. Though the army was Hyder's, we are sure that not even half of it could be taken as Muslim, in any campaign. Similar incorrect reading or incorrect understanding of Marathi is visible in many places. On P. 137 note 2, Malhār Holkar is taken as "trying to persuade the Peshwa to go to Hindustan" but in fact he was inducing Raghunathrao to come with him, which is quite clear from the place whence the letter quoted (*S. P. D. 39-24*) was written. On P. 149 note 6, which is written in elucidation of the sentence about "a suggestion for the capture of Surat by the Marathas", Visaji Krishna is sent to the province of *Sorat*. Evidently the author has taken Sorat as a variant of Surat, while really it is another and more ancient name of Kathiawar. Incidentally

it should be noted that, the author has left the province of Gujarath almost out of account except for the succession dispute amongst Damaji's sons.

Prof. Banerjee has given four separate maps to illustrate the various campaigns etc. during this period. But if one infers the accuracy of geographical descriptions in the book therefrom, one is sure to be disappointed! He is not conversant with the 18th century geography. We have already noted the Sangner blunder. On P. 80, he places Kanakapur on the north bank of the *Bhima*, though the actors in the campaign are moving in Berar and the Nizam's territory! Nor has he noted this important place of peace on the Godavari in the very specious map he has given, along with many other places occurring in the campaign. Why then give the map at all? On P. 173, he makes Karā as equal to Jahanabad in a bracket, while it is identical with Mānikpur. Studying and copying Sir J. Sarkar's *volumes*, he has copied his mistakes also. Similarly if one thinks from his copious use of original letters that he has used these bit by bit in tracing a campaign, one is sure to be misled. Thus on pages 188-190, he is writing of Hyder's movements in the Bednur area. He makes use of some 20 letters (nos. 180-200) of S. P. D. 37. In more than half a dozen letters the name of the key pass of Masoor leading to the Bednur forest where Hyder was hiding, occurs. The Marathas were guarding this exit. But Prof. Banerjee never once mentions this pass, nor gives it in his specially prepared map. If such things are to be omitted from a campaign, why try to describe it at all? He could have found the place ready to hand in Wilks' work from which he extensively quotes. As we have said in the beginning, his method is defective in the extreme.

In the introductory remarks we have said that the author falls back on others' opinions. Relying on the resonant reputation of Mahādji Sindé mainly based on his later life, he has judged his character and behaviour in this obscure period, still to be properly studied. For his north Indian affairs, Prof. Banerjee seems to rely on Sir Jadunath's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* Vols. II and III. On page 176, he passes a judgment on Visaji Krishna for his later behaviour in note 4. This he practically copies *verbatim* from the last sentence of ch. 26 of Sir J. Sarkar's *Fall*. We do not think that the author—or for the matter of that Sir J. Sarkar—has studied the later life of Visaji Krishna in any detail. In fact, it is very obscure. Visaji had made a life-enemy in Mahādji Sindé by his strict obedience to the Peshwa's orders, which inevitably antagonised him to all his colleagues. Mahadji's behaviour during Madhav Rao's



period is anything but commendable. His particular behaviour in the Rohila campaign can come in for severe criticism. Because neither the author nor Sarkar had studied Mahadji's early life as depicted in such obscure corner as *Rajwade* Vol. 13, they think him to be almost an angel; and Visaji, in comparison, a selfish devil. Has Prof. Banerjee discovered any special source of information to prove that Visaji had amassed a fortune? The fortune with which Visaji returned to the Deccan was a state fortune, which he had to deliver to the then lawful head of the state, Peshwa Raghunath Rao. Herein he was quite helpless and it was a first rate misfortune of Visaji for his private life. Madhav Rao, who had authorised as well as fully approved of his conduct in the North Indian campaign, was no more. Narayan Rao, at whose order of recall he had to return, had been foully murdered. At least a legend tells that Mādḥav Rao was so well pleased with Visāji's success in the North, that from his death bed he had ordered his successor to receive Visaji into Poona—whenever he returned, with a shower of gold flowers. But alas! that was not to be his lot. He was obliged to hand over the fortune to a moral culprit hated by the people. Thereby unwittingly he became a suspected man and an enemy of the powers that be. Mahādji, whose vacillating conduct in this critical period of Maratha history is at least as blameworthy as perhaps Visāji's, however, acted as a small man indeed when he was in power later on. For Visāji's official behaviour in the North Indian Campaign, Mahadji sought a revenge on him when he was in his clutches. Visāji's guilt has not been openly proved in history, but still instead of getting his laurels, he was humiliated and impoverished by equally culpable but successful rivals.

In his short but weighty and thoughtful foreword to the Marathi life of Madhav Rao by Sahasrabuddhe, Mr. D. V. APTE has taken an entirely fresh view of the affairs in Madhav Rao's period. Sakhārām Bāpu was a man of long range view according to him and not culpable for the way he has been exhibited. On the other hand Madhav Rao initiated a new line of profoundly harmful political conduct, the line of getting away from your rivals by imprisonment and similar devices. We, in common with Mr. Apte, also think of the affairs under Madhav Rao in similar terms. Madhav Rao was from the beginning a precocious but physically weak man. In his later years, due to loss of physique, he seems to have clearly lost his mental balance, a fact proved by his undignified behaviour towards the old Gangādhār Chandrachud and others, Prof. Banerjee has absolutely no new view or criticism

to offer. His last chapter is of a humdrum type, voicing others' opinions and practically unnecessary in some parts.

We deprecate the way of scholars to add a good-sized bibliography at the end of their tomes without actually showing a critical handling of the material contained therein. Prof. BANERJEE is humble in this respect. But even he has put in the respectable Rajwade there, without actually using him to any extent. On P. 220, for note 2, he quotes KINCAID and PĀRASNIS as his authority. Had he read Rajwade, he would have put R-1-286 there, for that is the only authority for the described event. Once where he has used it, he has not been able to correct the wrong date at the top, which is earlier by two years ( P. 136 note 1-RAJ. I. 296 ) and therefore his whole paragraph is unhistorical. We have also shown above that the author has entirely missed RAJ. 13-14 in his treatment. VĀD also he seems to have studied in its English gist; otherwise it is very difficult to explain his non-use of the important itinerary. One naturally expects the author to be more thorough and exhaustive.

## A NOTE ON THE COPPER SWORDS FROM KALLUR

By

A. V. NAIK\*

In his article on "Archaeological Traces of the Vedic Aryans" Mr. Robert HEINE-GELDERN<sup>1</sup> postulates an Indo-Aryan migration to India between 1200 and 1000 B. C. In the train of evidence—which consists of North Indian finds which, as he says "We are now bound to discern as from a later date than the Indus Civilization and possibly belonging to the Vedic age" are included the copper antennae swords from the Ganges plain, in support of his thesis. The swords have antennae hilts and are—hilt and blade—of one cast having leaf-shaped blades with a distinct middle ridge. They after a comparative scrutiny, betray, according to him, an ultimate connection with European swords, and 'are strongly influenced by North Caucasian forms of the Koban Culture.' He assigns them to the period between 1200 and 1000 B. C.

The purpose of the present note is to draw attention of scholars interested in archaeology, to similar copper-swords, which have been recently discovered at Kallūr in the Hyderabad State.<sup>2</sup> Kallūr is a village in the Mānvī Taluq of the Raichur District. The swords in question are of copper and are three in number. It is stated that they were found concealed under a boulder on one of the hills around that place. The Director of Archaeology in that State was quick to note their similarity to the swords discovered at Fategarh, when they were brought to the notice of the Department. Consequently the site was subjected to further exploration in which it yielded many interesting finds resembling those of Maski, besides offering some primitive rock-drawings, stamping the village as a pre-historic site.

The three swords<sup>3</sup> are of different lengths—39, 30 and 26 inches but except this are quite similar to each other. With all the three, the blade and hilt are of one cast, no mark of separation being visible. The blades are leaf-shaped with a distinct middle ridge, but the smallest of them has a rounded top, while the other two have pointed ones. They have short blunt antennae exactly like

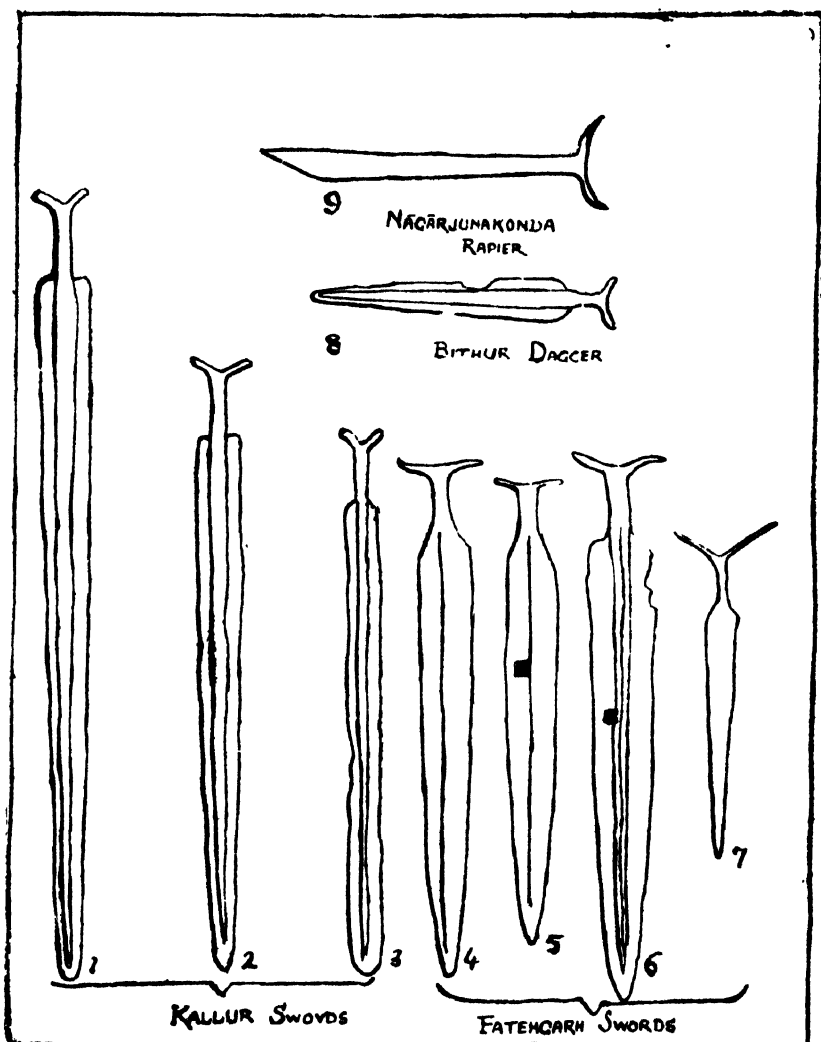
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\* My attention to this subject was drawn by my Teacher Dr. H. D. SANKALIA.

<sup>1</sup> *JISOA*, 4-87-115. Sketches of Antennae Swords found in India are given in the plate, to which please refer.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1937-40 (Calcutta 1942) pp. 23-28, 31-32.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. V (b).





the antennae dagger from Bithur.<sup>4</sup> It will thus be seen, that these<sup>5</sup> are very nearly similar to those illustrated by HEINE-GELDERN, the only difference between them is that the Kallūr ones have more pronounced shoulders than those of the Ganges plain, which are only rounded projections.

The close similarity of the Kallūr finds<sup>6</sup> —which include stone implements such as axes, cores and flakes, perforated pottery pieces, chank beads and bangles, terracottas, copper objects including a fragmentary axe, etc. — with those of the Maski Industry certainly speaks for the high antiquity of the site, though it cannot be precisely dated. However the period of Kallūr finds seems undoubtedly to be coeval with, if not anterior to, that of the "North Indian finds" which are supposed to belong to the Vedic age — 1200 to 1000 B. C.

The importance of the copper finds at Kallūr as has been brought out by Mr. K. M. AHMAD who investigated<sup>7</sup> the site, is that we may perhaps be forced to revise Sir John MARSHALL's statement that "In Southern India there was no Copper Age"<sup>8</sup>. But the significance of the Kallūr Copper swords in the light of HEINE-GELDERN's theory has missed his attention. How these will affect his thesis will be clear after a close examination of his arguments and these Kallūr finds by competent scholars. But what seems to be most important to me is the occurrence in Southern India of the copper-antennae swords — "a weapon of undoubted European origin" and due to Western influence which accompanied the ethnical or cultural wave, that brought the Indo-Aryans from Western-Asia to India between 1200 and 1000 B. C., at so early a period when there was almost no possibility of "Aryan" influence in that region. Literary evidence points to the 7th century B. C. as the date when Aryanisation of India south of the Vindhya began. Were the swords in question imported from the North? In that case we would be forced to accept Aryan contacts with Southern India at a much earlier date than at present supposed. Be that as it may, the Kallūr swords certainly demand a scholarly attention.

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<sup>4</sup> *JISOA* 4, Pl. XIX, Fig. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XIX.

<sup>6</sup> *A. R. A. D.* of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, op. cit., Pls. IX-XII, and p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *CHI* 1-615.

In my "Studies in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Sculptures"<sup>9</sup> I noted a rapier<sup>10</sup> which seems to have an antennae hilt, but the blade of which is considerably different from the swords referred to above. If it is correct, then it would show that the antennae hilts were in evidence till the 2nd cent. A. D. in Southern India. It would really be instructive if more sculptured instances of antennae hilts are brought to notice. So far as I can see the antennae hilts seem to have fallen in disuse shortly afterwards and perhaps totally disappeared, as I could not find a single instance of it in sculptures later than that date, either from North India or South India.

<sup>9</sup> *BDCRI* 250-111, 263-99.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 285-6 ; Fig. 22;

## NOTES ON POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF KONKAN

By

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

The recent Memoir published by the Baroda Archaeological Department<sup>1</sup> contains several inscriptions which throw light on the political, and cultural history of early mediaeval Gujarat and the Konkan. In this note only those aspects are touched upon which have been missed by the editor of the memoir.

So far as Gujarat and Kathiawar are concerned, inscriptions Nos. I, II, III, and IX are important, but since the full significance of certain geographical and ethnographical references is fully dealt with by DR. SANKALIA elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> we will confine ourselves to the inscriptions connected with Konkan.

Mr. GADRE has done distinct service to the Śilāhāra History by editing two sets of copper plate grants<sup>2a</sup> of Śilāhāra Aparājita dated Śaka 915, both of which were acquired by the Baroda Museum in the year 1923. The existence of these two sets was already known to scholars from a short note published by Mr. GADRE in the *Proceeding of the Tenth All India Oriental Conference*<sup>3</sup> held at Trivendrum in 1937. These two sets have now been edited in this Memoir for the first time in full.

The importance of these plates lies in the fact they happen to be the earliest copper plate grants of the Śilāhāra dynasty published so far, though there is another early set of the same dynasty issued by an unknown Śilāhāra ruler (Mahā-sāmanta) Chadvaideva<sup>4</sup>, which is now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. This latter set was issued when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was still in

<sup>1</sup> GADRE, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*. (1943).

<sup>2</sup> *JGRS*. September 1943.

<sup>2a</sup> GADRE, *op. cit* pp. 35-64.

<sup>3</sup> p. 880.

<sup>4</sup> These plates were earlier noticed by R. D. BANERJI in *PR. ASI. WC* for the year 1919-20. pp. 55-6. Many statements made in this note were found to be inaccurate on examination of the original plates preserved in the P. W. M. Bombay. These are now fully edited by MMP. Prof. V. V. MIRASHI and the writer of the present note for *EI*. 28, which is expected to be out very shortly. I am obliged to Prof. MIRASHI for his consideration to include some portions from the same for this review.



power and to whom the Śilāhāras owed their allegiance. The two sets of Aparājita published in this memoir are therefore the earliest known plates of the Śilāhāra dynasty after the downfall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty and its overthrow by Cālukya Tailapa. These facts though obvious have not been stated in the memoir by Mr. GADRE.

Both the grants are issued on the same day in Śaka 915 and are about four years earlier than Bhādāṇe grant<sup>5</sup> of the same ruler which was hitherto the earliest known grant by the same king. These grants are important both from the point of Śilāhāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa, history. These have almost identical texts excluding the details specifying the property granted to the donee who happens to be one and the same person in both these grants.

Certain important events, made known to us for the first time by these grants are described below.

From the point of Rāṣṭrakūṭa history, verses 9 and 11 in both the sets are noteworthy. From verse 9, it is made known for the first time that Karkara, who was probably a relative or a feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftain, fought on behalf of Govinda but was subsequently overthrown by Amoghavarṣa III with the aid of his allies. This fact was already pointed out by Dr. ALTEKAR in his *Rāshtrakutas and their Times* p. 110, where he had cited this verse from these very plates, which were in the possession of Prof. VELANKAR and which were since then considered to be untraceable.

Similarly, verse 11 from these plates was first cited by Mr. C. V. VAIDYA in his *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, p. 349, where he brought into prominence the implications of the verse which describes graphically the condition of Southern India during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. It refers to the several conquests over the Colas and other rulers which have surprisingly been corroborated by subsequent research in Rāṣṭrakūṭa history.

From the point of Śilāhāra History, the following points are noteworthy.

In his introduction to these plates Mr. GADRE has discussed the various implications of the name Śilāhāra adopted by the dynasty, where he has accepted the usual interpretation *Śilā-Āhāra* meaning rock-food, which the founder of the dynasty became in

<sup>5</sup> *EI.* 3-271,

order to save the life of the serpent Saṁkhacuḍa. A verse commonly noticed in several Śilāhāra copper plate grants is cited in support of this. Apart from the legendary account obtained in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*<sup>6</sup>, in the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*<sup>7</sup>, in the *Nāgānanda Nṛṣaṅga*<sup>8</sup> (ascribed to Harṣa and further supported by the account of the Chinese traveller I-tsing<sup>10</sup>). The *earliest inscriptional evidence* of the popular myth associated with the name of Jīmūtavāhana, occurs in the Sanjan plates<sup>11</sup> of Amoghavarṣa, dated Śaka 793. It might be mentioned here that a novel but different interpretation of the dynastic name Śilāra is found in the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Śilāhāra Chadvaideva, which may be given here for the sake of general information to scholars interested in the evolution of this myth.

Verse 17 of this grant narrates the usual story about the protection granted to serpents by Jīmūtavāhana, son of Jīmūtaketu, but in verse 19 of the same grant it is narrated that his descendants assumed the form of Śilāra in order to give protection to the ocean<sup>12</sup> when it was harassed by the arrow of Jāmadagnya i. e. Paraśurāma. Since then the princes of this dynasty came to be known as Śilāras. It is not clear however what exactly the word Śilāra means as it is not found in any Sanskrit Dictionary. The original text of these runs thus ;

जामदग्न्यशरात्र ( त्र ) [ स्तः ] शीलारच्छन्नना तदा ।

( साग ) [ रो ]\* रक्षित [ स्तै ] श्व प्रापुस्तन्नाम पू [ र्व ] जाः । [ १९॥ ]\*

शीलारनान्नि तद [ न्व ] य येन देवः...etc.

The name of Goggi as *Irmadi-Jhañjha*<sup>13</sup> is made known from Aparājita's plates for the first time, who is also compared to Jhañjha, his elder brother. In the plates of Chadvaideva he is called Dviguṇa-Jhañjha. The name of Goggi's minister Nāgama is also brought to light for the first time from these records.

<sup>6</sup> GADRE, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, Chap. 20 and 90.

<sup>8</sup> *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*. Pratisarga Parva, III, 15th Adhyāya. (Nirṇayasāgar edn. 268-270.)

<sup>9</sup> Edited by T. Ganapati SASTRI, *Trivendrum Sanskrit Series*, LIX.

<sup>10</sup> I-tsing, *Records etc.* pp. 163-4.

<sup>11</sup> *EI*, 18-253.

<sup>12</sup> For the legend of Paraśurāma's defeat of the ocean, see *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, III, 57, verses 47 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Irmadi is merely a Kanarese variant of Dviguṇa in Sanskrit.

The exact boundaries of the territory held by Silābhāra Aparājita have some geographical significance. The village Sanyān which evidently stands for Sanjān, was in the possession of the Silābhāras in the 9-10th centuries A. D., and the place-name which is distinctly spelt here as above stated, settles once for all a controversy<sup>14</sup> regarding the word Hañjamāna ( or Hanyamāna ) occurring in many Silābhāra inscriptions of the 10-12th centuries<sup>15</sup>. Its identification with Sanjān as attempted earlier has to be rejected in view of the clear mention of the place-name<sup>16</sup> in these two grants and the explanation of the word has to be sought somewhere else than Sanjān. From the context where this word Hañjamāna appears in the text of Silābhāra inscriptions, it seems certain that it has nothing to do with any city or place, and this supposition was mainly due to some wrong separation of the words *Nagara-poura-tri-vargga* by which it was followed in some records. It seems likely that by Hañjamāna, a corporation of Muslims ( Añjumāna ) is probably indicated in the inscriptions. Knowledge of the contemporary social conditions leaves us in no doubt regarding the Muslims having been fairly well settled on the western sea-board of India, as would be indicated by the writings of Arab travellers<sup>17</sup> and even from the inscriptional evidence<sup>18</sup> obtained for Tājikas ( i. e. Arabs ) as early as 738 A. D. during the times of Pulakesi II. We find the Arab connections echoed in several inscriptions of the period. Mention may be made here of a community of foreign traders called Nawāyats referred to by several geographers<sup>19</sup> who

<sup>14</sup> cf. *JBBRAS*. 21, 4-18; *IA*. 41, 173. see also *EI*. 12, 258-9.

<sup>15</sup> For full references where this word occurs in Silābhāra inscriptions see *JBORS*. 28, 306-18.

<sup>16</sup> In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa this name occurs as Sanjān. *EI*, 18,250.

<sup>17</sup> Numerous Arab travellers have recorded about the dealings between Indians and the Arabs and their settlements on the Western sea-coast, of. Nainar. *Arab Geographers: Knowledge of Southern India*, Ch. III-IV\*

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, p. 169.†

<sup>19</sup> "The sailors of Siraf and Oman who were constantly on the sea and visited various nations and islands, on the coast they were called Nawayats" Al-MASUDI, " *Meadows of Gold* " ( SPRENGER'S trans. p. 277 ). FERISHTA says, " The Muhamedans extended their dominions in Malabar and many of the princes and inhabitants being converts gave over the management of some sea-ports to the strangers whom they called Nowayats " BRIGGS tran. IV, p. 533, HOBSON-JOBSON gives the meaning of Nawayat as follows " Navaet, Naiteā, Navayat, — a name given to muhamedans of mixed race in the Konkan and South Kanara", see also *JBBRAS* 23,370.

\* See also, *ABORI*, 10,25-44.

† Cf. BHANDARKAR'S *List*, No. 1220,

seem to be the same as Nou-vittakas<sup>20</sup> mentioned in some inscriptions. In the Panjim Plates<sup>21</sup> of Kadamba Jayakesi II, dated Śaka 981, we get the names Nou-vittaka Āliya, Madhumad and Chādhamā belonging to the Tājika race ( Arabs ) where their names are distinctly sanskritised for the sake of the inscription. One Nou-vittaka Vā-said is also mentioned in the Khārepāṭaṇ Plates<sup>22</sup> of Śilāhāra Anantapāla, dated Śaka 1106, a name which could be connected with Bā-Said, evidently of Muslim origin. These references leave us in no doubt regarding the establishment of the Muslim traders into a sort of corporation which probably is the Hañjamāna ( Añjumāna ) of the Śilāhāra inscriptions. In support of this theory it might again be stated that the word Hanjumāna occurs in several later inscriptions<sup>23</sup> of the Vijayanagara kings where some Muslim traders are stated to have belonged to the Hañjamāna. That Hañjamāna would refer to some organization like the Añjumān is also clear from the words Hañjamāna-pañcamāṭha-sthāna etc. appearing in the Cikoḍi Inscription<sup>24</sup> of Śilāhāra Avasara III, dated Śaka 910, as the context proves that it was associated with some corporation or guild.

The mention of Sangamādiśvara and Chiṭṭun, which are correctly identified with Sangameśvara and modern Chiṭṭun respectively, as included in the territory of Śilāhāra Aparājita, furnish us with a new and definite tract under the sway of the Śilāhāras. In fact the only Śilāhāra inscription from this territory known upto now is the Chiṭṭun inscription<sup>25</sup> of Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna, dated Śaka 1078, i. e. after a period of nearly 163 years after the present two grants. It leads us to suppose that the territory in the vicinity of Chiṭṭun was continuously in the hands of the Śilāhāra dynasty for more than two centuries.

Puṇaka-deśa, mentioned in these grants and now denoted by the territory in the vicinity of modern Poona, is already known

<sup>20</sup> Literally the word *Nou-vittaka* would mean a person whose wealth consists in ships.

<sup>21</sup> MORAES, *Kadamba-kula*, Appendix, III, 2.

<sup>22</sup> *IA*, 9, 33.

<sup>23</sup> e. g. Kaikini inscription, cf. PANCHAMUKHI, *Karnataka Inscriptions*, I, 110-12.

<sup>24</sup> *Annual Report, BISM.* for Śaka 1835, p. 431.

<sup>25</sup> KIELHORN's *List*, No. 311. This inscription is edited by the writer of this note for JUB. Curiously enough though the original stone of this ins. was found in Chiṭṭun, the contents of the Insc. have nothing to do with the place. On the other hand it refers to the Prañālaka-deśa corresponding to modern Panhālā near Kolhāpur, a territory governed by the Southern Branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty.

to us from two earlier grants of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. In one of them<sup>26</sup> this territory is called Puṇya-deśa, while in the other<sup>27</sup> it is called Punaka-deśa. The change from Punaka to Puṇaka in these grants approximates to its modern name more closely.

The mention of the territory belonging to Bhīllama in these two grants now helps us to identify him with a ruler of that name from the Seuṇa dynasty and to whom Śilāhāra Aparājita is recorded to have rendered some help in other grants<sup>28</sup> of the Śilāhāra dynasty.

The titles of Śilāhāra Aparājita recorded in these grants are also well worth a detailed study. Unfortunately all these titles are not well separated in the text quoted in the Memoir, and in places where they are so shown have been erroneously done. Many of the titles are often repeated in other Śilāhāra records. The title *Paścima-samudrādhipati*, occurring in these plates show that Aparājita was probably the first ruler of the dynasty to adopt it and not Śilāhāra Anantapāla as was formerly supposed<sup>29</sup>.

The titles *Nānni-samudra*, *Villa-vidēga*<sup>29a</sup>, *Gaṇḍa-vṃgara*, *Gaṇḍa-ruddhaphoḍi*, *Gaṇḍa-Nārāyaṇa* etc. have certainly their origin in Kannaḍa, which indicates the South Indian origin of the Dynasty, which is also shown by several names ending in *ayyā* occurring in Śilāhāra inscriptions including the present two grants. The title

<sup>26</sup> Poona plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa, Śaka 680, *BISMQ*, 8,166-7.

<sup>27</sup> Talegaon plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa, Śaka 690, *EI*, 13,275. cf. also *JBRAS* (NS), 6,231-8.

<sup>28</sup> cf. the verse

येनस्वागतमागताय विहितं गोमाय नानाविधं  
येनैवेय्यपदेवनामि चलितं राज्यं स्थिरं करितम् ॥  
भिल्लमाम्मणंबुवक्षितिभूतां दत्तं च येनाभयं ।  
तस्य श्रीविरुद्धंरामनृपतेरन्यत् किमावर्ण्यते ॥

appearing in many records,

<sup>29</sup> *IC*, 2,410.

<sup>29a</sup> This title has been wrongly read in the memoir, in the text of both the Grants. In grant A, it is erroneously separated. In the text of Grant B an additional VI is erroneously left in the transcript and does not appear in the facsimiles published. The meaning of this title is "One who is expert in wielding a bow." It may be noted here that in a contemporary record of Yādava Bhīllama II, dated Śaka 922, we find the biruda "Sella-vidēga" of *EI*, 2-219 (line 51); As sella indicates a Javelin, this biruda, not explained by KIELHORN, has to be translated as an "Expert in (using) a Javelin".

*Nanni-samudra*, which can be translated as "Ocean of goodness" has already appeared in the Bhadane plates of the same ruler. Another title which has been read as *Pusiganjja* (?) *vāta* appears to be *Pusigajñyavāta* as the letter *Jñya* clearly resembles the forms of the same letter obtained in lines 27, 40, 42, 54, 71 and 90 of Grant A and lines 53 and 42 from Grant B. The meaning of the title seems to be "Fierce wind to liars"<sup>30</sup> Though this interpretation is somewhat doubtful, the new reading as suggested above seems to be beyond doubt. Another interesting<sup>31</sup> title is *Jhampañcārya* the implications of which have dealt with at length by the writer of this note elsewhere.

Regarding the property granted to the donee in grant B, it might be noted that the village *Sālaṇaka* situated in the *Pāṇḍ viṣaya* is previously mentioned<sup>32</sup> in the copper plate grant of Chadvaideva, where another orchard from this village has been granted. The writer of this note has come across another *Silāhāra* grant<sup>33</sup> in the Janjira State which he is trying to secure for a faithful edition from the original plates which have not been traced as yet. These plates purport to record a donation by the *Silāhāra* ruler Chittarāja, in Śaka 946, and state that the property granted by it lay in the *Pāṇḍ Viṣaya*. From this mention as well as from the tenure of these three grants it seems certain that some part near the coast in the modern Kolaba district of the Bombay Presidency must represent the ancient division *Pāṇḍ*. In our edition of the grant by Chadvaideva both the places *Pāṇḍ* and *Sālaṇaka* have been properly identified. The *Pāṇḍ viṣaya* from all these references appears to be an important *viṣaya* in the possession of the *Silāhāras*

<sup>30</sup> I am obliged to Dr. G. S. GAI of this Institute, for the meaning of this expression.

<sup>31</sup> R. D. BANERJI had read these names as *Sūlpraka* and or *Salpaka* and the name of the *viṣaya* as *Mālāḍ* in his notes on the plates of Chadvaideva. Our examination of the original plates however shows that the names are as above stated. The correctness of our reading is further corroborated by the mention of the same village in these grants of *Aparājita*.

<sup>32</sup> See the article on the Savai-Vere plates of Guhallā Deva II to appear shortly in EI, 27, by the writer of this note. In this article many points relating to the political and cultural history of Konkan, in so far as it is concerned with the Gaṇḍevī Ins. of Saṅṭha, and not dealt with in this note are critically examined.

<sup>33</sup> Only a kind of transcript was made available to the writer through the courtesy of Prof. H. D. VELANKAR of Bombay. The plates are yet to be traced from the Janjira State. It is interesting to note that the donee of these plates was a resident of Chipaluna.

at least from the middle of the 10th century till Saka 946 which happens to be the date of the unpublished copper plate grant of Chittarāja mentioned above.

The two Silāhāra grants have a fresh interest because of the penalties mentioned in them. One of them is *Kumāri-sāhāsa*, molesting the modesty of a virgin, which, as has already been pointed out by the editor of the Memoir, appears also in the grant<sup>34</sup> of Prthvicandra Bhogaśakti. It might further be added that it also appears in an unpublished grant<sup>35</sup> of a new Sinda ruler GOVANA who ruled in the vicinity of Junnar in Śaka 933. The word preceded by *Kumāri-sāhāsa* in these two grants appears to be *Nidhā-nālipaka* instead of *Nidhānāliya* as read by Mr. GADRE. Taken in connection with Nidhāna this word may refer to a tax collected on hoarders of money ( *Nidhāna-ālipaka*, one who clings to money ).

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<sup>34</sup> *EI*, 25,337.

<sup>35</sup> This grant is under publication by the writer of this note in the *NIA*. (September 1943 ) cf. *EI*, 25,164, foot note 17.

## PRACYA THE DIALECT OF THE VIDUṢAKA

By

D. G. KOPARKAR.

THAT PRĀCYĀ is the dialect of the Vidūṣaka in the Sanskrit drama is attested by an unbroken tradition right from Bharata.<sup>1</sup> Mārkaṇḍeya (Mk) remarks that it is the dialect of other humorous characters also. Prthvidhara in the introduction to his commentary on the Mṛcchak., Puruṣottama (Pu) and Mk have found in this dialect many popular expressions or colloquialisms from common speech<sup>2</sup> (*lokoktayo bahulam*). Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa (RT) and Mk observe that in this dialect we often find apparent paradoxes and periphrasis or round about expressions (*vakrokti*), and Mk further adds that insinuations or double entendres (*chekokti*) and vulgar similes and expressions (*grāmya upamokti*) are also the peculiar features of Prācyā. All these characteristics of this dialect are quite applicable to Prācyā if we remember the fact that it is the dialect of the court jester or buffoon, whom tradition recognises to be an old, intelligent and witty Brahmin.<sup>3</sup>

Another point on which there is no difference of opinion is that this dialect is derived from and has the basis (*prakṛti*) of Sauraseni (S). PISCHEL in his *Grammatik* (§ 22) has noted that the distinction of Prācyā from Ś is very slight and is mostly of a lexicographic nature. KEITH differentiates the two by saying, "Prācyā is a mere variety of Śauraseni. ....It may have been an eastern dialect of the main language." (*Sk. drama*, pp. 18, 128).

Now the question is whether the two dialects are to be identified completely or not. To the compiler of the *Pāia-sadda-mahannavo* as well as to the Western grammarians, the speech of the Vidūṣaka is S pure and simple. The present article is an humble attempt to investigate how far the overwhelming testimony of the authorities on dramaturgy, explicitly voting for a distinction between Prācyā and Ś, is reliable. The writer is of opinion that

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<sup>1</sup> Vide *Nāṭya-Śāstra* GOS, 17. 50; *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*, 6-161; *Prākṛta-Kalpataru*, IA, 1927, 2. 2. 4d; *Daśa-Rūpaka*, 2. 60; *Prākṛta-Sarvasva*, Vizagapattam, 1927, X. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Prākṛtānuśāsana*, Paris. 1938, X. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*, III, 79, *karma-vapur-veṣa-bhāṣādyaṇi hāsyakaraṇa*,



Prācyā was originally a patois of some eastern region and that it was only at a later stage, probably, that the privilege of speaking it was attributed to the Vidūṣaka and his amusing band.

In order to know whether any individuality can be allotted to Prācyā we must examine the Prākṛit grammars on the one hand and the speeches of the Vidūṣaka in all Sanskrit dramas on the other. We begin with a conspectus giving the correlation of rules of Prācyā in the grammars available:—

Prācyā Sūtras

12th century	15th or 16th	?	Not later than 17th	12th	13th
Pu X	RT II. 2	Pr.-Kalpa-Latikā	Mk X	Hc IV	Tr. III. 2 and others
1					
2	1 <sup>c</sup>		4	264, 265	22, 23
3	1 <sup>d</sup>		4		
4	2 <sup>d</sup>	3 <sup>a</sup>			
5	2 <sup>c</sup>		8	263	21
6	4 <sup>c</sup>	2 <sup>cd</sup>			
7	4 <sup>b</sup>	2 <sup>a</sup>	5, 6		
8	4 <sup>c</sup>	3 <sup>b</sup>		279	7
9	2 <sup>ab</sup>		2		
10		1 <sup>cd</sup>	10		
11		2 <sup>b</sup>			
12	4 <sup>b</sup>	3 <sup>c</sup>	12		
13	3 <sup>ab</sup>		7		
14	1 <sup>b</sup>		1		
	3 <sup>cd</sup>	3 <sup>d</sup>	1		
	2 <sup>a</sup>		3		
	4 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>a</sup>	9	285	16
	4 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>b</sup>	11	282	17

The parallelism among the four Eastern grammarians is so striking that out of the 14 sūtras in Pu, 8 are found in Mk and RT and 7 in the *Kalpalatikā*; while, out of the remaining 6, three have parallels in RT and in the *Kalpalatikā*. RT has four sūtras which are not met with in Pu but which have regular correspondences in Mk.

Curiously enough, there are some five<sup>4</sup> sūtras in Hemacandra (Hc) and other grammarians of the Western School, giving rules applicable virtually to Ś, but really to Prācyā. In one of them (No. 285)<sup>4</sup> Hc deems it necessary to insert the word *vidūśakasya* which the Eastern grammarians did not think in any way essential as they had reserved Prācyā for the Vidūśaka alone. This gives us a clue to believe that he is generalising only theoretically. He identifies the two dialects by mixing their rules together, and calling them "rules of Śauraseni". And this is but natural when we take into account the fact that he was a Jain monk to whom attending a dramatic performance was a sin in itself, but who, *per contra*, was a specialist in the Ārṣa or Ardha-Māgadhi (AMg), the language of the religious scriptures of his Svetāmbara sect, the twenty-five Āgamas. His grammar was thus written mainly to facilitate the understanding of the Jain texts, and about them his information was first-hand. As regards the exclusively scenic dialects, however, he was not interested in them, and so he dealt with them only from second-hand sources, copying the several sūtras which he had found in some older works. One may even go to the extent of saying that Hc and other Jain grammarians of the Western School probably did not go to the testimony of the Mss of the dramas but only depended on their predecessors (especially Jain). They wrote for the sake of religious propaganda and hence their grammars lack originality.

This hypothesis about the eclectic nature of the grammar of Hc is strengthened from another direction. Namisādhu (N) in his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvya-lankāra* (II. 11, 12) gave the principal features of Ś, Mg, Paisāci and Apabhramśa (Ap.). He was a Svetāmbara Jain and wrote the commentary in 1069, i. e., many years before the birth of Hc. Since N was only a commentator and not a grammarian, he must have quoted here some work on grammar which was popular in his days. A comparison of the citation in N with Hc shows that 19 out of the 27 Ś-sūtras of Hc have verbal prototypes in N, even the illustrations being the same. Moreover, these 19 sūtras include all the five sūtras which are given by Hc as peculiar to Ś, but which, according to the Eastern grammarians, belong to Prācyā. It can then be rightly surmised that "the sections on Ś and Mg in the *Siddha-Hemacandra* are not first-hand. .... They are probably composed after borrowing many indications found in a treatise on dramatic art or on rhetorics of the

<sup>4</sup> Vide Vocabulary (9) below.

type of that which is commented upon by N".<sup>5</sup> The incorporating of the Prācyā sūtras under S-sūtras can be guessed to be a blunder not of Hc, but of some other previous absent-minded commentator (N himself?) who had mechanically put them in the S-section.

Trivikrama (Tr) and his followers, Simharāja, Lakṣmīdhara (Lx), Appaya-Dikṣita (App), Śeṣa-Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇa-Paṇḍita, Śubha-Candra, etc., imitate Hc faithfully and slavishly. They add nothing new. The so-called Vālmiki Sūtras are merely a metrical version of Hc. In all these grammars the rules and even the examples are the same. The lucubrations of the grammarians of the Western school are, in the words of Th. Bloch, "the monologues of fools without any connexion with the language of the texts". The principal Prakrit of Hc, for example, has been proved to comprise an unscientific shuffling of the Māhārāṣṭrī (M) of the gāthās and of the epic poems, the regional lyrics, Gaṇḍavaho and Rāvaṇavaho, and the language of the canonical and non-canonical works of the Jains (i. e., AMg, and JM). Hc does not indicate the sources of his illustrations and hence the confusion is irremediable. As the idea of literary propriety is foreign to him, as to many other ancient Indian writers, he tends to reduce the Prakrits to M only.

The case with the Eastern grammarians is quite different. They were true critics and had no sectarian bias. Secondly, they had an uninterrupted tradition before them, right from the days of Vararuci (Vr) when the Prakrits were no doubt living tongues. Thirdly, their main object was to give the grammar of the dramatic Prakrits in which they were adept.

### The Grammar of Prācyā

We give below the rules about Prācyā as laid down by the grammarians and try to find out how far those rules are followed by the author of the Mṛcchak. with the help of STENZLER'S, N.B. GODBOLE'S and Dr. V. G. PARANJAPÉ'S editions.

#### Phonology

The preference given to the dentals and to the sibilant -s- in Ś is also to be found in Prācyā. The intervocalic -t- is softened to -d-, but in the majority of cases it is dropped. It is now generally believed<sup>6</sup> that the change of -t- to -d- and the elision of -t- are

<sup>5</sup> Mme NITTI-DOLCI, *Les Grammairiens Prakrits*, p. 170.

<sup>6</sup> Vide Dr. M. GHOSH, *Karpūramāñjarī*, Cal. 1939, p. 65, where the editor shows several cases in which all his Mss agree in eliding the intervocal -t-. On p. LXXV he shows that M is a later phase of Ś.

the two phases of the same dialect, Ś, the former being the older one. What is true of Ś is also true of Prācyā.

### Morphology

(I) Pu RT, Mk and Hc are unanimous about *bhavam* being the nom. sg. of *bhavat-*. Hc widens the scope of this final-*m* to all words ending in *-a-* and *-at* but this only in the voc. sg. Hc further adds that this *-m* can be dropped optionally. Thus Hc illustrates: *bhavam*, *samaṇe*<sup>7</sup> *bhagavam* (v. l. *bhayavam*) *Mahūvire*<sup>7</sup>, *maghavam* *pāgasāsane*, *sampāiavam*, *kayavam*, *bhayavam*, *bho rāyam*<sup>8</sup> *bho Viayavam* *mam*, *sukammam*, *bhayavam*<sup>9</sup> *kusumāuha*, PAKṢE, *bhayava* *hudavaha*.

In the Mṛcchak., the form *bhavam* is attested in the nom. sg. several times in all mss. *tattha-bhavam* twice, and *bhaavam* twice (once as voc. sg.). We are not able to trace any voc. sgs. like *rāya* or *bhayava* in the speech of the Vidūśaka. The loss of *-m* in such words seems to be a feature of AMg and not of S or Prācyā. The evidence of the Mṛcchak. thus goes against Hc.

(II) Pṛthvidhara mentions the *svārthika-kakāra* as a special feature of Prācyā, but later on in the same passage, (com. on the Mṛcchak., pp. 1, 2) he observes, *svārthikāḥ kakāraḥ sarvatra*, thus allowing it in other dialects also. The suffix *-ka* (>*a*) is found added to so many words by the Vidūśaka in the Mṛcchak. apparently without any change of meaning. For example, *āmantanaāim*, *duāraena*, *Mitteao*, *Kāatthao*, and so on. The description of the residence of Vasantasenā in Act IV contains many words having this suffix. The ms A of Stenzler sometimes omits this *-ka* (>*a*) but this is not corroborated by other mss.

The Eastern grammarians, on the other hand, unanimously attribute this peculiarity of the otiose suffix *-ka* to the Sākārī Vibhāṣā<sup>10</sup> and we find ample justification of the same in the speech of Samsthānaka in the Mṛcchak.

(iii) Pu, Mk, and RT Give-*ā* as the ending of the voc. sg. of *a*-stems if persons of inferior rank are to be addressed or if contempt is to be shown to the person addressed. Mk illustrates,

<sup>7</sup> He gives these as illustrations of Ś but they are possible in AMg or Mg. It appears that he is quoting from memory from some Jain canonical text.

<sup>8</sup> Tr, Si, App., and Lx read, *rāam*.

<sup>9</sup> App. reads, *bhaavam*.

<sup>10</sup> Pu, XIII. 9; RT, II. 3-5a; Mk, III. 5; Mk illustrates, *ebake dāsikūe puttake*,

*osara re cedaā osara*, as opposed to the more polite way : *ajja paṇa-māmi*. Hc allows this suffix optionally to words ending in *-in*. Thus, *bho kañcuā, suhiā*,<sup>11</sup> as against the respectful forms, *bho tavassi, bho maṇassi*. N gives the same rules for words in *-in* and still his illustrations are: *Bho vayassā, bho vayassa*. Tr does not allow the option of dropping this *-a* and gives the forms, *ho*<sup>12</sup> *tavassiā, ho maṇassiā*. Lx and Si give the option. Thus Ld : *de*<sup>13</sup> *kariā, de*<sup>13</sup> *kari* ; Si : *kañcuā, kañcuī, kañcui*.

PISCHEL notes that the Pluti or lengthening of the final vowel in the voc. sg. is used when a person is called aloud, and that it is a usual feature of all dialects. In the Mṛcchak, we find that the Vidūṣaka addresses Cārudatta always by the epithet, *bho vaassa* and never by *bho vaassā*, thus showing him due respect, but to the attendant he calls, *Vaḍḍhamāṇā* ( III. 9. 1, 8 ; I. 56. 33. In the last instance GODBOLE reads *-ṇāa* against all others ). His contempt and wrath against Samsthānaka, the sole cause of the mischief of putting the hero in the witness box are seen at IX. 30. 11 ff: *are re kaṇelisudā, rāaśśāla-saṇṭhāṇā, ussuṅkhalaā, kida jaṇa-dosa-bhaṇḍā, bahu-suvaṇṇa-maṇḍida-makkaḍā,.....kuttāṇiputtā*. His regard for Rebhila is shown by the epithet, *bhāva Rebhila*<sup>14</sup>, and his contempt for the messenger by the abusive term *dāsīe puttā*.<sup>25</sup>

(iv) The future participle of *bhu-* becomes *hokkhamāno* [*\*bhavi-ṣyamāṇah*] (Pu), or *okkhamāno* (Mk, RT), or *sthomāno* (RT, GRIERSON'S emendation being, *ohumāno*). The stem *hokkha-* [*\*bhoṣya-*] is very well attested in AMg but never in Ś or Prācyā Mk, VI. 19 prescribes for M the form *honto* but not *homāno*. PISCHEL (§ 476) allots *homāna-* to M but it is not found in the Sattasai, Gaṇḍavaho or Rāvaṇavaho. PISCHEL (§ 22) says, "Perhaps there seems to be a special rule for the future,"-*kkha-*being regarded

<sup>11</sup> Can we not render these words by *kañcukika* and *sukhika* in Sanskrit, thus having two more examples of *svārthikakakāra* ? In any case the sense of contempt indicated by the ending *-a* is explicit in these forms though Hc does not mention it.

<sup>12</sup> *ho*, according to Hc, II. 217, is a *pādapūraṇārthe nipātaḥ* in the principal Prakrit, but not in Ś.

<sup>13</sup> *de*, according to Hc, II. 197, is *saṃmukhikaraṇe nipātaḥ* in the principal Prakrit.

<sup>14</sup> IX. 29-9. Vide also I. 44-3 ; *sappurisa* ; V. 11-19, *are Kumbhīlāa pavisa, sūadam de*, and only a few lines below : *dāsīe puttā, Kumbhīlāa*.

<sup>15</sup> But not at V. 11-11 : *dāsīe utta duṭṭha-pārāvāa*. and at V. 47-1 : *dāsīe puttā duddiṇa*, where we should expect it.

as the infix peculiar to Prācyā, as distinguished from *-ssa-* of S. In the Mṛcchak, however, we find no form like *hokkhamāno*, *okkhamāno* or *ohumāno* although Mk quotes, "*paṇḍido okkhamāno padhedi*" from some unknown source. Always in the speech of the Vidūśaka we find future forms with the infix *-ssa-*.<sup>16</sup> PISCHEL'S conjecture about *-kkha-* is thus groundless. We may hazard a conjecture that as the grammarians do not agree on the orthography of the form the original might be *hossamāno* prescribed for Prācyā as against *hossanto* or *huvissanto* of Ś.

### Vocabulary.

(I) *bhavati* > *bhodi*, a word found so often in the Mṛcchak and already marked by Mk in the speech of the Vidūśaka in the Ratnāvalī (ed. CAPPELER, p. 351, l. 24).

(II) *duhitā* > *dhidā*. PISCHEL records *dhidā*, *dhūdā*<sup>17</sup> and *dhīā* in S and Mg. Out of these the last form is 'false', says he. It is, however, only that form which is found in the Mṛcchak. Thu V. 6, 8: *dāsie dhīāe*, IV. 29 12: *ā dāsie dhīe*,—all editions agreeing.

(III) *vakra* > *vaṅkuṇa*<sup>18</sup>-(Pu) or *vaṅkubha*-(Mk, RT) or *vaṅku*<sup>19</sup>-(Mk). Mk. illustrates, *vaṅku bhaṇāmi*, *dujjāṇa-kāmini-hīa-vaṅku-bheṇa imiṇā daṇḍa-katṭheṇa* (Ratnāvalī, ed. CAPPELLER, p. 339. l. 15) PISCHEL notices Ś: *vakka-*, *vaṅka*<sup>20</sup>-, *vaṅkuṇi*, calling the two forms with "spontaneous nasalisation," false ones. In the Mṛcchak., *kuḍila-* is used twice in the place of any of the above forms. Prthvidhara renders it by *vakra-* in the chāyā. Thus: *amhārisa-jāṇa-bhāadhe-kuḍileṇa daṇḍa-katṭheṇa* (I. 42, 17), and *tuva hīa-kuḍileṇa daṇḍa-katṭheṇa* (IX. 30. 17).

(IV) *upakṛta* > *avahata*-(Pu). Such preservation of intervocalic *-t-* is not likely in S or Prācyā.

*upakṛta*-(*apakṛta*-, cm. of GRIERSON) > *abahada* (RT, *Kalpalatikā*). Mk. is silent. No such form in the Mṛcchak.

(V) *āre* (*are*, em. of Mme NITTI-DOLCI) is used with vocatives and also when indifference towards something is to be shown (Pu). The *Prākṛta Kalpalatikā* recommends it also when censure or reproach (*akṣepa*) is to be expressed. In the Mṛcchak the Vidūśaka

<sup>16</sup> *bhavissam*, *havissāmo*, *karissasi*, *bhavissadi*, *huvissadi*, etc. Pischel could trace in Ś. *bhavissadi*, *pahavissadi*, *huvissadi*, *hossūmi*, etc., of *bhū-* (*hū-*).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Pali *i dhūtā*, and Sk. *Dhūtā*, Cārudatta's wife. Vide LUDERS KZ.

<sup>18</sup> Mme NITTI-DOLCI, proposes *vankuḍa*-which is frequent in Ap according to Hc, IV. 418. Cf. Marathi, *vākaṇ*, bend of a river.

<sup>19</sup> HULTZSCH, ZDMG, 61 p. 722, emends it into *vaṅku-*, a Vedic word.

<sup>20</sup> *Vaṅka*—is M according to Vr, IV. 15=Hc, I. 26=Mk, IV. 20.

generally begins his speech with *bho*, but when he is reviling someone he says, *are dāsīe uttā* (V. 11. 35), *are re kāṇelisudā* (IX. 30. 13), and *ā dāsīe dhīe* (IV. 29. 12).

(VI) *eva* > *pyeva*<sup>21</sup>, *cia* or *cea*<sup>22</sup> (Pu); *jjea*, *jjia* or *jjeva*, all of which lose one *j*—if preceded by an anusvāra<sup>23</sup> (Mk). Mk. illustrates, *tam jea*, *tañjea*, and so on. Mr. GODBOLE'S text has the forms *jevva* and *jjevva* used indiscriminately, whether they are preceded by an anusvāra or not. In Dr. PARANJPE'S edition *jevva* prevails in the first 60 pages and *jjevva* in the rest of the book. In Mr. K. P. PARAB'S edition *jjeva* is the rule and *jjevva* very rarely. STENZLER'S constituted text has always *jjevva*, while *jevva* occurs only rarely. The generally accepted form thus appears to be either *(j)jevva* or *(j)jeva*. Mk (VIII. 19, IX. 153 ) also prescribes *jjeva* for M. as well as Ś. It seems then necessary to correct Pu here, C. and *j*—can be easily confused in the process of copying, and we can make Pu and Mk agree: *jjeva*, *(j)jia* or *(j)jea*. But even after this violence to the text we do not find any of the last two forms in the Mṛcchak.

(VII) The interjection, *avida avida*, indicates dejection (*nirveda*), danger or assault (Pu, RT, Mk). For example, *avida avida bho kim khu jādām* (MK). The Vidūṣaka in the Mṛcchak., however, does not corroborate the unanimous testimony of the Easterners.<sup>24</sup> On the contrary, the Sūtradhāra utters, *avida avida bho* [ *kaṣṭam kaṣṭam bhoḥ* ], on which Pṛthvīdhara quotes the view of the Easterners (*prāñcaḥ*)<sup>25</sup>: *adṛṣṭāśruta-samprāptau avidāvida-bhoḥ-padam*. At X. 30. 9, Samsthānaka uses the interjection: (*sabhayam*) *avida mādike* [ *avida mātṛke*, Alas ! Mother ! ] which is rendered in the *chāyā* by the simple, *hanta*.

(VIII) *Mūrkhah* > *Murukkho* (Mk), or *murakkho* (RT). Thus, *murukkha na jānāsi* (Mk). *murukkho* and *mukkho* are given for the principal Prakrit by Hc II. 212. Our text of the Mṛcchak. gives only *mukkha* thrice (III. 26. 6. 10: V. 11. 36 ) where all editors agree. In Bhāsa's Cārudatta also we have *mukkho* (Prof. DEODHAR'S ed. p. 231 ).

<sup>21</sup> Probably a copyist's mistake for *ceva*.

<sup>22</sup> (c)*cia* and (c)*cea* are used in the principal Prakrit according to Hc.

<sup>23</sup> "If preceded by *a, i, u, ē, ō,*" says WOOLNER, *Intro. to Prakrit*, § 68, but this is also not true for the Mṛcchak.

<sup>24</sup> In the *Śvapnavāsavadatta*, however, the Vidūṣaka uses the word, *avidā* Vide TSS. p. 58.

<sup>25</sup> Who are these Easterners ? Not of course, Pu, Mk or RT. For they all really belong to the South. The term "Eastern" Grammarians is in fact a misnomer for "Southern."

(IX) *idam* > *inam*, *imam*, or *idam* (Pu), but only *inam* according to RT. The unanimous agreement of the editions of the Mṛcchak. and Cārudatta about the form *idam* makes us ponder over the forms *inam* and *imam* given for Prācyā by Pu and RT, and for Ś by the Westerners.

(X) *hī hī bho* expresses the feeling of satisfaction or ejaculation (zufriedenheit). Thus Mk: *hī hī bho kosambī-rajja-lābhena vi piavaasassa idiso pariso na bhavissadi* (Ratnāvalī, ed CAPPELLER, p. 349); Hc: *Śaurasenyām hī hī iti nipāto vidūṣakāṇām harṣe dyotyē prayoktavyaḥ. hī hī bho sampannā maṇoradhā piya-vayassassa*. Tr, Lx, Subhacandra and Seṣa Kṛṣṇa give the very same illustration in their slavish copying. Unluckily for Hc he quotes the same illustration with the necessary Mg colour at IV. 302: *hī hī sampannā me maṇoladhā piyavayassassa*. This indicates two hypotheses. One, that he is writing a grammar of the theatrical dialects without going to the dramas at all, and is thus required to create illustrations to order. Two, that either of the two illustrations must be original. If the former is so then the Vidūṣaka speaks Ś, if the latter, then Mg. The latter supposition goes against all our knowledge of the Indian Theatre. He must then speak Ś,—of course that Ś which is explained by Hc and in which Prācyā is incorporated.

*hī hī bho* is found often in the speech of the Vidūṣaka in the Mṛcchak. IV, indicating wonder. Only the words *hī hī* are used twice by Samsthānaka (X. 29. 9. VIII. 37. 30) and once by Sthāvaraka (X. 30. 3).

(XI) *hī māṇahe* expresses surprise or wonder. Thus Mk: *hī māṇahe aditṭhapuvvam assudapuvvam khu idisam rūvam*. N gives this interjection for wonder, dejection and fear. Thus, *hī māṇahe palissantā hage eḍiṇā niyavihiṇo duvvilasidenā; hī māṇahe jīvanta-vacchā me jaṇaṇi*. Hc, Tr, Lx, etc. follow N. Now the forms *palissantā* and *hage* are Mg. Secondly, Hc gives the same illustrations at IV. 302 of course with the Mg apparel. ... *ḥsidenā ... ḥscā ...* as spoken by Rākṣasas in the dramas Udāttarāghava and Vikrāntabhīma and hence also they must be Mg. Hc gives the sources because he is confident about them. As regards *hī māṇahe* in Ś he has no quotations forthcoming and so he borrows blindly from N or some older source, and forgetting that he had quoted them in the Ś—section he again quotes them in the Mg—section.

In the Mṛcchak. *hī māṇahe* is used by the Sūtradhāra in Ś, while *hī māḍike* [māṭṛke] by Sthāvaraka in Mg (X. 30. 22) and



thrice by Samsthānaka in Sākārī (X. 38. 10, 51. 13, 55. 4). *hī māṇahe* thus seems to be a common property of all dialects.

### Conclusion.

To sum up, Prācyā and Ś belong to the same stage phonetically. In morphology as regards the [v]ocative in -a and the change of -an and -at endings, the Eastern grammarians are decidedly more correct, while Hc is a generaliser, mixing up Ś with AMg and JŚ. The suffix -ka, used *svārthe* is a feature of Prācyā no doubt, but it is abundantly used in Śākārī, for which it is prescribed by the Eastern grammarians. In vocabulary, the rules about *dhīdā*, *are*, and *hī hī bho* are quite in accord with the Mṛcchak., those about *idam-īnam-imam* and *jia-jea-jeva* are partially applicable to the Mṛcchak, while those about *avida*, *hossamāno*, *vaṅkubha-vaṅka-vaknu*, *avahada*, *hī māṇahe* and *murukkha-murakkha* are not attested in the Mṛcchak at all.

It does not necessarily follow as a consequence that the rules about *idam*- etc. and about *avida*- etc. are not based on Sanskrit dramas, but that we must collect material from other dramas also, —dramas, the text of which is critically reconstructed. So long as that work is not completely done our study in the Prakrits is based on [flimsy] argumentation. For, it is only when the grammatical forms are passed through the sieve of the laws of the Prakrit grammarians on the one hand, and of the critically edited texts of the dramas on the other, that a certain stability and status can thereby be gained for these forms.

The critical editions should be based on old and authentic mss and the mss should not be corrected, *sec. manu*, to secure correspondence with the prescribed forms as Sten KONOW<sup>26</sup> has done. In restoring a text critically, it should not be made to subserve to the editor's conception of what a dialect ought to be. The worthy scribes of all ages, who though well-versed in Sanskrit were ignorant of the Prakrits, have freely blended the Prakrit dialects one into the other for the sake of consistency or agreement with the dicta of a misled grammarian like Hc. What then should we say of modern editors who are (to quote of them) "guided by the dictum S for the prose passages and M for the poetical ones!"<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> HOS, p. xxii, "I have, in some places, introduced the peculiar forms of the two dialects, even against the readings of all mss".

<sup>27</sup> Contrast with this the paradoxical view of Mme NITTI-DOLIOI, *Les Grammairiens Prakrits*, p. 88: "According to the Nāṭya-Sāstra the characters on the stage speak a Prakrit nearer to M and sing in S."

## Appendix.

The *Prākṛta-Vyākaraṇa* written by Pt. Hṛṣīkeśa BHATTĀ-CĀRYA, Calcutta, 1883, cites three *Anuṣṭubh* verses, giving in a nutshell the laws of *Pracyā*. It seems likely that they are quoted from the *Prākṛta-Kalpalatikā* (of unknown authorship) which the author has used so often in his work, and which is certainly different from the *Prākṛta-Kalpataru* of RT which is composed throughout in the *Upajāti*.

A comparison of the printed text with the restored one will speak ill of the mutilation of mss in copying and especially in printing.

Text printed at p. 91	Restored Text.
ह्रीं भो परितोषे स्यात् हीमान् ही च विस्मये । उजेअ उजेअ जिजआ शद्धाः एवार्थे संमताः सताम् ॥ वक्त्रे वक्त्रतरंगो द्वौ संबुद्ध्याक्षेपयोः अरे । इणं इमं इदं त्रीणि दृश्यन्ते इदमर्थके ॥ वीदा विहित विप्रोक्तौ प्रकृते वहिदं तथा । अवि, भाविद्विविर्वेदे प्रायो ग्राम्योपमा बहु ॥	ही ही भो परितोषे स्याद् ही माणहे च विस्मये । उजेव - उजेअ - जिजआः शद्धा एवार्थे संमताः सताम् ॥ वक्त्रे वक्त्रम-वक्त्रौ द्वौ सम्बुद्ध्याक्षेपयोररे । इणं इदं इमं त्रीणि दृश्यन्त इदमर्थके ॥ धीदा दुहितरि प्रोक्ता ऽ — पकृतेऽ वहिदं तथा । अविदाविदं निर्वेदे प्रायो ग्राम्योपमा बहु ॥

[ Note :—This is the first part of an article, started under the guidance of my teacher, the late Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, and now being completed with the encouragement and advice of Dr. S. M. KATRE. The second part, containing an independent treatment of *Pracyā* as recorded in the different editions of the *Mṛcchak* (including, if possible, the additional material made available by Dr. P. L. VAIDYA of the N. Wadia College, Poona), and in the dramas of Aśvaghōṣa and Bhāsa, will be published in the *Bulletin* later. ]

## REVIEWS

Rāma Pāṇivāda's *Kāmsavaho* ( a Prākṛit poem in classical style ), text and Chāyā critically edited with Introduction, Translation and Notes, by Dr. A. N. UPADHYE, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Ardhamāgadhi, Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Pp. 213. Hindi Granth Ratnākara Kāryālaya, Hirabag, Bombay 4, 1940.

In Dr. UPADHYE'S edition of the *Kāmsavaho*, we find the same scholarly and tactful handling of the not too ample MSS. material that was available, for which his previous editions of works like the *Varāṅgacarita* prepared us. Particularly ingenious is his checking of some of the meaningless scribal errors of the copyists of the available manuscripts, in the light of the sūtras of Vararuci which ( as the editor, shrewdly guessed). Rāma Pāṇivāda,—the author, might have followed, in view of the fact that he has written a commentary on the *Prākṛitaprakāśa* of Vararuci and uses many Prakṛit words illustrated in the sūtras and commentaries on that grammar. The introduction deals with the relevant topics regarding the author and his works. Very commendable is the editor's scientific approach to the problem of the *name of the Prakrit dialect of Kāmsavaho*. In the teaching of Prākṛta (which flourishes under the aegis of Ardhamāgadhi, in the University of Bombay), this is, not rarely, a tough proposition, particularly when there are writers like Rāma Pāṇivāda with whom the Prākṛit language is a purely literary one, in the sense that they are students of Prākṛit grammars first and writers afterwards. Further complications follow, when the author is a close student of Sanskrit. For example, in the work under review, ( as the editor has been careful to point out ) not only is the vocabulary mainly drawn from the sūtras of Vararuci with the commentaries thereon and occasionally from the Prākṛit prose of Sanskrit dramas but there is also a large number of nominal and verbal forms which are direct corruptions of Sanskrit forms, not to speak of conversions of strings of Sanskrit words *en bloc* into Prākṛit! The edition before us is without doubt a notable performance in every way and therefore worthy of attention by all Prākṛit scholars and students.

V. M. APTE.

*The Tarikh-I-Muzaffar Shahi* By Qānī'i, ed. by M. A. Z. NADVI and free translation of the Persian Text in Gujarati by Mr. Chhotubhai R. NAYAK. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, as its Research Series No. 22, pp. Persian text 88, and Gujarati Introduction etc., pp. 105 Ahmadabad, Gujarat Vernacular Society, 1942, Price Rs. 1-4-0.

Under the auspices of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmadabad, the Persian text of the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi* has recently been published with its Gujarati version and notes which has been based on one Ms. of *Muzaffar Shahi* in the Bhola Nath Library, Ahmadabad.

The Persian text<sup>1</sup> to be discussed here under the above title deals with the conquest of Mandu (Malwa) in A. H. 924 A. D. 1518 by Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat, who set out on 4th Zu'l-Qa'da, year 923 against Medni Rai, the then chief minister of Mahmud II of Malwa. It concludes with the banquet offered to him by Mahmud Khalji, in the capital generously restored by Muzaffar to the former on 15th Safar, year 924 (26th Feb. 1518 A. D.) The Persian text, having an ornate style mixed with prose and poetry, seems to contain more literary value than history and it does not anywhere bear its name as *Muzaffar Shahi*; this is perhaps, only later on added by the scribe in the colophon. Its real name ought to have been the *Fāth-i-Mandu* (the Conquest of Mandu) as in the preface the author has expressed his motive to describe the *Fath-i-Qala-i-Shādiabād* (the Conquest of Fort of Shādiabād-Mandu). To justify its name *Muzaffar Shahi* it must comprehensively deal with the whole range of the reign of Muzaffar Shah but such a work has not reached us. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, the only comprehensive history of the Sultans of Gujarat, quotes, the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*<sup>2</sup> for this particular incident of the reign of Muzaffar Shah II instead of the *Muzaffar Shahi*, although the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*<sup>3</sup> being a much later compilation quotes one *Muzaffar Shahi*. It means that Shaikh Sikandar the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* was not either familiar with any such compilation or that it was not accessible to him. Though quite unaccountably the mention of two *Muzaffar*

1. The reviewer had also intended to publish the same *Muzaffar Shahi* based on the same MS. at Ahmadabad, with introduction, notes etc. in English which the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona had lithographed in 1941 ( vide Annual Report 1940-41 ) much earlier than the publication of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmadabad, but owing to other pre-occupations it could not be taken up.

2. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Bombay, 1890, p. 147.

3. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, ( Baroda edition ), pt. 1. p. 63.

*Shahis*<sup>4</sup> has crept into the introduction of the printed editions yet the introduction of the MSS. of the *Mir at-i-Sikandari* does not mention it at all<sup>5</sup>.

In the first place it is found that M. NADVI has failed to identify its author who having his *nom-de-plume* Qani'i speaks thus in its preface<sup>6</sup> :—

”و کمینم بے بضاعت و شکستم بے استطاعت قانعی کہ از فنون فضل و کمال بے بہرہ و بے عجز و قصور معترف بہ قلت بضاعت مقراست در بیان کیفیت آن بموجب فرمان واجب الاذعان سلطان سلاطین زمان پناہ اہل ایمان تاج بخش کیتی ستان منبع صدق و صفا خلیفہ خدا اعظم اولیا مشروع مینماید۔

اگرچہ کمینم بے بضاعت گاہ در رمذشور در رشتہ ابداع نہ کشیدہ و در سلک عبارت در نیاوردہ و درین فن شریف ہج گاہ بواجبی شروع نہ نمودہ اما چون بہ نظر کیمیا اثر حضرت شہر یار سخن پرور اعتماد تمام است امید کہ سواد اوراق این مناقب کہ بر ریاض چہرہ روزگار چون خال بر عذار خوبان موجب از دیاد حسن و ملاحظہ است بہ نظر قبول اہل دانش و بینش مشرف گردند“

The above Persian quotations can be expressed thus :—

The most humble Qānī'i, who has no pretention to knowledge and learning writes a detailed account of this (Conquest of Mandu) campaign by the order of Sultan Muzaffar Shah and he had made no attempt at writing prose before.

M. A. NADVI has not only failed to identify the author like Dr. RIEU, the cataloguer of the Persian MSS in the British Museum London, Add. 26,27A. but also attributed it to one Malālī following the introduction of the printed edition of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. Moreover, this Malālī in the printed edition of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*<sup>7</sup> ought to have been read as *Mullāe* meaning one *Mulā*, a learned person,<sup>8</sup> not as a name or *nom-de-plume* of any author as taken by NADVI.

It is a fact that neither local histories nor any other sources come to our rescue with any useful information concerning the

<sup>4</sup> The *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>5</sup> CHAGHATAI, M.A., A MS. of the *Mirat-i-Sikundari*, Bulletin DCRI, Poona, Vol. iv. pp. 127-34. Four Mss. of the same cited here after personal observation do not hear the mention of the *Muzaffar Shahi*.

<sup>6</sup> Text of the *Muzaffar Shahi*, pp. 6, 8.

<sup>7</sup> The *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>8</sup> Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, *Undiscovered Pre-Mughal Source Books*, by M. HABIBULLA, pp. 858-76.

life of poet Qānī'i. However, one poet having his *nom-de-plume* Qānī'i is found whose full name was Mir Sayyid Ali of Kāshān and he had left for Isfahan where he spent the subsequent part of his life in great respect and peace.<sup>9</sup> He may presumably be taken as the author of this historical account, who might have left India just after this incident and thus his mention has been ignored by the local historians.

Though formerly both Mālwa and Gujarāt Muslim kingdoms have always been at variance with each other yet the atrocities of Medni Rai, the chief minister of Malwa, compelled Sultan of Malwa to seek the help of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat against him. This Purbiiya Rajput, named Rai Chand and known as Medni Rai was a native of Dipālpur in Malwa, which lies just in the north of Indore. He started his career under the Sultans of Malwa as a Thānedar.<sup>10</sup> He and his men had helped Sultan Mahmud of Malwa on several occasions which raised Medni Rai's influence at the court to such an extent that consequently Sultan Mahmud became a puppet in the hands of Rajputs.

Qānī'i's Persian account, in florid prose full of poetical expressions, is not sometimes easy to follow as far as its main purport is concerned. Hence M. NADVI'S Gujarati version in some places requires further clarification. For instance on 6th Zu'l-Qa'da, year 923, the Sultan Muzaffar and his party leaving Halol came to the city of Shahar-i-Nau,<sup>11</sup> which M. NADVI could neither clear it in the text nor identify it. It is the same Shahar-i-Nau which was invaded by Dongar Singh of Gwalior in the period of Sultan Mahmud Khalji I, of Malwa in 1443 and to day it is known as Nawāgaon. On 11th Zu'l-Hajja year 923 the army proceeded towards a place named Wantegaon which at present can be identified as Wani.<sup>12</sup> In the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* it appears as Dhanigaon.<sup>13</sup> etc., etc.

The lithographed text of the *Muzaffar Shahi* is based on one Ms. In some places the readings of certain words seem doubtful; therefore a further study of the text suggests some probably correct readings which will be published elsewhere.

M. A. CHAGHATAI

<sup>9</sup> *Tuhfatul-Kirām*, vol. ii. p. 236; *Subh-i-Gulshan*, p. 339; *Sham'a-i-Anjuman*, p. 389.

<sup>10</sup> Hajji'ud-Dabir, p. 213.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 111. According to the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Eng. Tr.) vol. iii. p. 205, it is Dipalpur Banharia in Malwa which was given as gift to Malik Mukhlisu'l-Mulk by Sultan Hosahng Ghori of Malwa. Survey Map. No. 46, N. 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, vol. iii. p. 583.

<sup>13</sup> *Shahr-i-Nau* or *Nawagaon*, Survey Map No. 46 F / 10-14. *Firishta* vol. ii, p. 485.

<sup>14</sup> Survey Map No. 46 J / 9-13.

<sup>15</sup> The *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, xx. p. 148.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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